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MARCH, 1961 — Vol. XLIII — No. 1

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
QUARTERLY



— Photo courtesy Irene Welch Garner

GRAND OLD CALIFORNIAN

Don Ignacio Palomares is shown riding his favorite mare "Babe" on an old trail in Padua Hills in the early 1930's. The area, which was a part of the great Rancho San José, once belonged to his grandfather. The faithful mount "Babe," now 32 years old (in 1961), is still active "in pasture" near San Fernando Mission. (See MEXICAN SERENADE, page five.)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed an unbroken record of continuous activity and growth. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December. Our other publications include a complete BIBLIOGRAPHY and a complete TOPICAL INDEX of all our published works through 1957.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. All persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history of the West.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

The Society is a public non-profit corporation. Its principal sources of revenue are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.

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Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to the Editor. Other correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA **QUARTERLY**

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March, 1961

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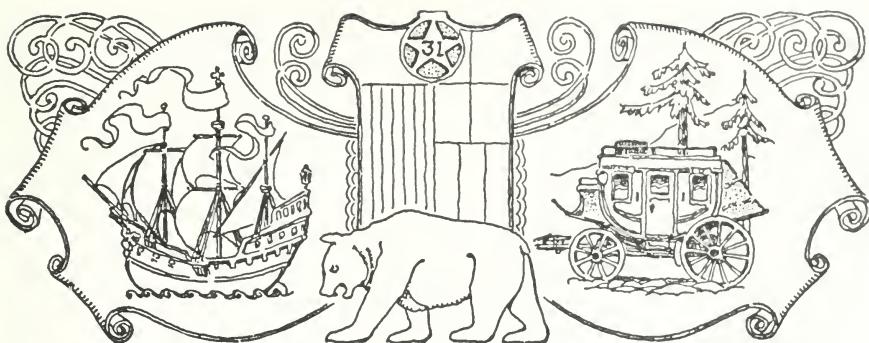
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for March, 1961

MEXICAN SERENADE:

The Story of the Padua Hills Theatre

By Pauline B. Deuel

PART I

Bienvenido

THE SPANISH WORD OF WELCOME, *Bienvenido*, is the traditional greeting given at the Padua Hills Theatre and Dining Room near Claremont, California. And it is repeated often by the hostess who receives guests at this unique playhouse in the Sierra Madre Range of the San Gabriel Mountains, thirty-five miles east of Los Angeles. Her attractive Mexican costume and her gracious words set the mood for a visit to one of the most delightful and distinctive spots in Southern California, an institute dedicated to inter-American friendship.

Padua Hills is the theatre home of the Mexican Players, who have been presenting plays there since 1932. It offers visitors an opportunity to enjoy luncheon or dinner in the attractive dining room, where musical entertainment is provided, and afterwards

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

to attend one of the interesting plays. These productions, with Spanish and English dialogue, are colorful scenes of Mexican or early California life, enhanced by authentic songs and dances and the beautiful costumes of the different regions. The Players are young men and women of Mexican descent from the Southern California area or Mexico, who come to Padua not only to entertain the guests but also to receive training in theatrical arts. For the theatre and dining room are a part of the Padua Institute, a non-profit organization formed in 1935 to promote friendship and mutual understanding between Mexico and the United States and to preserve the cultural heritage of Mexico and Spanish California. It is an educational institution not only for its Players; it provides opportunities for visitors from all over the world to become acquainted with certain aspects of Mexican life and, what is more important, to gain an appreciation of different customs.

Mr. Herman H. Garner, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Padua Institute, founded this organization because he saw the urgent need for better relations between the citizens of two neighboring nations. He deeply believes that prejudice and misunderstanding cannot exist when people know and admire each other, and he and his associates have created a center at Padua Hills which is devoted to this idea. Diplomacy and intellectual problems are left for government officials; at Padua the "good neighbor policy" is through the heart.

Everything at Padua contributes to a feeling of friendliness and good will. There is a warm, intimate atmosphere in the dining room, where the Players act as waiters and where they also entertain with music and dancing. In the small theatre the plays are presented informally so as to draw the audience into the production and to make them feel a part of the scene; language barriers are erased through techniques used by the actors. After each performance the Players linger in the foyer or patio to talk with guests and to fill requests for musical numbers. They want to make the visitors their friends, with the hope that those who come to Padua will carry away with them a new interest in Mexico and a sincere liking for its people.

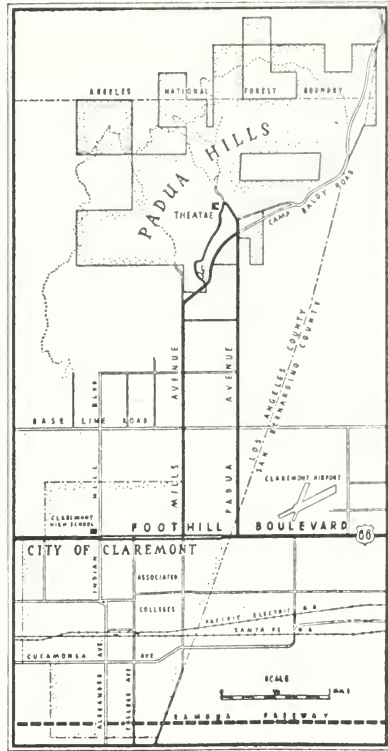
A visit to Padua Hills is like attending a party in the home of Mexican friends. Such a feeling is fostered by the Players, of course, but part of it is an unconscious reflection of the fact that Padua is really a second home for them. They are actually entertaining in a center that is much more than a place of work. Over the years the Players have come to think of themselves as part of

Mexican Serenade

the Padua family, and they form a group that now numbers many dozens of members.

In speaking of Padua Hills, one usually refers to the theatre and dining room and to the adjacent residential section. In reality, however, it is an area of over two thousand acres in the foothills three miles north of Claremont. All of the land is owned by Padua Hills, Inc., except the mesa near the theatre that has been subdivided for private homes. This location overlooking the Pomona Valley has become one of the most attractive home sites in the vicinity.

The theatre and dining room building, and the small shops of arts and crafts that form a part of the picture, are situated in a olive grove at the north end of the mesa. Padua Avenue is the street that leads up from U. S. Highway Number 66; just below the theatre it crosses the road to the popular resort area of Mount Baldy, up in the nearby mountains.



— Courtesy Padua Hills Theatre

Highway Map

Showing location of Padua Hills

The Padua center has always had a close connection with the small city of Claremont. From its beginnings, when the theatre was built as a home for the Claremont Community Players, to the present day, Padua has looked to the town for support of its program. In turn, Claremont has counted Padua Hills as one of its prime assets. The community has always been interested in the outstanding work done at Padua, and it has been proud of the recognition given the theatre both in this country and in Mexico. This recognition has come from many sources, such as the press, theatrical personalities, teachers, businessmen, and tourists. All are helping in their own ways to spread the story of this interesting theatre whose worthwhile purpose is of great importance to the world today. A trip to Padua Hills is an enjoyable experience for anyone, and a warm welcome is always ready for guests. *Bienvenidos!*

Dreams Become Reality

1925-1930



ADUA HILLS TODAY REMINDS one of a quiet Mexican village. The color of old Mexico is seen throughout the main building and the small shops; the friendliness and hospitality are expressed by the staff. Everything fits in so well with the Mexican theme that it is difficult to imagine Padua as the site of any other activities except those of the Mexican Players. And yet, the theatre and dining room were originally built for an entirely different group. The early days at Padua form an interesting story of great dreams and high hopes in the bygone years before the depression . . .

For over 75 years the community of Claremont has taken pride in its quiet charm as a college town. The cool tree-lined streets that surround its colleges* form a pleasant backdrop for the small cluster of business establishments and the many lovely homes which make up the town, affectionately called "the village" by residents. Adding special honor to the community are the outstanding religious and educational leaders who have made Claremont their home after retirement.

All of the citizens have a deep interest in the cultural atmosphere and attractive appearance of Claremont. This concern was especially keen back in the early twenties, when some undesirable real estate developments threatened to encroach upon the community. One area in particular, north of the present Foothill Boulevard, was often in the minds of local residents. They feared that the section might be taken over for industrial purposes or for cheap housing. They hoped that this lovely land in the foothills might be set aside so that its natural beauty could be preserved.

The townspeople who were interested in this area realized that if anything were to be done about the land, they would have to buy it themselves. A group of twenty, therefore, banded together and purchased over two thousand acres. The management of this organization was entrusted to Mr. Herman H. Garner, who brought to the group the necessary business experience.

A native of Tennessee, Mr. Garner had come to the Pomona area many years before with his family. After graduation from Pomona College, he invented an air filter for internal combustion

* The Associated Colleges (Pomona College, Scripps College, Claremont College, Claremont Men's College, Harvey Mudd College) and the Southern California School of Theology.

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engines and started the Vortex Company in Claremont to manufacture his product. The success of this enterprise brought with it a very busy schedule, so Mr. Garner at first hesitated about joining his friends in their real estate venture. He was assured, however, that this matter would take only a small amount of time. The organization that was to have occupied so little of his time later grew into a corporation and an institute and has become a full-time responsibility for this dedicated man.

The land that had been purchased was first administered as a trust estate. Soon, however, the group decided to form a corporation, and Padua Hills, Inc., came into being. Padua Hills was chosen as a fitting name, because Mount San Antonio (better known as Mount Baldy) overlooks the area, and San Antonio was the patron saint of Padua, Italy; furthermore, Padua was a famous university town, with an atmosphere similar to that of Claremont with its many colleges.

The men and women who formed this corporation were active in college and community affairs and were responsive to ideas that would advance the cultural opportunities of their town. During informal discussions at meetings and among friends, a wonderful plan began to form in their minds: they dreamed of opening up a part of the estate for local people who wanted to build homes in the area — a section that would include a center containing a dining room and a little theatre for the Claremont Community Players, surrounded by shops and exhibit rooms for the display of arts and crafts. There was an ideal location for such a project on a small mesa three miles north of town, which, at an elevation of 1,700 to 2,000 feet, provided a pleasant climate and an unobstructed view of the valley. And there were many residents who were enthusiastic about the proposed center, for Claremont boasted of numerous artists and art lovers. Solid support came from the Community Players, of course, as members envisioned the playhouse they had dreamed about.

The importance of the little theatre association in the Padua Hills proposal indicated the significant part that it played in the life of Claremont. It was organized in 1928 by a group of twenty-seven townspeople, including two college presidents, professors, business and professional men, as well as housewives and students. Claremont was a very drama-conscious community, so the Community Players attracted not only those people who were interested in acting and technical stage work, but many who simply wanted to support the theatrical program and allied arts. In the days when

social activities were less varied and extensive, the group also served as the recreational center for a large number of valley residents. At its peak the Players' roster included nearly one thousand members — when Claremont itself had a population of only three or four thousand people!

During the first two years of the Players' existence, they gave their plays in many different spots in town. In the beginning they used the upper floor of a small restaurant with the appropriate name of The Hayloft; they soon outgrew this, however. Then the group turned to the high school and college auditoriums, always hoping that some day they might find a place of their own. Most of the people who formed Padua Hills, Inc., were also members of the Community Players, so they were acutely aware of the problem of a drama group without a home. The idea of establishing a little theatre as the hub of an art center and residential area appealed to everyone.

In the halcyon days just before the financial crash of 1929 such a proposal seemed very plausible, and plans were laid to make the project a reality. Although arrangements for subdividing the property were not completed until 1931, the establishment of the center was begun at once. For its buildings the Padua corporation chose the northern end of the mesa, a pleasant area covered with old olive trees. This section of the foothills had been a remote corner of the vast Rancho San José, owned by the Palomares and Véjar families early in the nineteenth century, and the historical connections added a distinctive note to the plans. Those in charge of design therefore chose the Spanish-California style of architecture for the theatre, and they suggested that the furnishings be in harmony.

The original sketches for the Padua Hills center focused on the building which would house the dining room and theatre. The dining room had been included in the plans in order to provide a place of reunion for the Players' members and guests. Luncheon or dinner at Padua was intended to be a pleasant prelude to the theatrical entertainment, and a small, attractive dining room seemed a necessary feature. It was not to be restricted to members, however, but would be open to the public at any time. The planners felt that a good dining room would draw people to the center as well as the plays.

The sketches also showed the small shops and studios that were to be placed to the east of the main building. They would encircle a plaza where visitors could stroll and examine the arts and crafts

Mexican Serenade



Courtesy Irene Welch Garner

PADUA HILLS THEATRE OVERLOOKS POMONA VALLEY

Claremont and Pomona can be seen in distance. Adobe brick, in foreground, were cast by Don Ignacio Palomares in 1940 out of Padua Hills mud. He hoped to build an Early California home for his wife, Cayettana Ybarra Palomares, and himself on a part of Rancho San José which he still owned.



— Courtesy Irene Welch Garner

A STUDIO SHOP ON THE THEATRE GROUNDS

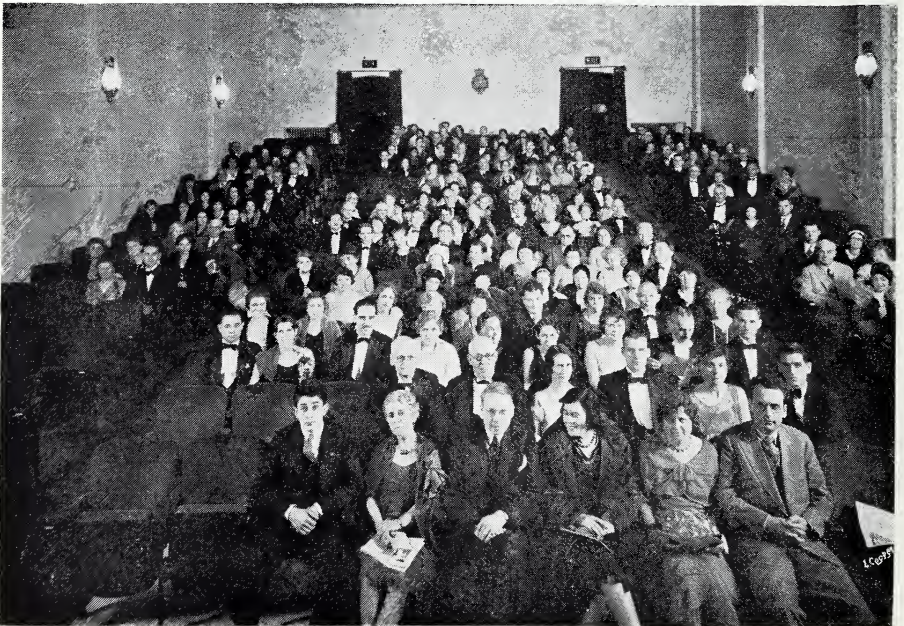
Shop features many imports from Mexico

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“THE ROYAL FAMILY” CAST AND “FIRST NIGHT” AUDIENCE

The theatre opened on December 2, 1930, following postponement, a heavy rain and the pre-show dinner, which has become traditional.



— Photos courtesy Kenneth Forbes

Mexican Serenade



SCENES FROM EARLY MEXICAN PLAYS

The Mexican Players, organized after Claremont Community Players moved from the theatre, have continued to be active for more than a quarter of a century.



—Photos courtesy Irene Welch Garner

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE MEXICAN PLAYERS ENTERTAINING



The Mexican Players entertaining on "quiosco" pavilion at opening program of Jamaica Carnival in patio of Padua Hills Theatre.



— Photos courtesy Irene Welch Garner

The foyer and dining room at Padua Hills Theatre with dinner entertainment by the Mexican Players.

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on display. An "old world" European atmosphere was envisaged for this spot, but in spite of the original idea the flavor of Mexico and Early California kept stealing into the plans. When these buildings were later constructed, in a slightly different grouping, the typical Mexican character of Padua Hills had happily asserted itself, and they were designed to complement that style.

The Players wanted a theatre that would seat about three hundred people, small enough for an intimate atmosphere and yet providing for an adequate audience. They also hoped to have ample room backstage, dressing rooms, and sufficient storage space. Mr. Garner, who had taken over a controlling interest in the corporation and who was therefore responsible for all arrangements, expected that their wishes could be achieved in a simple, barn-like structure of the type that was then so popular among little theatre groups in the country. Occupied with his own business and with arrangements for a trip to Europe that he was organizing for his family, he left the detailed plans of the building up to the Players.

With his wife and their three sons, he left Claremont in July of 1930 to spend three months abroad, although final blueprints of the theatre were not ready. Arrangements had been discussed and the general contractors had been selected, but the Players were still working on the designs. Because of the type of misunderstanding which often occurs when too many people are involved in a project, Mr. Garner thought that the Players were following his general idea of a building, and they thought that he had given them *carte blanche* to proceed as they saw fit. When the completed plans finally caught up with Mr. Garner in Amsterdam, the "barn-like" structure turned out to be a fully-equipped steel and concrete building already in the process of construction. Mr. Garner was very apprehensive about the expense, for the dark clouds of the depression were beginning to gather, but it was then too late to make changes. The only thing that he could do was to cable the contractors and tell them to finish the work as started. The completed building was of solid masonry construction, with theatre walls of reinforced concrete; brick was used in the dining room and in the adjoining apartment for the resident director. Heavy beamed ceilings and a tile roof gave an air of early California to the style, as did the attractive pergola which formed the entry way to the playhouse. The final cost came to over \$75,000, thus providing the Community Players with one of the finest plants in the country. The little theatre became a showplace of Southern California.

The entire Pomona Valley shared in the excitement of building the theatre at Padua Hills. A steady stream of visitors went up to the construction site during the fall months of 1930 to check on the progress of the workers. Friends of the Community Players were extended special invitations to view the building on Sunday afternoons, when they could drive up from Claremont, talk with members, and enjoy the lovely scenery.

At the first meeting of the season in October, the Players chose *The Royal Family* by Edna Ferber and George S. Kaufman as the play to open their new theatre. The opening date was set for late November, but construction problems postponed it until December 2. The extra time was gratefully taken for more rehearsals and for the myriad tasks still left undone. Play practice in the unfinished building without heat became rather trying at times, in spite of the aura of excitement which surrounded the activities at the theatre. The Players always kept a big pot of coffee hot in the newly completed fireplace in the lobby, and sometimes they also heated up a kettle of beans for the cast. Once they tried using smudge pots to warm up the inside of the auditorium, but that proved ineffectual and almost disastrous. Those little oil-burning heaters which are designed for use in the orange and lemon groves to combat frost gave only negligible heat, and the greasy smoke nearly ruined the walls!

Mr. and Mrs. Garner had returned from Europe in October and had immediately turned their energies to the tasks at hand. The building problems were being handled capably by the contractors, and the Players were rehearsing in earnest for their debut. The other important detail to be arranged before the opening was the organization of the dining room. And it was here that the Garners planned the type of service and entertainment that eventually led to the present program at Padua Hills.

Mrs. Garner once said that the idea for the dining room service was born during their trip to Europe. One lovely evening in Italy they dined on a flower-bedecked terrace overlooking the coast and were entertained by strolling musicians who played and sang for them. This dinner program so impressed the Garners that they decided to initiate it at home. They knew many Mexican-American boys and girls in the Claremont area who seemed to have a natural talent for singing and dancing and who might be persuaded to help out at Padua Hills. They would certainly add a charming touch of youthful exuberance to the dining room.

The Garners therefore decided to gather together such a group to serve as waiters and waitresses and to present musical numbers

Mexican Serenade

during the meals. Many of the young people were their personal friends and were enthusiastic about the idea. Difficulties arose, however, when the families were consulted. The parents still clung to their traditional Mexican customs and did not look with favor on the idea of their young daughters working in a public dining room — not to mention singing and dancing! But with brothers and cousins to keep an eye on the girls, they finally consented.

As the opening date approached, the tasks multiplied and activity at the theatre reached a state of frenzy. Tickets for all five performances were sold out, as were reservations in the dining room, so the Players knew that their debut would be well attended. Rehearsals for the play were progressing well, but one other type of rehearsal was found to be necessary: the dining room staff had had no formal training, and they needed a bit of final polishing, too. So the cast of the play had dinner at Padua the night before the opening in order that the novice waiters and waitresses could practice their new skills. This was a full dress rehearsal, with the young people wearing the colorful Mexican costumes that have now become such a part of the Padua scene. The trial dinner was a success, and the waiters gained confidence to perform the next night without self-consciousness.

The usual problems attending the opening of a new theatre seemed to be magnified on December 2. A heavy rainstorm during the night played havoc with the newly installed utilities, and the building was without electricity most of the day. The rain turned the parking lot into a sea of mud, and the contractors frantically spread gravel on the area to make it accessible for cars. Not only the actors but also the young dining room staff were having first-night jitters. Luckily everything was brought under control by five o'clock, and order was restored.

At five-thirty an informal supper was served to the members of the cast and the production committee. Then, at six o'clock the first group of diners arrived, and the Padua Hills Theatre and Dining Room were officially opened. Sixty guests were served dinner during the first hour, and at seven o'clock the second group was seated. Among the distinguished visitors were many editors of newspapers in the Southern California area, theatrical personalities, and civic leaders. All of them were delighted with the food and the service, and the dining room was credited with providing a propitious beginning to the evening's entertainment.

The location of the theatre and the wonderful view from Padua

Hills impressed the visitors as much as the play. The *Pomona Progress Bulletin* reported on the scene in these descriptive words:

Nature herself responded to the auspiciousness of the occasion, bathing the surrounding foothills and mountains in full moonlight, and the valley below, with its twinkling lights from many communities, was spread out before the entranced throng who attended. The setting of the beautiful playhouse, on the brow of Olive Hill, is in itself an inspiration.*

After the last curtain call that evening, when the first-night tension was broken, the cast joined their friends in celebrating a very successful opening. Only then could they relax and begin to appreciate fully the wonderful facilities that they had been using. It was difficult for them to realize that they had finally performed in their own theatre, but the dream of many imaginative, far-sighted people had indeed come true.

Birth of The Mexican Players 1931-1932



AFTER THE SUCCESSFUL INAUGURATION of the theatre, Padua Hills began operating on a regular schedule. The dining room was open every day for luncheon, tea, and dinner — with a buffet supper on Sunday — and it soon became a favorite spot where valley residents entertained guests. The dining room itself often sponsored social affairs, such as the popular New Year's Eve dinner parties which were held for several years. The young Mexican-Americans continued to serve there, adding much charm with their vivacious singing and dancing.

The theatre was in almost constant service, although only one major production was given each month. The auxiliary activities of the Players competed with regular rehearsals for use of the stage, and they spilled over into all areas of the building. The ambitious Players organized groups to study play-writing, stagecraft, costume design, voice training, and children's theatre. Of course all of these sections were not active at the same time, but they did function more or less regularly during the three years that the Players were at Padua Hills. The organization also published a monthly bulletin, the *Players' News*, which discussed the productions and kept the members up-to-date on the work of the various groups.

Two general meetings for the members of the Community Players were held each month. The programs usually consisted of

* *Pomona Progress Bulletin*, December 3, 1930, Section 1, p. 3.

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one-act plays, many of which were written by members especially for the occasion. These meetings were held on Tuesday evenings and repeated on Wednesdays, since the growing membership could not be accommodated at once in the little theatre.

The social aspect of the Players group was an important feature for many people, and they looked forward to the pleasant contacts which they made through the various activities. It became the custom for members to dine frequently at Padua and then to gather in the lobby for backgammon — the current game craze — or for conversation with friends. If someone played the piano, the group would sit around the fire and sing their favorite songs. Appropriate parties were organized by the Players on special days, such as Hallowe'en and Christmas, and these affairs became memorable occasions.

The fame of Padua Hills spread rapidly. Early in 1931 the Automobile Club of Southern California recognized the tourist value of the theatre and placed special signs on the highway to direct visitors to the hill. Newspapers and magazines in Los Angeles began to feature articles about the interesting building and the work of the Community Players. The Players lived up to the publicity, too, giving four excellent productions during the remainder of their first season in the new theatre.

At Easter a beautiful tradition was started at Padua with the presentation of a sunrise service on the hill. Organized with the assistance of the Community Church in Claremont, this program was a lovely and moving ceremony. After Padua became the home of the Mexican Players, this service was made even more effective with special pageantry.

An event took place in April of 1931 that was of great importance to the formation of the Mexican Players. The lively young people who served in the dining room were persuaded to entertain at one of the members' meetings. They had become very popular with patrons of the theatre, and many thought that their talents should not be confined to the dining room. Two short one-acts were the only plays scheduled for the meetings on April 21 and 22, so there was a fine opportunity for the group to present a program at the end of the evening.

They worked enthusiastically on their part of the show and surprised the audience with a very polished production. It was called *Noche Mexicana** (Mexican Night) and had a fiesta scene as

* The capitalization and spelling of the Spanish titles of the plays are in conformance with the usage at the Padua Hills Theatre.

background for colorful Mexican folk songs and dances. The spontaneity of the action and the charming, natural manner of the young people captivated the Community Players. This program proved so worthwhile that it was repeated twice in May at a Parent-Teachers' Association benefit. Thus was born the type of presentation that later developed into the distinctive offerings of the Mexican Players.

The 1930-31 season of the Community Players ended in June, and at the last meeting of the year the officers proudly reviewed their record: five major productions in the new theatre, many allied projects, a membership that had increased from 260 to 650. The plans for the coming season included a schedule of nine plays, plus expanded workshop activities. Since the organization paid only a token rent of \$50 per month for the use of the theatre, the treasury showed a healthy balance; the new budget was set at between \$10,000 and \$15,000 with several paid staff members. The Players had become a growing business concern!

During the summer most of the Players' groups at the theatre were idle, but some members kept active by working with the drama class of the Claremont College Summer School. One play was produced through the joint efforts of the school and the community actors, several performances being given early in August. The dining room was open every day, and the young entertainers there were becoming a major attraction.

An important phase of the Padua Hills development plan was initiated in August when the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors approved a subdivision tract map submitted by the corporation, and lots were put up for sale. This first tract comprised about seventeen acres of land and was subdivided into forty-one lots. The area around the theatre was reserved for arts and crafts studios and shops, while the remainder of the land to the south along Via Padova ("Padua Way" in Italian) was zoned for single family residences. With the approval of the tract plans, the corporation set up a Padua Hills Community Association, to which every lot owner would automatically belong; this organization was formed to interpret and enforce the protective restrictions of the property. It also provided for an art jury to pass on all plans for buildings and landscaping, in order to maintain high artistic standards and to keep the homes in harmony with the surroundings. Cost was not the criterion here, of course, but rather beauty and distinction. The ideal of Padua Hills, Inc., is well expressed in the book **THIS IS CLAREMONT**:

The corporation had a long-range vision of a community not only of artists, writers, craftsmen, but people rich or poor in money

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with the education, background and appreciation that would make them enjoy homes at Padua Hills.*

The skit that the dining room staff presented in the spring of 1931 seemed to create a special interest on their part in theatrical activities. Their close association with the Community Players provided a constant stimulus, so finally the young people decided to experiment with acting, just for their own amusement. Mrs. Garner wrote in her notebook of the episode early in 1932 that gave impetus to the idea of using these entertainers in regular plays. She related that one day the assistant chef was discovered in the kitchen "directing a particularly gory Spanish tragedy with a cast of every available bus boy, waitress and dishwasher." This incident revealed the enthusiasm for acting and the undeniable talents of the group, and it prompted the Padua Hills management to consider channeling their energies into a more suitable type of production, one which would combine acting with their wonderful abilities as musical entertainers.

As this idea developed in discussions at Padua, Mr. and Mrs. Garner had an inspiration which hastened the organization of the Mexican Players. Why not produce a musical play that would be an attraction for visitors to the Olympic Games in Los Angeles? The summer of 1932 would bring people from all over the world to Southern California, and many would come to Padua Hills. Since the Community Players did not meet in July and August, the theatre would be dark just when an exceptionally interesting program should be offered. The Garners felt that if the dining room staff could be trained in time, a play built around their lovely songs and dances would be well worth presenting.

The young people were eager to undertake this project and immediately set to work. The production that was assembled was called *Serenata Mexicana* (Mexican Serenade), and it had as its scene a street in a small Mexican village. The life of the people was shown in song and dance, with a simple plot and some dialogue to hold the show together. No written lines were given to the cast, although they knew the outline of the action; the conversation was completely extemporaneous, and it was entirely in Spanish. Some of the actors did not feel familiar enough with the English language to use it before an audience; therefore, it was decided to use Spanish and to convey an understanding of the lines through pantomime and exaggerated actions.

* Harold H. Davis, editor, *THIS IS CLAREMONT*, (Claremont: Saunders Press, 1941), p. 132.

Saturday, July 2, was set as the opening date, with both a matinee and evening performance. The play was so well received, and the audiences were so enthusiastic about the production, that three repeat performances were given the following week. Lee Shippey, popular columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*, wrote this about the presentation:

...out at the Little Theater in the Padua Hills, near Claremont, the other evening we saw a Mexican entertainment which was the most genuine thing we've ever seen in the United States. It was all in Spanish, all presented by Mexicans and all quite natural. They didn't act or speak for the audience. They didn't seem to know there was an audience. They were just a group of lively young Mexicans having a good time, and those who watched them couldn't help having a good time too. . . . It is the most rapid-fire, spontaneous and natural thing of the kind we've ever seen.*

The remarkable success of this experiment burst upon the Padua scene. Those in charge suddenly realized that the work of the young Mexican-Americans offered unlimited possibilities for development. Their talents could be adapted to the Padua program to add color and variety all year long. *Serenata Mexicana* was therefore scheduled for regular presentations, and the Mexican Players were formally established as an integral part of Padua Hills.

A second production was soon readied, for the new group was anxious to vary its program. Entitled *El Rancho San Antonio*, the play dealt with the early days in the Pomona Valley near Padua Hills. To add interest and atmosphere, Mr. Garner and his son Lee built a sluice in nearby Palmer Canyon and showed visitors how to pan for gold as it was done a century before. Gold had actually been taken from the stream in the days when the Palomares family owned the upper part of the Rancho San José. An old Indian woman servant used to go up to the section which is now Padua Hills to care for the cows that grazed there, and she discovered particles of gold in the sand. When the Palomares family went there on picnics, they always took along a few pans and washed out a bit of gold to use in making jewelry for the ladies.

El Rancho San Antonio alternated with *Serenata Mexicana* on a regular schedule throughout the summer of 1932, and the two plays attracted many visitors to Padua Hills. Those in charge of the productions found that their shows were more than fulfilling the original purpose of providing an attraction during the period of the Olympic Games.

* Lee Shippey, "The Lee Side o'L-A," *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 1932, Part II, p. 4.


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The complexities of managing the Mexican Players soon became apparent, for the actors also made up the dining room staff. Their double duties were easily reconciled during the summer, when the personnel was at full strength and the excitement of the new activity carried them over any rough spots. In September, however, many of the boys and girls had to return to school, and their time was limited; on the other hand, a more intensive, regular rehearsal schedule had to be arranged. The young players were eager to continue with their productions, though, so the Padua management worked out a satisfactory plan, using late afternoon hours and weekends for rehearsals. A dormitory was established in Claremont for the girls who lived beyond the immediate area, thus providing them with a supervised home and an opportunity to attend the local schools. The Community Players agreed to share the stage, presenting their productions on the first two weekends of every month, while the Mexican Players used the theatre on the last two weekends.

In this manner the beginning of the 1932-33 season saw the expansion of the theatre program into a double series of plays, one in English and one in Spanish. The Mexican atmosphere was gradually becoming predominate at Padua Hills, and it now had an official status with the formation of the Mexican Players.

Depression Years

1932-1935

 THE IMPRESSIVE BEGINNING of the Padua Hills Theatre as a home for the Claremont Community Players gave promise of a great future. The next few years should have seen the flowering of the ideas and plans which were made by the energetic members of the Players, and Padua Hills should have gone on to become one of the outstanding examples of the little theatre movement in our country. The excellent location, the modern and fully-equipped plant, and the dedicated membership pointed up the many advantages that the Players enjoyed. However, their expansion was hampered by a factor over which they had no control: the depression.

The depression created many problems for the local theatre organization, and it eventually forced the group to leave Padua Hills. Fortunately the newly-formed Mexican Players were able to carry on with their presentations, so that the center survived and

went on to evolve its present unique program. The financial crisis thus brought about the final phase in the early development of Padua Hills.

The Community Players coasted through the last half of 1932 on the strength of the newness of their venture and the great popularity which it had achieved in the Southern California area. By early 1933, however, the effects of the depression found their way even to such a sheltered community as Claremont. In February the Players cut their admission price from \$1.00 to fifty cents with the hope of drawing larger numbers to the theatre. The group began to have difficulties in casting its productions, as members did not have the time to spend in rehearsing plays. They were either working longer hours to earn a bit more money, or they were out looking for work! Membership in the Players dropped off, as people found that they could not afford to pay dues.

The loyal members who formed the core of the group were determined to maintain the organization, and early in the year they voted to continue their broad scope of activities "despite discouraging factors of the times." As an economy move they discontinued publication of their monthly bulletin, substituting telephone calls to inform friends of the plays.

The quality of the Players' productions did not suffer, in spite of all their troubles. The 1932-33 season offered eight plays, including a beautiful presentation of *Camille* with a young Pomona College student in the male lead. His name was Arlington Brugh, but he is better known in Hollywood as Robert Taylor.

The Mexican Players were also active during this season. By October of 1932 they had ready a third play, *Mi Rancho Bonito* (My Pretty Ranch), which presented another group of typical Mexican songs and dances in a ranch setting. When two of the Players, Manuel Vera and his cousin Flavio, told Mrs. Garner about the Christmas celebrations that they remembered from their home in Guanajuato, she decided to adapt some of their reminiscences for a holiday play.

Keeping the basic setting of the preceding show, this play added the colorful Christmas rituals. *Christmas at Mi Rancho Bonito* began with the ceremony of the *Posadas*, a Mexican tradition that dates back to the days of the Conquest.

The Spanish missionary fathers taught the Christmas story to the Indians by means of simple dramatizations, in which the natives took part. Those original plays later became mixed with

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— Courtesy Padua Hills Theatre

BREAKING THE PINATA

The above drawing is used to decorate the Program of the "Las Posadas" play during the month of December.

folklore and local music, and they developed into the charming ritual that is so much a part of the Christmas season in Mexico today.

Groups of people, carrying lighted candles, go from door to door in their neighborhood singing the songs which tell of Mary and Joseph seeking shelter in Bethlehem (the word *posada* means "inn"). At each door they sing a verse and are answered by the "innkeeper" who tells them to look elsewhere. At last the "pilgrims" are admitted to a home (by pre-arrangement, of course), and everyone joins in a fiesta.

The climax of the party comes with the breaking of the *piñata*, the gaily decorated earthen jar that is filled with candies, nuts, and trinkets. One of the children is blindfolded and must try to hit the jar with a long stick. Since the *piñata*, suspended from a rope or pole, is swung out of the child's reach and he strikes at empty space, much merriment ensues. Finally someone is allowed to break the jar, and all scramble for the treats.

This ceremony was ideally suited to a Padua production, and it

was effectively integrated into the play. The authentic music used by the Players came from the memory of the Vera cousins — they carefully sang the songs to the musicians so that the melodies could be written down in musical notation.

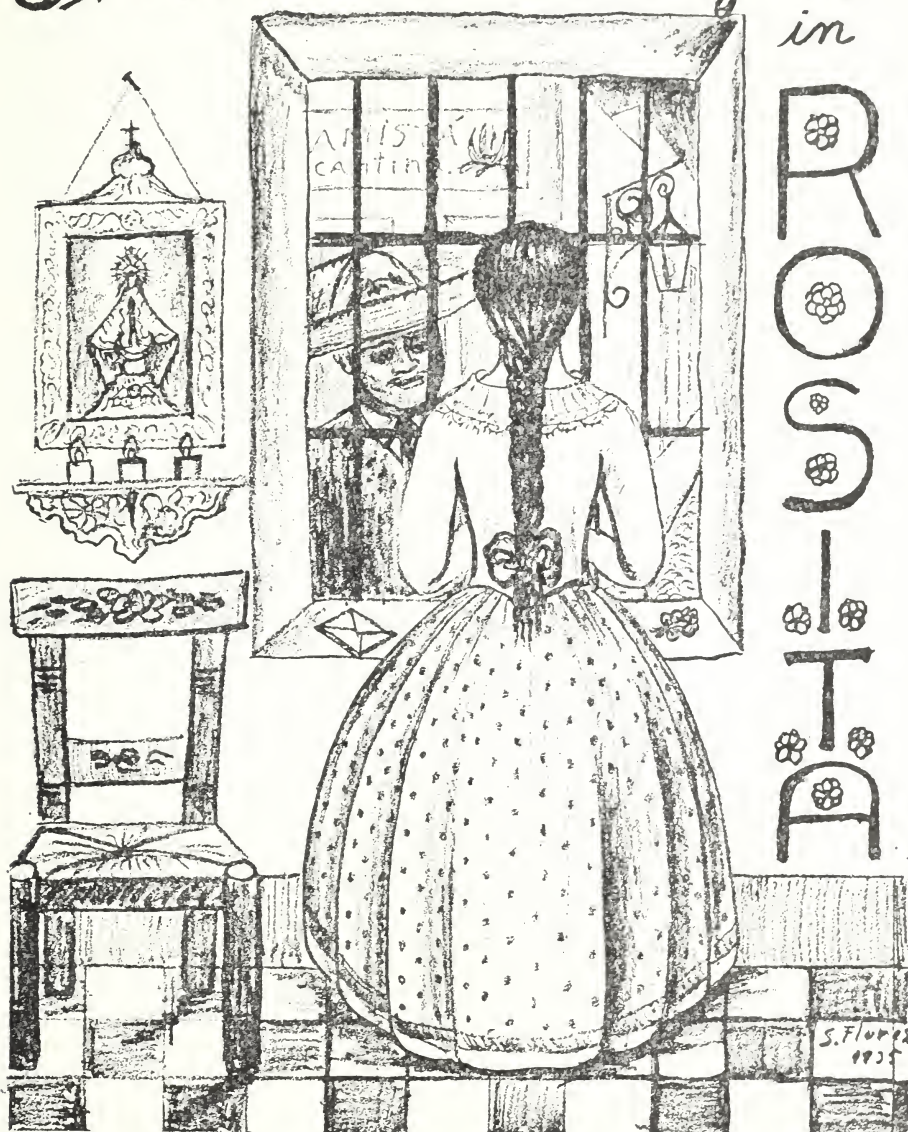
The run of this popular play extended to the middle of February, and the celebration of *Candelaria* was incorporated into the action. This observance in honor of the purification of the Virgin Mary (our Candlemas) takes place on February 2 and is celebrated in Mexico with bonfires, fireworks, and feasting, as well as with the traditional candles. Candles are taken to the church to be blessed, and then they are saved for special occasions, such as weddings and anniversaries. In keeping with the Mexican custom, bonfires were lighted along the roads leading to Padua Hills to direct visitors to the theatre.

The Mexican Players now presented their plays on Friday and Saturday evenings and on Saturday afternoons, except during the productions of the Community Players, which had been reduced to one week a month. *Rosita* was the play that opened in February and ran through April of 1933. An unpretentious little love story, *Rosita* ended with a wedding procession that led the cast of the play out through the auditorium and into the lobby, followed by the audience. There in the lobby the group sang a few songs before returning to their duties in the dining room, giving special attention to requests from the guests. This delightful custom has become a part of the Padua tradition, and today every play ends in a fiesta of some sort in which the members of the audience become the guests and join in the celebration.

The wedding ceremony in the play must have suggested romance to some of the young people of the Mexican Players, for the two Vera cousins were married in April to girls whom they had met at Padua Hills. A double wedding was followed by a breakfast and fiesta at the Garner home in Claremont, with dinner and dancing at Padua in the evening. This wedding was the first of many, for a large number of the young men at Padua have chosen their wives from among the girls in the group.

Ysidro, the play which began in May, charmed audiences with its presentation of the Indian aspect of Mexican culture. Based on the simple legend of a farmer whose faith in San Ysidro finally brings rain to a land of drought, this play incorporated many dances dating back to the days of the Aztecs and before. The interesting folklore in *Ysidro* showed how allegiance to the ancient gods is sometimes still in conflict with the Christian religion brought by the

Padua Hills Theatre
presents
The Mexican Players
in



— Courtesy Padua Hills Theatre

EARLY PROGRAM COVER

This cover done in crayon, was one of the methods used by the Mexican Players for economy and individuality.

Spaniards. This production has been given in one form or another every spring since 1933, and the ritual dance "*Los Matlanchines*" has never failed to bring rain to the area. *Ysidro* alternated with *Rosita* through July.

Financial matters became pressing for the Community Players as the theatrical season drew to a close in June, and they found themselves unable to handle the many problems involved in their extensive schedule. There were two different opinions as to what the group should do: some of the members thought that the Players should move from Padua Hills and adopt a less ambitious program; others felt that they could curtail activities and still remain at the theatre. At the May meeting a majority voted to stay at Padua, but the Board of Directors was given the power to make a final decision on the fate of the group.

On June 6, before the opening of the last production of the year, the directors announced that the Players would quit the Padua Hills Theatre. They also stated that the schedule for the next season would be cut to four main productions and four groups of one-act plays for the members' meetings. This announcement was followed by a lengthy printed explanation of reasons, all of which rephrased the same problem: the Players could no longer afford to stay at Padua. The directors, and eventually most of the members, realized that this move was the only one possible under the circumstances. Both sides knew, however, that this decision marked the end of the Community Players as a large, active group in Claremont. They gave their plays in the high school auditorium the next season, and they used many other places after that, but they never recaptured the vitality and backing that they had at Padua Hills.

Mr. and Mrs. Garner realized that the loss of the Community Players meant a change in the Padua program unless some other arrangement were made, for the production staff of the Mexican Players was not yet ready to undertake a full weekly schedule of plays. The fine little theatre and the excellent dining room were outstanding attractions in the valley, and the Garners did not want to see a reduction in the growing popularity of the center. They therefore worked out a plan with the Pasadena Playhouse to bring a series of plays to Padua during the next year. Pasadena had a well-established little theatre and dramatic school, and it was not too far from Claremont. A group of experienced actors from the Playhouse agreed to form a company called the Padua Players and to bring out to the Pomona Valley some of their best productions, as well as other shows designed especially for Padua Hills. They were sched-

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uled to present plays on Monday through Thursday evenings, changing programs every two weeks. The Mexican Players would continue their presentations on Fridays and Saturdays, also entertaining every day in the dining room.

Meanwhile, the Mexican Players and their production staff gained experience by presenting the ever-popular *Serenata Mexicana* throughout the summer. During the warm weather the *fin de fiesta* (after-show entertainment), that had originated with the play *Rosita*, was held outside in the patio under the olive trees. This innovation was a forerunner of the *Jamaica* (pronounced ha-m'y-ka), now a summer-time custom at Padua, when the Players set up booths under the trees and entertain their guests in the atmosphere of a street fair.

In the first few years of their existence, the Mexican Players performed not only at Padua Hills but also in many other places in the area. They were a favorite choice for programs, and they were often called upon to present musical entertainment for clubs and community artist series. At one performance in the auditorium of a Los Angeles department store the crowds were so large that the entire show had to be given twice.

Believing that the future of Padua Hills lay with the Mexican Players, the Garners plunged whole-heartedly into the task of learning about Mexico. They had been interested in Mexican culture for many years, but they were in no way steeped in information about that country. In order to be of more assistance in the role of director which had fallen to her, Mrs. Garner made the first of many trips to Mexico, where she collected material for future plays, bought costumes to be used at Padua, and made contacts with government officials which later proved to be of great value. Her trips were of interest to the entire Pomona Valley, and many of her impressions were printed in articles in the *Pomona Progress Bulletin*. These sketches were later published in book form as *MEXICO: NOTES IN THE MARGIN*.*

The Padua Players from Pasadena opened their season in October and continued throughout the year with a fine series of plays. Their work was of an excellent quality, so they were worthy successors in the theatre where high standards had been set by the Community Players. At the end of the season they were asked to carry on their presentations for another year.

* Bess Adams Garner, *MEXICO: NOTES IN THE MARGIN* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937).

During the Christmas season of 1933 the popular play of the year before was varied slightly. A more serious note was added with the presentation of an ancient shepherds' play (called a *coloquio* or *pastorela*). Versions of this religious mystery play, dating back to medieval times in Europe, were brought to the New World by the missionary fathers. The simple tale of the shepherds and the Wise Men at the scene of the Nativity is still performed in villages in Mexico, where native Mexicans wear costumes reminiscent of medieval Europe — they faithfully follow the old traditions, even though their meaning has long since been forgotten. The second part of the Padua play combined the *Posadas* ceremony and a fiesta scene with the piñata. Since the ranch setting was not used, it was given a new title: *Noche Buena Mexicana* (Mexican Christmas Eve). Two burros joined the cast for this show and added a very realistic touch to the scenes.

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In August of 1934 the Mexican Players began an interesting trip that led them to many parts of California. They were asked to participate in the ceremonies surrounding the sesquicentennial of the death of Father Junípero Serra (1713-1784), founder of the first Franciscan missions in California. The role of the Players was to sing and dance in the patios of the old missions during fiestas honoring the famous Father. At several of the missions they also presented a short play about the life of Father Serra.

The trek began on August 8 with a visit to the southern part of the state. The gay group traveled in a new Ford truck, furnished and driven by a local car dealer, colorfully decorated with a bamboo canopy and red, white, and green bunting (the colors of the Mexican flag). The striking costumes of the Players added to the festive air.

They first performed at the San Gabriel Mission near Los Angeles and then traveled on to San Diego, stopping at the missions along the route. Receptions and parties feted the young Players, and they thoroughly enjoyed themselves on this trip. Their well-planned and beautifully executed presentations drew much applause wherever they went.

Later in the month the group went to Santa Barbara and took part in the celebrations there, which coincided with that city's annual Fiesta. For three days they entertained delighted crowds, often stopping traffic as they moved about the streets singing.

Some of the party had to return to Padua Hills to serve in the dining room, but a small contingent went on north to Carmel,

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visiting seven missions on the way. They were especially interested in seeing the mission of San Antonio de Padua at Jolon, southwest of King City, which bears the same name as their own Padua Hills. In all probability there is a connection, too, for legend says that Father Serra himself baptised the infant Antonio María Lugo at this mission; later, when Don Antonio owned much of the land in the present San Bernardino area, Mount San Antonio was named to honor both the saint and the man who bore his name.

Mrs. Garner wrote down the amusing and delightful experiences of these trips in a little pamphlet called *The Pilgrimage Diary of the Mexican Players of Padua Hills*, published privately by the Vortex Company.

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One of the beneficial results of Mrs. Garner's talk with Mexican officials was that over a period of years the Ministry of Education sent several outstanding artists to Padua Hills to live and work with the Players. The first of these guest-teachers, Luz María Garcés, arrived in November of 1934. A noted dancer and authority on Mexican folklore, she became a beloved addition to the Padua family. Not only did she teach songs and dances, but she also designed costumes and helped to write some of the plays. One of the productions was dedicated to her in grateful appreciation of her invaluable contribution to the work of the Players.

The 1934 Christmas season saw the inauguration of a production that has become a tradition at Padua Hills. The Players took a charming little one-act play in English by Agnes Emelie Peterson of Pasadena, which dealt with Christmas Eve in a Mexican village,* and wove it into their presentation of the Christmas celebrations. For the first few years the production consisted of three parts: the *coloquio* in Spanish, the play in English, and the fiesta scene of songs and dances. Eventually the *coloquio* was put into the play as a dream sequence, and a unified format was given to the entire show. This presentation, called *Las Posadas*, has always been one of the most popular at Padua, and often special matinees are scheduled to accommodate the many school children who attend.

In March of 1935 the Players traveled by train to San Francisco, where they gave several performances before club groups in the bay area. The members stayed at the International House on

* Agnes Emelie Peterson, *SHELTER FOR A WANDERER* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, © 1952). This play was first copyrighted in 1939 by Miss Peterson under the title *La Posada*.

the campus of the University of California in Berkeley, a wonderful experience for the young performers. A similar trip was made in September, when the group went to San Juan Bautista to take part in the dedication of the mission as a state monument. After entertaining at this ceremony, they went on to San Francisco for more performances.

By the spring of 1935 the more serious effects of the depression were leveling off. In spite of difficulties, the theatre and dining room at Padua Hills had weathered the storm. The Mexican Players had gained experience and confidence during the first three seasons of regular plays, and their popularity was widespread. The Garners now felt that the Players could carry on an expanded program of their own, and they announced that the group would give six performances a week, beginning in June. The actors from the Pasadena Playhouse were willing to terminate their agreement at the end of the current season. They had presented forty-two plays in the two years that they had performed at Padua Hills, and their presence would be missed; however, they had never intended to become a permanent part of the center. The Mexican Players had shown that they were the logical heirs to the theatre, as the center was an ideal place for their type of presentation. It had taken almost five years for Padua Hills to establish this distinctive program, but it was now an accomplished fact — a reward for the faith and perseverance of the many people connected with the Mexican Players.

The new schedule began on June 1 with the opening of *Serenata Lupita* (Lupita's Serenade), a charming play about preparations for a surprise birthday celebration. Its setting was the patio of a home in Guadalajara, and it featured a cock fight during the action. This play was presented on Wednesday through Saturday evenings, with matinees on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. The Players planned a special program for Monday and Tuesday evenings: a *tertulia* (party) in the lobby with singing and dancing in which their guests participated. They gathered together friends whose interest in Mexican folklore led them to take part in these informal sessions.

In June another guest-teacher joined the Padua family. Francisco Sánchez Flores, an artist from Guadalajara, was a welcome addition to the group. Señor Sánchez, affectionately known as "Pancho," taught the Players new dances and produced a play, as well as painting some beautiful pictures during his six months at Padua. His play *Idolos Muertos?* (Are the Idols Dead?) was a

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fascinating interpretation of Indian culture in Mexico; shown through tableaux and pantomime with a narrator to explain the story to the audience, this presentation emphasized interesting ritual dances which Señor Sánchez had witnessed as a boy in Mexico. This talented artist, who had studied with Diego Rivera, exhibited his paintings at Padua in July. Now a medical doctor and member of the state legislature of Jalisco, Señor Sánchez still paints in his infrequent leisure hours. He maintains his contacts with Padua Hills and is often visited by the Garners when they travel to Mexico.

With the play *Idolos Muertos*,² the Players began the pleasant custom of the *Jamaica*, which takes place every summer at Padua Hills. In the patio under the olive trees carnival booths are constructed in the manner of a Mexican street fair; there is a platform for the dancers and singers, and there are also booths for food. After each performance the Players lead their guests outside. First they entertain with music; then they invite the visitors to play games at the booths — a Spanish variation of bingo, “fish,” and darts. They may buy tasty, freshly made *tacos* (crisply fried tortillas filled with meat, cheese, tomatoes, and shredded lettuce), coffee, or *jamaica*. The latter, from which the festival takes its name, is a delicious fruit punch, deep pink in color; it is made from the dried flowers of the roselle plant, which was originally imported from the island of Jamaica. Guests may also taste a *raspado*, shaved ice in a paper cone with fruit flavoring poured over it.

Another favorite guest-teacher from Mexico was Graciela Amador, who came to Padua Hills in the fall of 1935. She added greatly to the Players’ repertoire of songs and dances, and she also composed many new songs especially for the group. In November a week was dedicated to a program which she arranged. Called *Aguila y Nopal* (Eagle and Cactus), a reference to the Mexican national emblem, it depicted the different regions of Mexico through their music and customs. Señorita Amador was a distant relation of Casilda Amador, one of the performers, so she felt a special kinship with the Mexican Players.

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The years of the depression thus brought many changes to the Padua scene. The loss of the Community Players, unfortunate as it was at the time, forced the Mexican Players to develop their own outstanding program. Audience reaction to their productions during those first three years was both surprising and gratifying: visitors remarked that they not only spent a few delightful hours at Padua being entertained, but that they also learned something about Mexi-

can customs and folklore; they took away with them a pleasant memory that gave them a better understanding and appreciation of Mexican life.

As more and more people expressed new-found feelings of good will toward their southern neighbors, the management at Padua became aware of the profound influence of the Players' simple presentations. While the members of the audience subconsciously involved themselves in the joys and sorrows of the actors — identifying themselves with the characters — they seemed to find much in common with the men and women on the stage and to think of them as friends. The magic alchemy of the theatre changed attitudes and helped to erase prejudices. Those in charge at Padua began to realize that their players could become a very effective force for creating good will and friendship between the United States and Mexico. This project could also provide many young Mexican-Americans in the area with training that would lead them to better positions and higher social standing in the community. Often such talented youngsters failed to develop their skills because of lack of encouragement or lack of opportunity.

At the end of 1935 Mr. Garner and his associates decided that the educational aspect of the Padua program was of utmost importance and that they should take the responsibility for furthering it. Therefore, in December the Padua Institute was formed and incorporated under California laws as a non-profit educational institution. This move separated the program of the theatre and dining room from the real estate responsibilities of Padua Hills, Inc., and gave deserved recognition to its importance.

Mr. Garner was named chairman of the Board of Trustees. The other Trustees were Bess A. Garner, Erle V. Simon, Mary Nicholl Kerr, and Robert J. Bernard. Of the original group, Mr. Garner and Mr. Bernard are still serving faithfully as members. Mr. Garner continues as chairman, with the following Board: Willis H. Kerr, Librarian Emeritus of Claremont College; Millard Sheets, well-known artist and designer; Daniel Gonzales Du Pree, Attorney at Mexican Law; Gustave O. Arlt, Dean of the Graduate School, University of California at Los Angeles; and Mr. Bernard, President of Claremont College. Mr. S. Bolling Wright, President of the American School Foundation in Mexico City, is an Honorary Member. Mrs. Casilda Amador Thoreson, an active member of the Mexican Players, is secretary of the group, and Mr. Edward A. Greenlee is the treasurer.

(To be continued)

LOS ANGELES RECREATION, 1846-1900

By Henry Winfred Splitter

PART I



LOS ANGELES WAS MOST DEFINITELY a Spanish-Californian country town in the 1850's and 1860's, and the pastimes of the *ranchero* filled most of the recreational programs for its citizenry. One of the most outstanding events in a Southern Californian *ranchero*'s year was the annual roundup or "recogida," and this we may remark, was, by reason of its displays of fine riding, the ancestor of our modern rodeo.

William Workman, who by the latter 1850's had become owner of a fine horse-ranch at Puente, held, in February, 1859, a typical Californian roundup, lasting two days. Its purpose was the separation of the horses of neighboring *rancheros* from those of his own herd. There had come, for the purpose of viewing the exciting scene, not only the *rancheros* most nearly concerned, but also farmers from the Monte and elsewhere, and even residents of Los Angeles.

The plain was swarming with horses, which the swarthy *vaqueros* expertly cut into bands of from twenty to fifty head, and herded them into the corrals, where they were examined and parted. These activities were under the superintendence of Felipe Lugo, who that year held the elective county office of Judge of the Plains. The feats of horsemanship displayed were loudly acclaimed by the assembled audience, and good feeling was stimulated by Mr. Workman's lavishly spread tables of liquid and other refreshments.

According to the *Los Angeles Star*, whose editor was present at the event,

... the feats of horsemanship performed by the Californians were astonishing, the facility and precision with which the lasso was thrown would scarcely be credited by those who have not witnessed these experts. The animal aimed at was secured, whether in the band or running at full speed over the plain, by either the neck or limb, at the fancy of the pursuer."¹

With the passing of the great *ranchos* in the middle and later

sixties, however, horsemanship as an accomplishment seems to have dwindled rapidly. In 1875, for example, a test for riding skill was offered at the annual Fair in Los Angeles. Riders came to the competition from all over Southern California, their names including those of Lewis López, Santiago Argüello, Antonio M. Lugo, and J. R. Carrillo. The test was for the rider to pick up from his horse while on the full run, two half-dollars placed on the ground in front of the judge's stand — the silver pieces being about a foot apart. Each rider had from ten to a dozen trials, but the coveted coins were not captured. The Mexicans who participated in this contest were horse-men of acknowledged skill and daring, and it must be recorded in their favor that their horses had not been trained for the work and acted badly. One of the judges — they were N. A. Covarrubias, D. Botiller, and Thomas Alvarado — lamented to the reporter that expert horsemanship was fast becoming a lost art, remarking that ten years before, even the youngsters could successfully accomplish such feats as had just been vainly attempted.²

Other favored amusements at Los Angeles in these early decades were horse racing, with its associated betting, and gambling of all sorts, including raffles and lotteries.

Perhaps the earliest of the Southern Californian horse races to be described in detail is one held at Santa Barbara in 1851, and reported by a correspondent of the *San Francisco Herald*. It was run late in November between an American horse and a Californian horse. Spectators came not only from Santa Barbara but from as far away as San Luis Obispo and Los Angeles.

The 300-vara (280-yard) race course was on level ground adjoining the beach, a fence of light stakes being constructed to separate the two horses during the run, with the owner of each preparing his track according to his own idea of speedy ground. As the hour of starting approached, large numbers of people gathered to witness the long-discussed trial of speed, nearly all the inhabitants of the town being there, as well as most of the neighboring rancheros with their large and lively families.

Near the track was a large tent, from whose top fluttered a number of bright-colored handkerchiefs, and where refreshments of varied home-made sorts were dispensed. Native ox-carts were constantly pulling up, and tumbling forth their loads of gaily dressed señoras and señoritas.

Stakes put up by the backers of the two horses consisted of ranches, cattle, and other property, to the total value of some

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\$20,000. Caballeros rode to and fro among the throng, offering their bets, sometimes their horse, saddle, and bridle, sometimes cattle, chickens, or fanegas of corn or potatoes.

Money bets were scarce, one of the backers of the American horse riding about with a bag containing \$2,000 in gold, but could find no one to match it, even against \$1,500.

The two entries were the American horse "Old Breeches," owned by Mr. Robinson, and the Californian horse "Bucy de Tango," owned by Francisco de la Guerra. Equipped with a light bridle and a belt or surcingle serving the young lad riders as stirrups, the eager horses, after three or four false starts, were up and away. In almost no time at all — fourteen seconds exactly — the great race was over, with Old Breeches ahead by two lengths, the winner being cheered tumultuously by the American present. The native Californians, on the other hand, without a murmur, and with quiet dignity, surrendered the stakes. A fandango, given by the successful party, concluded the day.³

Sunday afternoons and holidays were the approved time for horse races. The *Star* for May 28, 1853, reports a contest as occurring the Sunday previous on the race course north of the church at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon. In competition were two horses, one owned by Don José Sepúlveda, the other by Bernardo Yorba. The distance was 500 yards, with \$500 side wagers.

In early years, races between American and Californian horses were common. One such, also in 1853, was between an American colt named "John Smith," and a native mustang, "Ito." The American horse was, before the race, conceded the favorite, and gave his opponent the vantage of a 50-foot start, but the wiry native product outdistanced John Smith by 100 feet. The *Star* remarked:

"John Smith" has the reputation of being the fastest horse on this part of the country, and is a beautiful racer, but Ito was a little too strong for him.

The same issue of the *Star* reports a subsequent race:

Sunday afternoon a very pretty race come off between two Californian horses, owned by Señores Sepúlveda and Rubio, which was easily won by Sepúlveda's. There was a large and pleasant company on the ground.⁴

Formal challenges were often issued. Typical is the following announcement:

The friends of the horse "Azulejo" having failed to sustain the challenge published in the *El Clamor Público*⁵ dated July 29,

1859, we address ourselves to anyone who may be willing to accept this proposal. Our challenger, the "Coyote," will run with any horse, American or half-breed excepted,⁶ for the sum of \$3,000, distance 1,000 varas. The place for the race shall be San Juan Capistrano. If anybody agrees to this, the race will take place; if not, it is the same to us. Any person interested will please call, within eight days, upon Fernando Sepúlveda in the city of Los Angeles, or Don Juan Avila in San Juan Capistrano to draw up the necessary conditions.

(Signed) Juan Avila, Fernando Sepúlveda

During the following winter of 1860, Coyote's owners finally secured a race with Azulejo, whose owner was Pío Pico. Azulejo won handily, and much property changed hands on the issue, one supporter of Azulejo winning \$8,000.

Racing, indeed, often brought financial tragedy in its wake, Americans proving just as susceptible to this phase of the sport as native Californians. In the spring of 1860, at San Bernardino, a 1,000-yard race was run between a horse owned by Mr. Thomas of San Gabriel Mission and another owned by Mr. Nicholson of San Bernardino. The San Gabriel horse won. Says the *Star*:

The result was the complete "cleaning out" of the losing man, who lost not only the amount staked, but the horse which ran, together with horses and mules, notes and cash, amounting to about \$5,000.⁷

And the following indicated the prevalent tenor of Southern Californian sympathies during the Civil War.

On Saturday last a race took place over the pioneer course, a short distance below town, between F. D. Mott & Co.'s "Jeff Davis" and Cherokee Bragg's "Lady Davis." The winner of the race is disputed.

Foot races were no infrequent, with sizeable stakes on the result. In 1853, in conjunction with a horse race, a white man and a negro sprinted 200 yards, for \$100 a side. The negro proved to be the swifter.⁸ At San Bernardino, a young man named Bill Hughes had bet \$75 that he could run from Knight & Dickey's sawmill in the Big Bear Mountains, to town, a distance of twelve miles, in two hours or less. He made it in one hour and 35 minutes.⁹

Raffles were another way of lightly disposing of any superfluous cash:

Grand Raffle! McLaughlin's express wagon will be raffled off at the Montgomery saloon on Saturday evening next. Tickets, five dollars each. The wagon is in good condition, with three seats, cushions, tongue, and shafts.

Commercial lottery tickets also were available in early years. One advertisement read:

Lottery tickets for sale, \$20 per ticket, also fractions. States of

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Delaware and Georgia. Prizes \$50,000 and \$70,000 and smaller ones. One each month. Purchaser will have to hold his ticket only 8-10 days before official drawings are announced in San Francisco papers.

The bull fight, and the bull-bear fight, were both characteristic sports of early Southern California. Because of their gory nature and cruelty, bull fighting and bear baiting had never been popular among Americans, and both were officially banned in Los Angeles in 1860 by city ordinance. Sunday fights had been prohibited as early as 1855. Public sentiment among the predominant Spanish element, however, still held to the traditional custom, and it was not until 1873 that bull and bear fights were finally and effectually eliminated from the list of public amusements in Los Angeles. The last great public bull fight occurred here in October 26, 1872.¹⁰

In *Then and Now — 100 Landmarks*, a recent publication, there is reproduced a photograph, dated 1866, of a scene at a local bull fight; also a cut of a handbill advertising the event. The arena seems to have been located on the site later occupied by the French Hospital, at Castelar and College streets. Castelar street was originally *Calle de Toros*, the Street of the Bulls.¹¹

In 1853 a *Star* reporter describes a local bull fight in the following mockingly sardonic terms:

There was a bull fight Sunday evening, at which several quadrupeds were sadly teased, several hombres rolled in the dirt, and a large, brilliant, and intellectual audience were highly delighted.¹²

Bear-baiting often accompanied or substituted for the more conventional bull fight. The manner in which these animals were conveyed to Los Angeles after their capture in the nearby mountains is not for squeamish stomachs. Bears, for instance, were lassoed by several mounted Californians in the Arroyo Seco above Pasadena, and fastened by one hind leg and one forefoot, were dragged over the ground for the whole distance to the city, the riatas being attached to the pommels of the horsemen's saddles. Arrived there, the unfortunate animal was eventually put into the bear pit to fight with mastiffs, with a bull, or with wildcats.

Anna Begué de Packman describes a typical Los Angeles bull-bear fight in graphic terms:

Each year a fiesta was scheduled to celebrate *La Batalla del Oso y el Toro*. A tight enclosure of tree trunks fenced off the arena, and the Angelenos clustered round, waiting impatiently. Betting went on continually preceding and during fight in favor of and against both animals. El Oso and el Toro were pushed into the arena, and securely bound together by an iron fastened to the hind leg of

each animal. A vaquero on horseback rode into the ring, taunted and provoked the bear and bull into a frenzy, then left them to gore and mangle each other to death. As the battle grew more bloody, the spectators threw off all restraint, shouting madly and betting rashly on the possible winner.¹³

Another sport quite unaesthetic from the modern point of view was rooster-pulling. The classic occasion for this ceremonial sport was St. John's Day. A live rooster would first be divested of his feathers, and his neck greased, then the unhappy bird would be buried in the middle of the dirt street or road, his greased neck and head alone being visible above ground. The game was to dash by the half-buried rooster at full speed on horseback, lean over and seize the bird by the neck and pull him from the ground — a most difficult feat. On St. John's day in 1853, the principal contestants in this event were Andrés Pico, Jack Powers, and José Sepúlveda, the last-named being the victor.¹⁴

After all this, cock-fighting might seem rather mild fare; nevertheless this sport was extremely popular in Los Angeles. Repeated efforts were made from earliest years by humanitarian-minded Americans to ban such activity, but with little practical effect until the middle 1870's. An item in the *Star* in 1853 informs us:

... on the Saturday before Easter, in the afternoon, a grand cock-fight came off on the Plaza, opposite the church, made up between Don Pío Pico and John Powers. This contest was continued at intervals for several days, neither party winning nor losing to any amount.¹⁵

Even in later years, the police, for obvious reasons, seem to have been unable to cope with the problem. An indignant resident in 1872 vents his ire in a letter to the *News*:

Last Sunday a respected citizen of this community had occasion to require the arrest of a drunken Mexican who had knocked him down with his horse while riding recklessly near the Catholic church. His search was vain until he visited a cockpit in the classic precincts of Sonora. There, behold! Three of the members of our watchful police force were actually engaged in the noble occupation of cock-fighting! Two of them were principals, their birds being the combatants. And these are the men who are trusted and remunerated for upholding public peace and law! The Force requires a thorough overhauling, and until such is done, we cannot expect any diminution in the amount of crime, nor in the number of criminals with which the city is swarming.¹⁶

Of course not all recreation of the 1850's was quite so picturesque and exotic. For instance, in 1857, there was trimmed here the first Christmas tree in Southern California. Among those best

families then living in the long row of adobe houses on Main Street between First and Second was that of an Englishman, Dr. Carter. Many of the doctor's friends and neighbors participated in decorating the tree, and aided their host on the Eve itself. Dr. Carter was disguised as Santa Claus, and music and songs, dancing and games completed the evening.

The Anglo-Saxon custom of New Year's Day calls had appeared two years earlier in 1855, when former residents of the States, or "estranjeros" as they were termed, came out in force. No friend was forgotten; nearly every family kept open house, some entertaining hundreds of transient guests. Some native Californians did likewise. On the serving tables were turkey and cranberry sauce, plum pudding, mince pie, egg nog, wine, and other comestibles. Naturally enough, before evening it became plain that many had partaken too often and too much; yet on the whole the new custom was voted by the generality, a huge success.¹⁷

Another pleasant custom prevalent in Los Angeles in the 1850's was the giving of a feast to all and sundry upon the opening of any new business venture. In 1853, for instance, Theodore Bors, miller and blacksmith, who had bought the Old Mill "on the other side of the Los Angeles River, near the San Gabriel road," declared himself, in a *Star* advertisement, ready for business, and invited his friends and the public in general to a "grand feast." He declared himself able to "grind wheat or corn as cheap as any mill in the county," and that blacksmithing in all its branches would likewise promptly be attended to.¹⁸

Among the milder indoor sports popular locally were billiards, sometimes played in decidedly primitive environs. In 1891, a newspaper interview with a San Francisco piano maker named Zech, stirred the visitor to the following reminiscence:

I haven't visited Los Angeles since 1868. On a rainy evening of that year a number of the old-timers and I were playing billiards in a 'dobe house on the rankest table you ever saw. And right in the middle of the game, the roof, which had been sagging, broke through and dumped about two barrels of water onto the billiard table. Yes, I see there has been a change in the town since then.¹⁹

Body building and gymnastic exercises had their Los Angeles devotees as early as 1860. In July of that year an advertisement in the *Southern News* announced the opening by A. F. Tilden of a gymnasium in the Temple Block:

The room will be furnished with hand-ladders, parallel bars, trapeze, swinging rings, spool ropes, peg pole, vaulting lock, leaping bar, spring board, pulleys, Indian clubs, dumb bells, boxing gloves,

and fencing foils. A shower bath will be available, and the English and American sporting papers, with the leading journals of the day. The gymnasium will be open from 8:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m., Sundays excepted. Terms: gentlemen \$3 per month, boys (admitted till 7:00 p.m.) \$1.50 per month.²⁰

As to games, the Spanish Californians were fond of one they called *juego del piaque*, "shinny" to the Americans, a kind of hockey played with clubs on a 500-vara field. In 1853 a group of twelve Californianos played against a like number of Americans, \$1,500 being bet on the result. The men on both sides were described as active, husky fellows, selected for their proficiency in the game. The Americans started out well, sending the ball whizzing toward their goal, but it landed in a pool of mud, when the sphere got into the possession of the Spanish, who, after a two-hour struggle back and forth across the muddy field, proved victorious.

Said the *Star*:

The chase was very exciting throughout, each side striving its utmost to win, the friends of each cheering and encouraging their favorites. At the close of the game, the players resembled Sir John Falstaff's famous company — completely tuckered out, mud-bespattered, hatless, bootless, stockingless, some almost trouserless, panting and limping from fatigue and damaged shins, as they wended their way homeward mightily pleased at the day's sport.²¹

Football of an informal variety was popular here during Civil War days. Reminisces W. H. Workman in 1895:

Early in the 1860's, during the war, business got very dull, due to the war and the drought. The principal places of business at this time were the Temple Block and the Plaza, within a stone's throw of the old Bella Union. Trade was so quiet that the business men got up a football game on the street between the Bella Union and the Plaza. It was a great event; there were no vehicles passing to interfere with us, and the whole town turned out to watch. These games were held nearly every afternoon. We had lots of fun and didn't mind the lack of business.²²

Relaxation among Americans, as elsewhere, is often associated with casual conversation and the tinkling of spoons at a soda fountain where malts, cokes, and cheese sandwiches are the staple fare. What was apparently the first ice-cream parlor in Los Angeles was opened in the Temple Block in 1871. The necessary ice, it may be said, was manufactured in the city. Recent invention of a mechanico-chemical process had made the cutting and hauling of mountain lake ice unnecessary. In addition to greater convenience, the cost was considerably less.²³

By 1876 we find on a downtown street a drug store with a most

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elaborate soda fountain. The store occupied an area of 23 by 43 feet on Spring and was owned by E. A. Pruess, Jr. At its opening, baskets of flowers vied in vividness with the traditional receptacles of colored water in the display window. Center of attraction, however, was the fountain of white and variegated marble and bronze where a special attendant presided over the Keystone soda apparatus. Here fizzed and bubbled temptingly all manner of cold refreshing sodas and mineral water — genuine Vichy, Kissingen, and Congress, mixed as desired with natural fruit syrups. Providing the final touch of elegance was a tall statuette which surmounted a corner of the fountain. The figure bore a bronze crown which turned out, upon closer inspection, to be a bouquet holder. The total cost of the fountain was about \$1,500, a large sum for that day.²⁴

A popular sport of the period that seems odd to us today was competitive and big-time eating, or rather, gluttonizing. Capacities of favored individuals were fabulous. Five girls in the *San Bernardino Recorder's* office in 1891 were proud of having eaten at one sitting a gargantuan 78-pound melon, which averages out at fifteen and three-fifths pounds apiece.²⁵

That, however, was as nothing to the gustatory achievements of Herman Schneider, an immigrant German who, in 1871, displayed his powers in Los Angeles. On New Commercial Street he entered a restaurant displaying a sign advertising "All You Can Eat for 25 Cents!" After several unhappy waitresses had become practically exhausted from toting out trayful after trayful of food for more than two hours and the patron still gobbled away as avidly as ever, the proprietor finally took down the sign. He declared grimly that Schneider had already eaten seven or eight dollars worth of food and was still calling for more. Indeed the unfortunate restaurant owner had really tangled with a professional eater, who performed his dining-table stunt daily before a goggle-eyed audience at a local circus sideshow.

Schneider had become famous directly upon his arrival in America in 1857, with his successful wager that he could in a single day eat a twenty-pound ham, a pound of candles, 1½ pounds of biscuits, and drink thirty cups of tea. His bodily weight was only slightly greater than the average, and his health was perfect. It was said that his voracious appetite was evident from birth, and at the age of three he masticated large quantities of the dried beef of his country with the apparent ease of an adult. His appetite seemed to increase, rather than diminish with the years. Schneider's case attracted world-wide medical attention, but a variety of treatments produced no lasting decrease in appetite.²⁶

A few months later, just to prove that native Americans were fully as capacious as this wandering German, another Los Angeles restaurant owner was, in a wager, paid \$5.00 to give a certain Spanish Californian vaquero a square meal. The local vaquero ate and ate, but after two hours of such demonstration the restaurant man backed out. Though the vaquero had had a hearty breakfast, he had devoured an entire good-sized sheep. Moreover, his friends offered to bet that he could devour fifty pounds of mutton a day for three days in succession. But there were no takers.²⁷

Among primitive tribes, anthropology tells us, it was customary for the victors in combat to eat the hearts of such of their slain opponents as had distinguished themselves for valor and stamina, assuming that mastication of the flesh of such heroes would enable them to add the enemies' desirable qualities to their own. An idea of this sort must have actuated the foot-racer, J. C. Coombs, who at the local Mint Restaurant ate, during a thirty-day training period for a race, no less than 113 fleetfooted rabbits, 46 of them large jacks. This was at the rate of three and twenty-three-thirtieths rabbits per day, or adding the increased size of the jacks to that of an ordinary rabbit, translated into about five ordinary rabbits daily. Coombs was planning, during the coming contest, to average 100 pedestrian miles per day.²⁸

Social affairs such as balls and parties of various kinds of course were common throughout the period, with occasional headlined events like the Tin-Pan Ball — "one of the old Virginia kind" — given at the home of Leonidas Bates, corner of Washington and Alameda, in June 1878; and the "German" Ball at the Country Club on New Year's Eve of 1895. In the latter, figures were as follows:

First: paper frame, three couples up, waltz, three men choose three men and three ladies choose three ladies. Men put fingers through a screen, and dance with the ladies who hold their fingers. Music waltz, *Loin da Bal*, by Galletti.

In the seventh: four pairs of reins, two couples up, ladies get four men, men get four ladies, drive around, dance with the same color. Music — polka *From Vienna to Berlin* by Eilenberg.²⁹

In the 1890's, the game of whist enjoyed a tremendous boom in Los Angeles, reflecting a similar popularity in the nation as a whole. The U. S. Whist League held its first annual national meeting at Milwaukee in 1890, and in subsequent years, in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis, with California coming next in line. There were numerous whist clubs in Los Angeles, some with men on membership lists as well women. All but one played the "progressive" game, with prizes for the greatest number

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of points. Membership of the clubs varied from eight to 24, the number of hands played from 20 to 30. In general, they met at the homes of members in turn, refreshments served at the conclusion. A typical group, the Tuesday Night Club, founded in 1892 by Mrs. Alfred Ackerman, met every two weeks, its membership was 12. Then there was the Merry Wives Club, meeting weekly, alternately on afternoons and evenings to accommodate the men. The Saturday Afternoon Club was entirely for ladies; The Young Ladies Whist Club, for unmarried women. The Monday Night Club boasted as members Mayor and Mrs. William Bonsell. Another group was called the Neighborhood Club, and in the Wednesday Evening Club were Mr. and Mrs. Henry O'Melveney and Dr. and Mrs. Jay H. Utley.³⁰

The inevitable and ever-popular circus flourished mightily throughout the whole period. Its pre-performance parade was an occasion that called out the jubilation of both adults and children. Says the *Express*:

The circus cavalcade paraded the town shortly after ten o'clock this forenoon. The elegant gilded band-wagon was drawn by a team of six camels, guided by a native Arabian on either side. Following came a train of performers dressed in their bespangled uniforms and mounted on finelooking horses. Then followed a great number of cars containing animals, and among the rest a cage of lions, with its barred sides open to view and showing the trainer sitting in the midst of the restless beasts. Another feature was the snake-cage, through whose glass sides one could see a great number of coiling reptiles within, and an old Indian charmer seated on a stool with a couple of boa-constrictors wound about his neck. The Pi-Co clown and the automation figures on top of the wagons made fun for the boys. The steam calliope brought up the rear, a crowd of men and boys keeping it company wherever it went. Its elephantine music is something that must be heard at a distance to be appreciated in its most tender and touching sense.³¹

Within the spacious tent, too, were attractions for everyone. Albert F. Kercheval celebrates in rhyme the spectator's point of view of what the posters of 1880 acclaimed as "the only electric-lighted, sun-eclipsing big show that ever crossed the Great Divide. in town for one day only."

*The tinsel is gorgeous to see
And the clown is as funny as funny can be —
Inspiring to look at the tricks of the bear,
And the females that posture, with nothing to wear;
The festive performers, tight-rope and trapeze,
Who hop, skip, and jump like a parcel of fleas;
The feats of the acrobats grand to behold,
Who cling fast to nothing, with perilous hold;*

*Then longing, defiant, new dangers to dare,
Like a shell shot, from mortar, go whizzing through air.
This also soul-lifting to ponder and gaze
And muse on the animals — mark all their ways;
The lithe, dandy monkeys that grimace and dance
With a grace like a polished professor from France;
The ponderous elephant tender and true,
The giraffes, and giants and giantess too;
The dwarf and the dwarfess so cunning, dedate;
The lion and lioness lying in state;
The tiger and tigress outstretched on the floor;
The awful gorilla (from Erin's green shore)
Who curbs his hot anger all ready to break
When punched by the hoodlums, for courtesy's sake;
Apes, ant-eaters, anything under the sun,
All docile and sitting around on their hams
Or lying in peace like the innocent lambs;
All happy and good in the highest degree,
How spirit-inspiring! How pleasant to see!*

After some further self-improvement by meditating on these sights, the poet turns his attention to the audience, composed of typical Southern Californians of the period:

*Here children stare mutely with saucer-like eyes,
Or yell with delight in a blissful surprise —
All ages, all colors, tan, freckle and brown,
Lank pikes from the country, fast hoodlums from town;
The hay-scented granger, the clerk from the store
With hair pasted sweetly behind and before,
Parading so proudly with sweethearts and girls
All gorgeous with jewels, paste-diamonds and pearls;
Here citizens jolly, from over the seas,
With an odor suggestive of Limburger cheese;
Proud women arrayed like the lilies in bloom,
Musk roses might envy their fragrant perfume.
Fat ladies by fashion's whims never accused,
Rotund as a hogshhead, and ready to burst
With merriment; maidens half shy and demure
With eyes starrng wonder, and warranted pure
As innocent angels with butterfly wings,
Who go for the candy and popcorn and things;
Here old-fashioned people 'tis pleasant to know
Just from the back country to take in the show;
Whole families winding in sinuous trail
That tapers like serpent from head to the tail.³²*

Horse racing in the 1870's and later, though not as important a part of recreational life in Los Angeles as formerly, was still of interest to many. At Santa Monica a race-track or so-called "speedway" had been built to extend for a mile and a half along the top of the Palisades on what is now Ocean Avenue. In Los Angeles

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proper there was racing at the fair grounds or Agricultural Park, now Exposition Park. Horse racing was a common part of the annual displays of agricultural and industrial products known as the "fair."

In a typical fair of the seventies there were entered for exhibition such diverse offerings as jellies, breads, preserves, stuffed birds, shell work, wax flowers, tapestry, oil paintings, fruits, grain, horses, cattle, hogs, local manufactures and handicrafts of all sorts. Although these fairs, which were attended by most of our city people as well as those of the country round about, seem to have had excellent educational features, racing details were usually given the lion's share of the write-ups in the local papers.

The matter of racing stirred up considerable controversy. The mixed nature of our population probably contributed largely to the clash of opinion; many of the Yankee newcomers being on principle opposed to anything that was associated with gambling, while on the contrary the native Californians were well-known for their extreme interest in Dame Fortune and her inexplicable turns. The Granger organization was strongly opposed to race-track gambling, and sent energetic protests to the fair association, but to no avail. The managers of this exhibition on their part declared that farmers and industrialists of Southern California were not alert to the advantages of exhibiting in or even attending the fair, and hence horse racing served as a financial life saver. It is of course possible, too, that the Yankee's alleged reluctance to exhibit was caused not so much by mental sluggishness as by the unwillingness to patronize a fair that had racing as one of its chief features.

In a contemporary (1873) discussion of the problem we read:

There is great complaint throughout the State because horse racing is made the principal feature of the various district and county agricultural fairs. It is said that the turf has almost entirely taken the place of the more useful industrial exhibitions, and that prime encouragement is given to the raising of race horse stock. But in a new country like Southern California, having a sparse population, great difficulty is experienced in making a success of agricultural and industrial exhibitions. There is comparatively little to display; there is trouble and inconvenience in placing that little on exhibition, and people are not imbued with the spirit of competition that prevails in older areas. In talking to one of the principal stockholders in the Southern District Fair Association, we learned that it was necessary to go personally to those of skill and industry, and beg them to exhibit specimens at the fair. Yet only a few, even so, seemed to take the slightest interest in the matter. Horse racing, then, is the fair's only salvation. By making a principal feature, a

large crowd is attracted, money flows into the treasury, the exhibition, such as it is, is visited by numbers of people who would otherwise never have gone a mile to see it, the city profits by the money of strangers, and the Fair Association is kept alive and in a condition of prosperity.³³

With the purpose of enlisting the support of wider segments of the public, racing managers in the late 1870's even exploited the current popularity of the book *BEN HUR*, with well-attended chariot races. One morning in 1878 three chariots to be used in the Roman races at Agricultural Park that afternoon were driven through the principal streets of the city, preceded by Wood's Opera House Band, and escorted by a mounted cavalcade of local ladies and gentlemen. The three chariots had been newly painted by Manager Wood and decorated respectively with the U. S., the French, and the Spanish flags. In the race, the chariot with the American flag was drawn by Mr. Stoddard's team, that with the Spanish flag by ex-Governor Pico's sorrel team, and the one bearing the French flag by William Wolfskill's "Lightning" and mate.³⁴

The race was an exciting one. The chariot with the American flag won the first two heats, and the race; the Spanish chariot being second. The second heat was run twice, the first running having been declared no heat, because the French chariot ran in and broke the pole of the American. In these good-humored days, however, international complications did not inevitably lead to war, but were patched up while the spectators waited.

In conclusion, as to racing, we may say that so stable and consistent was the interest in this sport that by the late 1890's other forms such as greyhound coursing had also become popular. In 1898, for example, local papers gave considerable space to illustrated accounts of how named dogs trailed hares at Agricultural Park, the dogs being both imported and local.³⁵

Boxing, too, began to produce its enthusiastic fans about 1876. Rather gentlemanly was the sparring match at the Merced Theatre in April of that year, between Charlie Gallagher and Alf Walker. Gallagher was a professional, an ex-lightweight champion of London; Walker, about fifty but very robust, a Los Angeles shoemaker. Five rounds were fought, and Walker, who drew most of the applause, was judged at the close, by unanimous audience decision, to have administered a considerable drubbing to his opponent. Interestingly enough, this early boxing match was preluded by some singing and clog dancing performed by members of the current theatre company. This fact suggests that possibly the first boxing

exhibitions were part of a variety or music-hall program. The taking of a local strong-arm would be a popular stunt for a traveling professional.³⁶

A sparring school, headed by M. C. (Red-Handed Mike) O'Connor, in 1879, advertised instructions in "the manly art of self-defense," also foundation exercises with dumbbells, Indian clubs, and other apparatus.³⁷

As time went on, boxing took on more of the hue of later prize-fighting, and the matches were frequently mere knock-down and drag-out scuffles between pugs and bullies. Little fistic science was employed, and sometimes the ring became dangerously slippery with the blood of the contestants. In 1889, a strenuous fight, of no less than 75 rounds, took place at the dignified rooms of the Los Angeles Athletic Club between George Clark of Santa Barbara and Kid Burns of Denver, for a purse of \$150, offered by the club. The battle ended in a draw. About 250 persons were present, at \$3 each. Burns weighed in at 118½ and Clark at 132, and both were described as stripped to the waist and wearing tights.³⁸

Most of the better people of the city as a matter of principle disapproved strongly of boxing and prize-fighting. Some fights, forbidden by the City Council, had to be held just outside its jurisdiction, in Agricultural Park. Such a contest was held on a Sunday evening in June, 1887, between Tom Cleary, a San Francisco middleweight, and Billy Manning, a Los Angeles lightweight. Four hundred fifty persons attended. Says the *Express* sourly:

The crowd was a motely one — some few men of business, half a dozen professional gentlemen, mostly medicos, whose thirst for this kind of sport is a peculiarity of theirs, the rest made up of sporting men, saloonkeepers, gamblers, and others.

Thereupon, however, followed a blow-by-blow account, the story adding up to more than a full close-packed column. The fight ended in a draw.

As an indication of the popularity of the prize ring, in 1891, five hundred persons were at Rodman's pool rooms to hear a direct telegraphic report of the Kilrain-Godfrey fight at San Francisco. Betting was lively, and much money exchanged hands.³⁹

To whet the appetites of fight fans, unusual contests were sometimes staged. Tom Costello, an old-timer in the western circus world, recalled in 1945 that one of the attractions in downtown Los Angeles in the spring of 1887 was prize-fight of middleweights — one a woman, her opponent a man. "And the woman knocked her adver-

sary out," Costello smiled wryly, "and when she knelt down to caress the injured man, another male, who turned out to be her husband, struggled out of the jam-packed audience to demand hoarsely what she meant by doing that!" Whereupon the prize-fight winner chased her mate out of the ring, threatening to give him the same medicine.⁴⁰ Are we wrong then in assuming that these were the days when men were really men and women — women?

During the middle 1880's a club was organized in Los Angeles specifically for the promotion of boxing and the prize ring — the Southern California Athletic Club. For a time, the group flourished. Officers were elected and a room secured and fitted up in excellent style. Local boxing practitioners signed up as members, and paid the \$15.00 initiation fee without a murmur. The sport-conscious public believed that now they would be treated to some first-class exhibitions.

But scarcely so. The *Express* tells the sad story.

The club sent to New York City, and soon there arrived in Los Angeles a consignment of tough-looking pugilists. For a time these gentlemen strutted about the city. They could usually be found at saloons, stowing away goodly cargoes. There were frequent drunken sprees and sundry barroom fights.

For some reason, the club at the start had great difficulty in making matches. They offered purses of \$2,000-\$3,000 for this man to fight that man, but no one knew where the purse was coming from. But finally a match was arranged, and the favorite was beaten and nearly suffered a broken nose. The next chapter was the indictment of two of the prize-fighters for debauching a young girl. But they both got out of the scrape. Then came another fight in which an old, played-out hack from New York attempted to thrash a native Californian. The imported talent was knocked silly, while his light California opponent was still as fresh as a daisy. Then came one more fight, in which a San Francisco importation was so pounded up, in two rounds, that his mother would not have known him.

And next? Well, next the Southern California Athletic Club was attached. Some tradesmen, to whom bills were owing, attached the furniture and fixtures of the club. Yesterday Constable H. C. Clements sold them for \$268 to Mrs. Merced Abbott, the lady from whom the hall was leased and to whom the club still owes \$75. Further debts of the club amount to \$500. Suit will be commenced against individual members.⁴¹

This commercialized and merely profit-seeking organization with its stable of broken-down hacks accordingly went to the wall, and apparently no genuine fight fan mourned its passing.

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Another spectator sport, this one often held out-of-doors, strenuous to the participants, but suitable for all classes of spectators, was the so-called "walkathon" or endurance walking contest. This reached its popularity peak in the late 1870's and early 1880's. Professionals and amateurs both participated in the events, prizes being awarded for the highest placing contestants. Some of these walkathons continued for as long five or six days.

The rules were simple, and the art could be practiced by anyone in a fair state of health. Indeed pedestrian walking was then, as now, recommended by medical practitioners as the best-round body-building exercise, easily adjustable to a variety of capacities and needs, and requiring no special grounds or equipment. There was close linkage between the physical culture-health movement of those decades and interest in pedestrianism, and a few of the better professionals had even gotten their start in a personal semi-invalid status.

Public exhibitions involving walks of as far as twenty and thirty miles were common. In an event held at Agricultural Park on a Sunday in May, 1879, the prizes were \$70, \$20, and \$10, with smaller consolations. The contest was limited to such persons as could prove they had resided in Los Angeles for three months, and all prize winners were required to have covered at least 22 miles. Those who had gone the farthest in a specific time, as for example four hours, were acclaimed winners.⁴²

Early Los Angeles footraces were often participated in by Indians and Spanish-Californians. In 1871, a novel race came off in the hills west of Fort Street, between an Indian and a white man. The Indian was so much superior to his rival that he was handicapped by being obliged to run with a gunny sack tied loosely about his left foot, the neck of the sack about the ankle, the remainder flowing loosely behind him, greatly impairing his speed. The race was for \$20 a side; distance 200 yards, and was run down the slope of a long hill, across a gulch, and up a steep bank. At the outset the white man took the lead, but soon the Indian narrowed the distance between them, crept up, passed, and kept forging ahead until near the gulch, when he tripped and fell, by this, losing the race by about a yard. The winner's time was clocked as 2:17¼. What the Indian's time for the 200 yards would have been unimpeded, has unfortunately not been recorded.⁴³

Another unusual race was run in January, 1874, between José Martínez and another Spanish-Californian for a purse of \$200. The course was from the Mission of San Gabriel to the Five-Mile House

and back, a distance of twelve miles. The feature of the contest was that, in the Spanish style, one of the men was obliged to kick a small wooden ball and the other to throw a similar one ahead of him all along the course while running. A large number of people witnessed the event.⁴⁴

Harking still farther back in time, Judge Venable, of Downey, in 1877, recalled how nearly twenty years earlier, as a Forty-Niner, he and several companions had left a north-bound but desultory and short-rationed sailing vessel at Agua Dulce in Lower California and had tramped afoot the whole 1,200 miles to Gold Rush San Francisco. They stopped for a day or two at San Diego, and in Los Angeles County enjoyed the hospitality of Abel Stearns. At Santa Barbara they found in harbor the ship they had left at Agua Dulce. The American gold seekers on board were so much impressed by the narrative of Venable's adventures that forty more of them left ship likewise, to walk to San Francisco. The most curious and amusing part of the story is that the pedestrian group, going by way of San Luis Obispo, Monterey, and San José, actually beat their ship into the Golden Gate. Besides, they lived in great style on the way, feted by the rancheros, and filling out the nutritional gaps between ranchos by hunting and fishing. The party averaged fifteen miles a day, the entire trek taking about eighty days. It was of course only natural for the Judge to cap his story by declaring that the most attractive region passed through by this early pedestrian group was Los Angeles County, and that it was a recollection of its beauties that eventually brought him back here to settle.⁴⁵

A pleasant amateur match, in 1877, was that of the Los Angeles printers, who on a pleasant Sunday in March walked to the Santa Monica Half-Way House and back, a distance of eighteen miles, for a purse of \$10. The winner was G. F. Conant, a *Herald* mailing clerk, his closest competitor being Charles Stamps, *Herald* compositor. Conant made his 18 miles in three hours and forty-one minutes, Stamps coming along in three hours and forty-six minutes. Ten men entered the race, six started, but only four reached the Half-Way House.⁴⁶

The high point of interest in walkathon contests was undoubtedly reached, in Los Angeles, during the month of August, 1880, when D. E. Rose of New York City presented two matches, one of six days and the other of five, the first from August 8 to 14, and the second from August 23 to 27. The Los Angeles matches were to be followed by two similar ones in Sacramento and two in San Francisco, one in each city being for men and one for women. After

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these, Rose was to manage walking contests in Salt Lake City, Virginia City, Denver, and Leadville, following which the concluding event was to take place in San Francisco in November, where \$6,000 in prizes were to be offered, together with a championship belt. The winner of each of the preceding races was to be entered free in the final San Francisco contest, where the fee for the others was \$100.

The first, the six-day, race run in Los Angeles was advertised as:

The Struggle of the Age — Great Six Day Race — Horticultural Pavilion, for the Championship of the Coast, and \$550 in cash prizes. Also a solid gold hunting-case watch, value \$200. Races open to all. Entrance fee \$25.

There were six entries — five men and one woman, all professionals except one man, Professor Saverie, a local character, who besides being an excellent walker, with his clowning, served as comedy relief.

Thumb-nail biographies of the entrants are dazzling: (1) W. S. Scott, a San Franciscan, was 35 years old, two years a professional, had recently won the coast championship with its diamond belt for the best record ever made in the Far West — 505 miles in a six-day race. (2) I. Callahan of Chicago, age 30, a professional for five years, his record walk 455 miles in six days, and the championship heel-and-toe walker on the coast. (3) Frank L. Edwards, New York, age 25, a pioneer pedestrian and longer on the track than any other man, record 478 miles, and 102 miles in 24 hours. (4) G. Guerrero of San José, aged 23, a native Californian, who held the second best record on the coast, 502 miles in six days; he was the fastest long-distance runner in the U.S., frequently making 50 miles in seven hours; and the best six-day go-as-you-please man in the world. (5) Amy Howard, of New York, the only woman entrant, was 18, the permanent holder of a championship Ladies' Walking Belt, a record of first in every woman's race she ever entered, record 409 miles, and an extraordinary 110 miles in 24 hours. (6) Professor Saverie was currently described as "our illustrious fellow citizen, poet, philosopher, musician, artist, pedestrian, and moralist, with strenuous views on saints, sinners, marriage, finance, and the Beecher family."

The winner was Edwards, with 467 miles; then came Scott with 453, followed by Guerrero 436, Callahan 423, Miss Howard 370, and finally Professor Saverie with 289. Saverie, though a "screw-ball," showed up well as an amateur against the strong professional field, and was given \$10 prize money and a gold medal.⁴⁷

The fleet-footed Amy Howard, in a separate challenge race, for three miles, against Tom Spencer, won at the finish by three laps — time 21 minutes 20¾ seconds.⁴⁸

The second, or five-day race, was for advanced amateurs and semi-professionals only, and ran simultaneously with a ten-hour race, two hours each night, for the firemen's pedestrian championship of Los Angeles County. Entrance in this five-day race was free, and by tape-breaking time twenty-four entrants had registered. The first prize was \$75 in gold plus a gold and silver medal; second prize, \$35 and a silver medal; third prize \$10 and, almost unbelievably, a new six-volume set of Bancroft's *History of the United States*; fourth prize \$10, and smaller consolation gifts. Eighteen walkers started, only five being in at the finish. The winner, a track-walker on the S. P. Railroad, covered 315 miles, second 307, third 283, fourth 270, fifth 238.

In conclusion, "scrub" races were run, with prizes, to include all non-descript walkers, boys, girls, and competitive-minded persons whatsoever. A women's race drew six contestants.⁴⁹

These pedestrian races, remarked the *Commercial* during the latter of the two main contests, have corrected many prevalent misconceptions among the better class of people in Los Angeles.

At the first thought of a pedestrian race, many of our citizens formed an idea that it was coarse and brutal, and allied to the prize ring. They have now discovered that it is nothing of the kind; that on the contrary it is an amusing and instructive entertainment, where they can learn to accomplish the greatest amount of work with the least amount of physical injury. Too little attention has been paid to physical education and training in our American system of education. To remedy this defect, our German fellow citizens have imported the gymnasium and the exercise of the Turnverein, which have been for them most valuable. The great race now in progress will be a physical educator of the rising generation, to aid in the improvement and development of the race. To this there can be no objection. Everything is conducted with care and with a view of improving the human frame and the health and stamina of our race.

Thus progressed, circumspectly and with care, the education of conventional Mr. and Mrs. Los Angeles; and perhaps with the present-day substitution of the automobile for muscular leg activity among our millions, we may again be in need of somewhat similar instruction.

The stimulus of the races did indeed spread as widely as ripples in a stone-disturbed pool. In September of 1880, a spirited foot race

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took place on the Agricultural Park track between two well-known dry goods merchants, after continuous and serious-minded training.⁵⁰ Even as late as the next spring of 1881, in the Plaza Park there gathered every day around its central fountain, bands of young pedestrians for hours of strenuous heel-and-toe exercise on its encircling gravel walks, in obvious training, the *Herald* surmised, "for future walking contests, with tobacco smoking, crowds, and gate money in the perspective."⁵¹

The walkathon as a fad and mild craze soon faded out, but the pedestrian-test idea lingered tenaciously. In September, 1888, Daniel A. Newman, a cowboy, no less, of Fort Bowie, Arizona, hot-footed it through Pomona and Los Angeles on his 1,140 mile walk to San Francisco. Some Army officers at Bowie had wagered he could not make the distance on foot in twenty-four days as he had claimed. To win the bet he would have to cover an average of forty-seven and one-half miles per day. Newman set out, after two weeks preliminary hardening, and covered the 573 miles from his starting point to Los Angeles in seven days and twelve hours, with seventeen days and 567 miles still to go, having made not merely forty-seven but actually more than seventy miles per day to here.

Bouyantly, Newman confided to a local reporter:

If I succeed in making San Francisco in 24 days, I shall be sure that I can down any of the big walkers in the world. I shall try to walk on a wager to New York, and you can bet your bottom dollar that then you will hear of Dan Newman making some big stakes down there in walking. I know what I am talking about. This is the first chance I have ever had to show what I can do, and I shall show it.

His projected route to San Francisco passed through Ventura and San Luis Obispo. He was trailed in his walk by a carriage containing an army lieutenant and a cowboy friend, whose duty was to carry food and water for the pedestrian and to see that he "walked every foot of the way."

By 1890, competitive pedestrianism had eased off into a more informal, though not necessarily less strenuous mountain climbing and trail hiking. For Los Angeles enthusiasts, the trails leading to the summit of Mt. Wilson, back of Pasadena, were a consistent week-end and vacation mecca. Even boys and elderly men could frequently be observed toiling up the sometimes steep inclines. In 1889 three lads from Sierra Madre, aged about 14, Jamie Hawks and Herman and Roy Sullinger, set a kind of record for their age group by climbing to the top of the peak, resting there for an hour, then returning to their starting point all in just seven hours. The round

trip was fully ten miles, with a climb in elevation of nearly 6,000 feet. Two elderly men, Thomas Poland and C. H. Gasner, aged 65 and 73 respectively, proved the next year, 1890, to be not much behind this mark. They ascended to the top in four hours, and descended in three, having enjoyed an additional hour and a half's rest at the top.⁵⁴

As early as the 1870's Mt. Wilson had been attracting many volatile souls, among them the famous naturalist, John Muir. Pasadena was a convenient half-way house to Mount Wilson, and it was from that Muir started on his famous straight-up climb of the mountain. He had been a Wisconsin University classmate of Dr. O. H. Conger of Pasadena, and was visiting the Conger home on this occasion. Up to that time no one had ever climbed from Pasadena directly to the top of the mountain. Mrs. Conger baked three loaves of bread for him, and added to his knapsack a half pound of tea. Muir was fond of tea, and on his hikes usually steeped it by putting a little into a bottle of cold water and laying the bottle on a rock in the hot sunshine. He carried no firearms, as he had conscientious scruples against taking animal life, and was a vegetarian. With provisions and blanket on his shoulder, he started out and was gone for three days. When he got back he was extremely and obviously hungry. Mrs. Conger later recalled:

He said that in all his mountaineering, he had never found any trip so laborious as that, on account of the very thick growth of underbrush; but that he had never found a view so fine as the one from the top of these mountains. He brought me some tiger-lily bulbs from the mountains, which I planted in my yard, where they have blossomed ever since for nineteen years, and I have always called them my "John Muir" lilies.

One day was spent in getting from Pasadena to the mouth of Eaton Canyon, where he camped overnight with a Mexican wood-chopper. The next morning he walked up to the falls — then hard climbing commenced.⁵⁵

Two other sports, roller skating and bicycling, were introduced into Los Angeles in the 1870's and early 1880's, and soon achieved a tremendous popularity that even surpassed that of pedestrianism. The vogue for roller skating was the first of the two, in point of time, to command the public's enthusiasm. Early in 1871, skating suddenly became all the rage, and great crowds swarmed into Teutonia Hall. The newly invented Plimpton roller skate was the favorite, as in other rinks up and down the Coast. So consistently large was the attendance that the rink promoters hired another hall near the Teutonia, and made 100 additional pairs of skates available

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for rental. Skating hours were from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon, and 3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., and 1:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. Admission was 25 cents, skate rental an additional 25 cents.⁵⁶

Roller skating was no mere passing fancy, for twelve years later, in 1883, the sport still boomed on, its attraction for the average Angelino apparently undiminished. A new skating school and rink were established in that year at 144 Spring Street. This, we are told in the advertisement,

... will be operated every morning, afternoon, and night. Forenoons will be exclusively for ladies. The management will be under the control of the Los Angeles Roller Skating Association, the members of which include leading citizens of the city. Here patrons will be assured of a desirable place of resort, where all respectable classes may spend their leisure hours, and derive physical benefit, mental relaxation, and rational enjoyment.⁵⁷

Boyle Workman in his *THE CITY THAT GREW* describes his exploits as a skater during this period:

When I was a young married man, the Panorama building was converted into a skating rink. Monday nights most of the young married set went forth to skate, after having assiduously taken private lessons all week. But one of my skates slipped off one Monday evening as I was attempting to demonstrate what a really good skater could do. In a moment I was on the floor and had pulled my wife down with me. Charles Dwight Willard and Mrs. Willard vainly sought to put on the brakes, but collided with us, and fell also. In a few moments that skating rink resembled a football field.⁵⁸

In this lust for skating, even the rights of pedestrians on downtown streets had become involved, and it was complained in November, 1883, that swarms of Los Angeles boys were becoming a menace on the streets and sidewalks, especially at night. Bicyclists, so went the complaint, had lamps and a bell, but the flocks of skaters swept on, unheralded and relentless.⁵⁹

After the roller skating of the 1870's and early 1880's, there developed the bicycle, which played a tremendous part in making America mechanico-transportation conscious, as well as influencing actively the movement for improved roads. In the late 1890's, just before the idea of the power-buggy automobile began to capture the imagination of the country, more persons in Southern California rode bicycles than horse-drawn vehicles. Seen in Los Angeles as early as 1869, and making the earliest local indication of the great age of mechanical road transportation soon to descend upon the world, was the two-wheeled velocipede, on which the seat was placed over the tall front wheel, with a low rear wheel to balance, or unbalance, the contraption. In that year these precarious machines

appeared in numbers on Los Angeles streets, boys being especially eager to try the wobbly metal steed, though here and there even an otherwise staid old citizen mounted, only, most often, to be dumped unceremoniously onto the gravel, to the immense amusement of onlookers. Remarked the *News*:

But our people have pluck, and however much their failure be the subject of jest and laughter, they will "ride the animal," and we may as well consider velocipedes one of the institutions of the place, at least until the fever has had its run.⁶⁰

During the 1870's, however, our sources tell us nothing of further development of the velocipede-bicycle in Los Angeles, and few if any wheels were likely seen on our roads. It was only in 1882 that, so goes the story, the flip of a coin brought the first improved model wheels, now called bicycles, to the city.⁶¹ A group of young sportsmen, who had formed the Century Club for cross-country horse riding, got into a controversy about the new wheels and whether they had not in their club better discard the horse for the bicycle. Voices and tempers rose, and finally it was decided to abide by the toss of a coin — heads for horses, tails for wheels. Tails won, and soon bicycles imported from England aroused much wonderment on Los Angeles streets. The club's name was changed accordingly to "Los Angeles Wheelmen," J. B. Lankershim being elected first president, with its first headquarters in the Downey Block.

Within a year, bicycling had become a popular local sport, and a season of races was sponsored by the Los Angeles Athletic Club. These were held on a course located between Los Angeles and Santa Monica. Much interest was generated, and bicycle races came to be held frequently, the Los Angeles Wheelmen now being responsible for the events. One of these races was conducted every Decoration Day, first at a quarter-mile track at Seventh and Alameda, and later at Agricultural Park. Another was for a time held at Sixth and Flower, and was preceded by a Wheelmen's parade from its new headquarters on San Pedro street. The most important race in the early years was the "Century," 104-mile run from 20th and Downey Streets to Corona and return.⁶²

Bicycling now became the dominant Los Angeles craze, dimming the star of roller skating and much else. Conditions were favorable here for the development of the new sport — streets were generally level and well-graded, the climate was mild. And it can be easily understood how after horses, more horses, and only horses, the mechanical novelty seized the fancy of all youthful and of some elder spirits. Here was, they conceived, a mode of transportation

speedy and clean, no runaways, no animal temperament to contend with, and no stable to tend.

It was soon discovered, however, that temperament and mishaps at least were not confined to horses. This was especially true before the invention of the later "safety" two-wheeler, with wheels of equal height, which came into use about 1890. Before this, the bicycle with a tall wheel, generally in front but sometimes behind, was to say the least, unpredictable. Women as a group did not take up the sport until the coming of the "safeties," but then were seen on wheels as often or oftener than men. Small semi-social wheel clubs of men and women were formed, and breakfasts and suppers preceded or followed by long rides about the city streets or into the country. In the early years, numerous middle-aged and portly gentlemen, dreading capsize, were seen on the more stable though less speedy tricycle.

In these early days of the bicycle, non-competitive recreational tours were frequent. A favorite run was to Monrovia, with Sunday dinner at the Grand View Hotel, where Keiffer, the proprietor, furnished the wheelmen with magnificent food. Santa Monica was also the goal of an occasional run, and as the years went by, the bay city gradually became the favorite, and by 1893 few wheelmen visited Monrovia.

As to roads, of course ordinary highways were often rutted, full of mudholes, of exceedingly dusty. There were, romantically enough, still numerous trails existing in usable form, packed hard by years of travel. These, originally deer, or more often, Indian trails, even in 1898, were splendid bicycle paths, except of course where they had been torn up or absorbed into fields. In old Spanish days, similar paths had been trodden down between the various ranchos by saddle horses and ox-teams. These, too, were still in part available even at the turn of the century. In addition, there were hundreds of miles of burro paths and old ore-wagon roads. It was estimated that a grand total of 2,000 miles of such trails were available for bicycles.⁶³

Racing, however was the most striking development in the cycling field. In numbers, bicyclists in Los Angeles were in the mid-1880's very few, perhaps not more than thirty or forty. What the wheelmen lacked in numbers they made up in verve and activity. In 1885 the Los Angeles Wheelmen became a national league club, the first west of Peoria, Illinois.

Probably the first modern bicyclist in Los Angeles was G. A. von Brandis, who about 1880 brought a Victor to town, and for a

few years after 1882 owned the exclusive local bicycle agency. Bob Woodworth, the first real racer who developed here, brought out Brand's agency after a time, and sold the popular Victor for many years. Other outstanding bicycle men were C. M. Lindley, secretary of the Wheelmen in 1885; W. S. Wing, perhaps the best racer ever developed in the city, whose early illness and death cut short his career; and P. L. Able, D. L. Burke, A. E. Little, Will and John Tufts, L. D. Sale, A. W. Allen, H. C. F. Smith, Frank E. Olds, J. Phil Percival, W. K. Cowan, E. W. Stewart, and D. L. Shrode. Of these the speediest were Wing, Burke (who in 1890 won the State championship), Percival, Allen, Abel, Will and John Tufts, and Shrode.⁶⁴

On May 30, 1888, W. S. Wing made a mile in 2:57. The next year he clipped off ten seconds, making it 2:47, which was very fast for the old cycle models. Bob Woodworth rode a quarter from a standing start in thirty-six seconds. In 1887 Woodworth won the two-mile state championship race, in seven minutes, four seconds, and the five-mile open race in seventeen minutes, fifty-one seconds. John Tufts rode a mile in 3:04 on an old heavy safety. J. Phil Percival took the three-mile championship in 9:48, and D. L. Burke won his first race in 2:52.⁶⁵

Officers of the Los Angeles Wheelmen in 1887 were: W. S. Jackson, president; J. F. Plank, vice-president; A. E. Little, secretary-treasurer; R. C. Woodworth, captain; D. C. Wilgus, lieutenant; and F. E. Olds, bugler. There was a total membership of twenty-four. In February the club's second annual tournament was held in Agricultural Park, with a parade about town on the preceding evening.⁶⁶

In October, 1887, the Wheelmen held an elaborate exhibition at Hazard's Pavilion, concluded by a ball. Four hundred persons were present. The Meine orchestra occupied the stage. The program opened with a Grand Entree and march of the wheelmen. Then came a wheeled polo game, Wing and Downing; Percival and Little. Next was a display of fancy riding by F. E. Olds and W. C. Jordan, by changing wheels while in motion, climbing on each other's shoulders, and other stunts. There was a wheelbarrow race — W. W. Downing, D. L. Buck, and M. A. Buck appearing on roller skates pushing each a wheelbarrow, with Downing the winner. There was an obstacle race, more trick riding, a bicycle drill, a mile and half-mile races, a half-mile race between a man on roller skates and one on a bicycle (cyclist beat skater by ten yards). Seventy-five couples participated in the concluding dance.⁶⁷

By 1890, a bicycle club was also active in nearby Pasadena. The *Pasadena Star* tell the story of a February Sunday's trip to Duarte and return.

At ten o'clock the Club, under the command of Captain Lancaster, left for an all-day run. The day was simply perfect and everybody tiptop. By the time we reached Monrovia everyone was dry after that tumble into the creek, and ready for another bath. They astonished the natives of that once booming city by gliding through at a fifteen-mile gait and left them gazing at the fast-retreating spectres. Arriving at the Highland Hotel, Duarte, at 11:20, everyone was ready to eat — and did eat, enormously. Leaving Duarte at 2:25, we rode home via the southern part of Monrovia, Baldwin's, Rose's, San Gabriel, and Alhambra, where a halt was made to allow stragglers to catch up.⁶⁸

With the popularization of the new "safety" modern type bicycle, the number of machines increased rapidly. The approximately fifty bikes in town in 1890 increased by the following year, 1891, to 500, nine-tenths of these being safeties. The cycling fever had become rampant. At the noon hour of any business day one could see everywhere bicycles leaning against walls and in nooks and corners. Many of the younger business and professional men were now riding to and from work, including teachers, ministers, reporters, letter carriers, artists. Best liked makes were the Victor, Columbia, and Hartford. The rubber-cushioned tread or even the new hollow-tubed inflated tire had mostly by this time been substituted for the old bone-rattling solid metal tread. Especially neat were the imported English models such as the one sported by P. L. Abel, costing \$175. Standard Safeties cost \$140, with cheaper models at from \$85 to \$100.⁶⁹

Los Angeles had in 1891 numerous accomplished riders. Among the best was Ledru B. Kinney, aged 14. Rather small in stature, he was an all-round young athlete — a graceful dancer, skilful roller skater, accomplished swimmer. As to bicycling, he had won two gold medals, one for trick riding, the other for the slow race. On an old style high front wheel bike he could ride around the track on the front wheel only, holding the rear one clear of the ground. He was able to stand up on the saddle guiding his wheel with one foot on the handle-bars, riding thus safely and easily. One of his favorite stunts was to throw down his cap while riding, dismount, let his wheel run on without him, pick up his cap, overtake his wheel, and re-mount without stopping.

Frank Olds, riding a Columbia, was likewise adept — he mounted a wheel from any point of the compass, riding side-saddle, backwards, or standing up, at his pleasure. Emmett Peak, Old's pupil,

was famous for making the shortest turns on record. Together with Robbie Burns he performed a very difficult feat, that of exchanging bicycles while riding. The two rode side-by-side, and stopped close together. Each took the other's wheel without touching the ground, the two bicycles remaining upright meanwhile, then both started off without having dismounted.⁷⁰

Leading Los Angeles cycle riders by 1893 were W. A. and D. L. Burke, T. I. Hall, H. McCrea, J. W. Cowan, and W. M. Jenkins. Hall, who was 22, had entered racing only the year before, but had already won the state one and two-mile handicap runs, the mile in 2:29, the two-mile in 5:09. McCrea, twenty, won first and second in the Santa Monica road race.

By request of Southern California members, the League of American Wheelmen in 1893 agreed, for better organization of League activities, to divide the State into two parts, Northern and Southern. The newly formed Southern California division elected the following officers: Chief Consul, J. S. Thayer; Vice-Head Consul, E. A. Hornbeck (National City); Secretary-Treasurer, Ben C. Jordan; Representatives-at-Large, H. C. F. Smith and A. S. Kenagy (Ventura); Local Consuls: A. E. Higgins (San Diego), A. R. Jenkins (Escondido), J. Patterson (Perris), C. S. Huff (Santa Ana), D. W. Alverson (San Bernardino), C. W. Dodsworth (Azusa), G. M. Kirchner (Pasadena), Fred Stamm (Ontario), and Fay Stephenson (Los Angeles). The Wheelmen also set up a number of committees including one on touring and another on improvement of highways. By this time there were nearly 2,000 bicyclists in Southern California.⁷¹

A premonitory traffic problem note was sounded when in the same year, 1893, the Mayor was waited upon by a committee of wheelmen protesting against an ordinance passed prohibiting bicycle riding on sidewalks, and requiring the night use of head and dash lights. "Why should cyclists be discriminated against in the matter of lights?" they asked heatedly. If wheels, then buggies and other vehicles also ought to be lighted. On the other hand, it was pointed out by the Mayor that there were more than 1,000 bicycles now in use in Los Angeles, nearly as many as all other vehicles combined. The wheelmen lost their appeal.

By 1895 Santa Monica was well-established as a cycle racing center, the Southern Pacific Railway, in this year, building a fast track there at a cost to itself of \$10,000. In its opening meet all the best riders in Southern California participated, with a very fair

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number of northern aces as well. An innovation was a tandem race.⁷³

At this time Riverside was the great Southern California competitor of Los Angeles in cycle racing. It was the first in the Southland to build a bicycle track, and its quarter-mile oval was for years the only track in this part of the State, and always the best known and most used. Early Riverside cycle racers were Louis W. Fox and Herbert E. McCrae, in 1896 considered (now in Los Angeles) as the best in the Southwest. Other famous Riversiders were the Cowan brothers, Shoemaker, Robey, Garrison and Cox. In 1896 the Riverside men held the championship in the annual relay and in the annual team race for the famous East Side trophy. Next to the Riverside bicyclists, ranked the East Side Cycling Club of Los Angeles, the Crown City Cycling Club of Pasadena, and the newly formed Los Angeles Road Club together with the Roamers Road Club of Los Angeles. Dominant in talent of course were the Los Angeles members of the League of American Wheelmen.

Of the new Los Angeles amateurs stars, W. E. Delay, of the Roamers, was perhaps the most brilliant. The first time he rode in a race he broke a world's record. When on June 25, 1895, he came out on the track with an old bike, and clad in an ill-fitting racing suit, he was an unknown figure, and many of the spectators pointed him out as a comic figure. But when he finished the mile in 2:11, several seconds faster than the previous world record, he at once became famous.

Professionalism in cycling was now coming to the fore. Best of these were from Los Angeles: McCrae, Hatton, Ulbritch, W. A. Burke, and W. A. Taylor, with Burke and Taylor considered potentially the equal of any riders in America. Other Los Angeles professionals were Fred Holbrook, Charles W. Miller, Godfrey Schmidt, J. L. Standefer, Arthur Griffin, and Joe Long. Among other Southern California professionals were Pasadena's Burt Edwards and Canby Hewitt, San Diego's Vaughn, and Robbins of Santa Paula, of whom Hewitt of Pasadena was outstanding.

In 1896 Southern California professionals formed a separate organization, the "Wheelmen's Racing League," and held their first meet at Santa Monica August 16, 1896. The mile was run in 2:08½ and the tandem mile in 2:11. This and later meets were held on Sunday, and run on strictly business principles. As a result, the amateur leagues, who forbade Sunday meets, boycotted the professional runs, with considerable hard feeling evident, and reduced attendance for professionals.

Another line of activity that was by many considered harmful to the amateur status of the sport was the common practice by cycle manufacturers of furnishing promising and well-known amateurs with wheels and other equipment in return for the resultant advertising publicity.

Los Angeles amateurs of note at this time were Cromwell, Delay, Arthur Bell, Charles Stimson and Morris Cooks. Pasadena meantime boasted Coty, Wilson, and Hill; while in Riverside was Carson Shoemaker; in Santa Ana, Glen; and in San Diego, Fraser. Santa Monica's best amateurs were Johnson, Rose, Loomis and Jones.⁷⁴

Approaching the turn of the century, with excellent roads, bicycles were becoming more numerous than carriages. And we hear a great deal about long-distance touring. At Cahuenga Pass, it is said, scarcely a day passed without one or more wheelmen or wheelwomen passing through bound either to or coming from San José, San Francisco, or other distant points. All summer long these wheel tourists could be seen on almost every road, with strapped-on luggage, including a small tent, sleeping bag, cooking utensils, long-barreled revolver for game, and fishing equipment.

Great parties of wheelmen also set out on less ambitious trips, as for example the annual run of a hundred miles or so round trip, accomplished often in nine hours. These usually took place in February, when roads were considered at their best. Sometimes later in the season there were union runs to a nearby town or to the foothills, with the cyclists strung out for a mile or more. Then came picnic runs, with lunch in the Arroyo Seco, Glendale, or Monrovia, and of course the long anticipated "watermelon" run. It was the custom for one Los Angeles Club to head for easy-going El Monte during the watermelon season, where, by previous arrangement, they would find under the 49-arch bridge over the San Gabriel river, a great pile of luscious melons, a barrel of water, and other refreshments. And after the watermelon feast, a fine dinner was enjoyed, by those who were qualified and still able, at the Dodson Tavern in the same town. For small parties, there was a very pleasant trip to Baldwin's Ranch at Santa Anita, where there were fine saddle horses available as well as refreshing fruit and wine. For a very short but enjoyable run there was always the San Gabriel Mission (and winery).⁷⁵

In 1899 there were 30,000 cyclists in the Los Angeles-Pasadena area. With this in view it did not seem an extravagant project at the time to plan the construction of a wooden-floored trestle from

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Los Angeles to Pasadena, the roadway to be ten feet wide and nine miles long, enclosed on both sides with wire netting, and no grade over three per cent. It was to follow approximately the course of the Arroyo Seco and the present freeway, cross the Los Angeles River below Buena Vista Street, and terminate at the Plaza. This fabulous bicycle path was to be set on strongly braced supports for its entire length, and no roads or railways tracks were to be crossed. The road was to be lighted with electricity, and in the hills of Highland Park, at about the half-way point, it was planned to establish what would be known as Merlemount Park and Casino. Tolls would be charged, 15 cents round trip, or 10 cents by a book of tickets. Total income annually was expected to top \$20,000 a year, with additional income from repair shops and wheel rentals. The originator of this idea was Horace M. Dobbins of Pasadena, who through the California Cycle Company, a \$150,000 company incorporated for the purpose, had early in 1899 secured franchises and rights-of-way from \$50,000 advanced by himself for the purpose. It seems, however, that the plan was never carried out to the point of actual construction, and to a cautious investor, rightly so, for the automobile as a medium of sport and serious transportation was soon to supplant the bicycle in the public mind and budget.⁷⁶

Long-distance bicycle touring received a publicity boom when in 1895 the Bicycle Troubadors started out, late in September, from Los Angeles bound for Atlanta, Georgia. Lillian Mason, as the most gifted of the group composed a little song for use enroute. The refrain was:

*Yes — we — are
Two little bloomer girls;
None are so happy as we —
On our wheels as we glide along,
And isn't it ecstasy!*

Not, certainly, great verse, but expressed very well the feeling of herself and three companions, all members of the theatrical profession, who were setting boldly out on what was virtually the roadless Southwest, crisscrossed only by unmarked wagon tracks of unknown difficulty. The four, two girls and two men, consisting of Miss Mason, Pauline Clair, John Campbell and J. Gilmore, chaperoned by their manager E. A. Leopold, expected to reach Atlanta some time in November. Enroute they would pay their way by performing at various places, with exhibition of their wheels and narrative of their adventures, and upon arrival at their destination were booked for two weeks at the Atlanta Fair. The two girls were clad in neat bloomer costumes, designed by Miss Mason, of blue

water-proof cloth, and tan leggings and gloves. The men likewise wore suits of this blue cloth. The bicycles were built especially for the trip by a Cleveland company, and weighed twenty-three pounds apiece. A telescopic baggage carrier was strapped on the rear. The chief ends of the trip were publicity for their acts and the enjoyment of the novel form of travel, but in addition \$7,000 of wagers had been made on the outcome of the hazardous trip. All of the group had provided themselves with the latest action revolvers.

They set out on a Saturday noon from in front of the Orpheum Theatre, where Miss Mason and her troupe had been filling an engagement. After several days a news dispatch arrived from Daggett, 124 miles from Los Angeles, saying Miss Mason and her co-adventurers had arrived there. A letter from Lillian gave enlightening details:

The trip has been awfully hard, as the roads are all cut up, and it is impossible to travel over them by wheel. We have had to use the railroad track, and riding over the ties and ballast has been very rough. The weather has been frightfully hot, but we have not suffered for lack of water. All our party have stood the trip well. We feel confident we can cross the remaining 160 miles of desert ahead, to the Needles, though everyone here tells us we are running a great risk. We have the moon in our favor, and will be able to travel at night.

Another letter from Miss Mason arrived on October 11 from Needles:

We arrived at the Needles last Saturday night, and to say it was a hard pull would be putting it mildly. It was terrible. For four nights and days we didn't see a bed, but slept out in the sand and rocks, when indeed we slept at all. We suffered awfully with the cold at night, and it was excessively hot during the day. On the last day we had a run of 31 miles to make. We made very bad time, as there was a strong head wind blowing, and the sand blew in our faces and cut like a knife. We had to walk most of the time. Though we got to the Needles only after 8:00 p.m., we gave a show the same night to a big house.

At the Needles we still had sixty miles of desert to cross before Kingman, where we arrived at 3:30 p.m. Thank goodness we are over it now, and I can safely say that there is no money that could induce me to cross that desert again, and I think I can speak for all of my company. There is no trouble to get either water or food, but oh, that awful sand! I thought it would never end. My advice to all bicycle riders who are contemplating a journey across the continent is not to cross the desert. Our wheels, by the way, have stood the test wonderfully well.

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The last letter from Lillian Mason arrived October 30. Says she:

I am very sorry to state that owing to sickness I have been compelled to give up the bicycle trip. I was caught in a hard rainstorm while running into Prescott over the open prairie, from which I contracted a severe cold on my lungs. By the advice of my physician I have given up the trip. Our manager, E. A. Leopold, however, will continue through, in company with William Goodrich and Dan Russell. As the worst of the trip is now over, I think they will reach Atlanta some time early in December. I will remain here in Williams until I am better, then may return to your city again.

No further dispatches or news from the Troubadors, however, are available, and their song seems to have thus ended before it was hardly more than begun.⁷⁷

(To be continued)

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THE GOLDEN ROCK WATER DITCH

By Helen Rocca Goss



IN THE FEVERISH EXTRAVAGANCE of the first few years after the discovery of gold in California, many of the richer mines were soon exhausted. Much untouched ground still remained, however, in areas that were capable of yielding a profit when an adequate supply of water was available. As mining methods developed from the pan, batea, and arrastre through the cradle, the rocker to the long tom and the sluice box and finally to hydraulic mining, there was an ever increasing need for larger supplies of water. In his article, "History of Mining and Milling Methods in California," C. A. Logan rightly observes that, just as "the action of water had been chiefly responsible for the formation of the rich placer deposits of gold sought by the pioneers," so was it also "the principal agent used by them in winning the gold."¹

It was this need for more and more water that produced the various systems of ditches, canals, reservoirs, and flumes — systems which by the middle sixties totaled approximately 5,000 miles of main canals and some 800 miles of subsidiary or branch ditches, built at a cost of upwards of \$15,000,000 and located in the counties all the way from Plumas in the north to Tuolumne in the south. At first in wooden flumes, later in strong iron pipes, and taking advantage of the force of gravity, water was thus transported great distances, through valleys and around such obstacles as hills and cliffs, to the places where it was needed to carry on the mining processes.²

In Tuolumne County, Columbia was probably the first camp to have water supplied to the miners by a ditch. This happened about four years after the discovery of gold in California, when water from Five Mile Creek was brought in by the Tuolumne County Water Company. Some two years later the Columbia and Stanislaus River Water Company was formed, and by 1868 the county could boast a total of at least twenty such enterprises, while many of the quartz mills were then operating with water power.³

One of those Tuolumne County water systems was the Golden Rock Ditch, with which my father, Andrew Rocca, was associated for about six of its peak years. In 1855, a group of claim-owners formed a company for the purpose of building a ditch carrying water from the South Fork of the Tuolumne River, not only to their own claims but to supply the mines over a wide area. This undertaking was the actual beginning of the Golden Rock Ditch, but the original owners "bankrupted themselves" when less than twenty miles of the ditch had been completed.⁴ Several years passed before the system could be extended, but finally in the late 1850's the Golden Rock Water Company built a dam at Hardin's Mill to supply water for the flume and ditch.⁵ The "Big Flume" itself was erected in 1859 to span the Big Gap (known today as Buck Meadows) in the canyons, or drainage areas, of the Tuolumne and Merced Rivers about thirteen or fourteen miles above and east of Big Oak Flat.⁶

Designed by G. W. Holt and built by Holt and Conrad at a cost of \$80,000 in stock, scrip, and cash, the flume was considered "the most stupendous and magnificent structure of its kind in the state."⁷ It was a suspension flume, 2,200 feet long. The wood was mainly sugar pine, while the wire cable was supported by a number of towers built at regular intervals in the gap. Designed for a gravity flow, high structures at Big Gap were a necessary part of the engineering project. There were eleven of these towers, two of which were about 265 feet high.⁸ The flume box was 250 feet high, it measured 30 inches on the outside and 26 inches on the inside. There was a 50-foot fall "with a spare fall at the head of 30 feet more, making a total fall or head of 80 feet." The bases of the high towers were 50 feet square, "the timbers and towers tapering upwards and put up in bents — the end of one post resting on another."⁹

The capacity of the flume was estimated at 3,000 inches of water, "though probably not more than half that amount ever passed through the flume, which was never more than half full."¹⁰ The ditch itself was two and one-half feet deep, and its width at the head was nine feet at the top and six feet at the bottom. There was a grade of eight feet per mile on the ditch.

Although stock in the value of \$150,000 had originally been issued, the total cost of the ditch up to mid-summer of 1868 was said to be at least "\$250,000 in stock, scrip, and cash" and it was probably around \$300,000.¹¹ At that time the main and subsidiary ditches totaled about 100 miles, and the following quotation from the Azequia letter gives a good idea of the course of those ditches:

The canal of the Golden Rock Water Company takes the water out

The Golden Rock Water Ditch

of the Middle Fork of the Tuolumne River above Big Meadows or Wade's Ranch, and by a ditch one mile and sixty-five chains throws it into the South Fork of the Tuolumne, whence it is taken out at a dam near Hardin's Mill and conveyed by a ditch 38 miles, 14 chains, through both Garrotes to Big Oak Flat, making a total distance of over 40 miles of actual ditching and fluming; thence it extends about 12 miles to Maxwell's Creek, Pino Blanco and the surrounding country, furnishing water to Coulterville and even to Horseshoe Bend on the Merced; and commanding all the diggings on the south, to wit — the North Fork of the Merced, the extensive gravel and cement range which will be an exhaustless source of wealth for many years to come; Big Humbug, Big Creek, 1st and 2nd Garrotes, Rattlesnake, Moccasin, Copp's, Spring Gulch and Jackass Creek. . . .¹²

The first water went through the Golden Rock Water Company's flume to Big Oak Flat on March 29, 1860, and from then on for more than eight years the miners all along the line of the ditch received their supplies of water from this source, interrupted at times, however, either by slides in the ditch or damage to the flume.¹³ Water was sold by the inch, and the price was \$2.00 a day for a stream of twenty inches.¹⁴ When the flume was built its designer had said it would stand for at least seven or eight years, perhaps as long as ten years, and as it turned out his prediction was fairly accurate.¹⁵ Newspaper items give evidence that the flume was deteriorating some time before its collapse. On November 2, 1867, for example, the *Union Democrat* reported:

The mammoth suspension flume . . . was considerably damaged during the rain storm on the night of the 5th of last month. The damage has been repaired and the water was turned into the ditch during the middle of last week. The miners all along the line of the ditch from 2nd. Garrote to Pino Blanco, have now an abundant supply of water, and are at work as usual. Although the timbers of which the towers are built are considerably decayed, the flume may stand a long time yet.

Then, six months later, on May 2, 1868, the *Union Democrat* wrote of trouble along the ditch itself. The Golden Rock Ditch, it said, was now "running a full head of water," after having been dry during the winter "on account of slides, etc., occasioned by the rain storms."

The enterprise was making news again in the summer of that year when, in the early morning hours of July 9, 1868, the giant flume shuddered and fell with a deafening crash.¹⁶ The Azequia letter in the *Union Democrat* of July 25, 1868, gave an interesting description of that event in the following paragraph:

. . . The high flume of the Golden Rock Water Company's ditch . . . fell with a tremendous crash, and being held taught [*sic*] on all sides

by iron guys, it crushed right down on its foundation, leaving scarcely a beam erect — a vast heap of broken and rotten timbers. It has threatened to fall for the last 12 months, and for some time past five towers have been standing on two or three legs; the rest broken off at an average height of, say, 130 feet from the ground, and for 3 months past one tower has been standing on only one corner beam, the whole structure supported entirely by wire guys. Just previous to the fall, a break occurred in the ditch above, which necessarily turned the water out of the flume. When it was again turned in, the increased weight coming upon the dry rotted timber crushed it down. The falling timbers, wire cables, and numerous iron wire guys together with the air current created by the fall, carried everything in their course, stripping the large pines adjacent and crushing to atoms the small growth. There are many who would have given a round price to have been present at the catastrophe. . . .¹⁷

That letter also gave some interesting information about the reasons for deciding at an earlier date to build a flume across the gap, rather than to pipe it. The original intention had been to use pipe, the writer said, and estimates were obtained in 1856 from "various scientific engineers — American, French, and English — but their estimates varied greatly as to size and capacity, the size varying from 28 to 36 inches." The letter explained that it had been thought necessary to erect a heavy cast iron pipe five-eighths of an inch thick at the bottom and thinner at the top, but "it is now known that the thinner pipe would do," and it cited the example of the Nonpareil Quartz Mining Company which "have as their motive power a Foucherry wheel, moved with its other machinery by sixty inches of water, conveyed by an iron pipe one-tenth of an inch thick, and seven inches in diameter with a pressure of 347 feet." The Golden Rock Water Company's ditch, Azequia thought, "must certainly be linked with a pipe over this Big Gap. . . . It has been estimated that the Big Pass can be piped for \$8,000. Certainly it will not be delayed by so slight an obstacle."¹⁸

A news item in the *Union Democrat* of July 18, 1868, about the collapse of the flume commented that "it is a sad loss to the Garrotes, Oak Flat, Deer Flat, Moccasin Creek, and Pino Blanco, all of which places depended on the Golden Rock Ditch for a supply of water. We think the company will put pipe across the gap, as the diggings in that section . . . are by no means exhausted; but even if they do the entire country along the line of the ditch will be dry this summer."

Announcement of Andrew Rocca's connection with the ditch appeared for the first time in the *Union Democrat* of March 6, 1869, in the following item:

The Golden Rock Water Ditch

We have been informed that Andrew Rocco [*sic*] has bought the interest of Irwin Davis, in the Golden Rock Water Ditch. This will be good news for the people of Big Oak Flat and vicinity. Mr. Rocco intends repairing the ditch, and putting it in good condition to furnish that section with water, [as] soon as he can make arrangements with other parties owning in the ditch. He has a controlling interest, which with his knowledge of ditching and mining, will guarantee water again, to those who have suffered for the want of it since the fall of the high flume. This property could not have passed into better hands for the interests of the people on the other side of the river, as Mr. Rocco has the requisite means, experience, and desire, to benefit that portion of the county with which he has been identified so long.

About two months later, the newspaper announced that Rocca had bought the interests of John H. Watts and Otis Perrin in the Golden Rock Ditch, that he would “lose no time” in bringing water into the Garrotes and Big Oak Flat, and that he was then in San Francisco buying the pipe through which water was to be forced across the gap formerly spanned by the Big Flume.¹⁹ “When this important enterprise is completed,” the article continued, “lively times may again be expected on the Oak Flat Hill.”

About June 1, 1869, Andrew Rocca returned to Tuolumne County to begin one of the busiest summers he had ever experienced. In its June 5 issue the *Union Democrat* said that Rocca had returned “from below,” bringing the iron to be used in the pipe to take the place of the flume, and then continued:

The pipe is to be twenty-five hundred feet in length, the iron of which it is to be constructed weighs over twenty-eight tons, is now on the ground being put together, and in less than six weeks the people of that section of our county will again enjoy the benefit of having water which has been denied them since the falling of the flume.

Since there was no rail transportation in many miles and everything had to be hauled in by horse teams, it was a large undertaking simply to transport the twenty-eight tons of sheet iron and the other necessary supplies from San Francisco to the gap in Tuolumne County.²⁰ Making the pipe on the ground was also an enterprise of large proportions. One of the most interesting features of that enterprise was its development on a co-operative basis. Although Rocca bought out some of the owners, others agreed to transfer their titles of ownership to him in return for his supplying the pipe for the flume, for putting the ditch in good repair and promising to keep it so, and for providing meat and groceries for the 2,000 or so miners along the ditch. The miners contributed their

labor without pay in order to secure as quickly as possible the necessary water to work their claims.²¹

The success of this venture in co-operation seems to have been phenomenal. In less than two months after the iron reached its destination in Tuolumne County, the pipe had been completed and water was running through it. As soon as the new "inverted siphon," as it was called, had been installed, the *Union Democrat* published a fairly lengthy article on the whole enterprise — an article based on an interview the editor of the newspaper had had with Andrew Rocca and reading in part:

The Golden Rock Ditch. — The iron pipe across the Big Gap, formerly spanned by the suspension flume, is completed and water reached Big Oak Flat on Friday, July 30th. The entire section of country watered by the Golden Rock Ditch, can now reasonably expect a restoration of that degree of prosperity enjoyed before the fall of the Big Flume. Mr. Rocca informs us that the pipe is 22 inches in diameter, 2,262 feet in length, and sustains 215 feet dead pressure. Of the 80 feet fall at the mouth of the pipe, only 7 feet is used, and this slight pressure forces through 1,000 inches of water. The thickness of the pipe is as follows: 800 feet, No. 12; 600 feet, No. 14; and 862 feet, No. 16. In order to give our readers an idea of what is meant by the above numbers, we will say that No. 11, is $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch, and that as the number increases the pipe becomes thinner and *vice versa*. The sheet iron was all hauled to the gap, and the pipe made on the ground.

The article went on to say that, though it was generally believed that the placer mines in the Oak Flat section were worked out, this was not the case as "probably the greatest bed of auriferous gravel in the Southern mines is covered by this ditch."²² The reference was to the Gravel Range, extending for eight miles in Tuolumne County and four miles in Mariposa County, varying from one to two miles in width and averaging fifty feet in depth, the course of this "dead river" running northwest and southeast. The amount of labor necessary to open claims on the Gravel Range had caused it "to be neglected when gold was lying around loose," but the year before the flume collapsed, work was "vigorously prosecuted" on several claims, and "bed rock" tunnels were being cut. If further development proved the claims remunerative, the article said, "that section will be the most prosperous in the Southern Mines." It added that the diggings in the places supplied by this ditch — the Garrotes, Deer Flat, Oak Flat, Horseshoe Bend, etc. — were by no means exhausted. "While the 'cream,' of course, is gone," it said, "there are many claims in each of the places named, that will pay good wages for these times." Several quartz mills built for water power would now be reopened, the writer thought, and

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then he concluded with this sentence: "We rejoice with the Oak Flat section, that the winter of its discontent is now made glorious summer."

With the big undertaking completed and in full operation, the "lively times on the Oak Flat Hill," which the *Union Democrat* had predicted, soon began. It was a proud and happy moment in Andrew Rocca's life, and he always regarded his achievements in connection with the Golden Rock Water Ditch as the highlight of his days in the gold mines. In later life he used to express satisfaction that he had "proved the professional engineers wrong," as he put it, when they said a much heavier pipe than he used would be necessary.²³ Since the engineering problems involved are outside my range of knowledge, I have asked my brother, Bernard T. Rocca, to supply some technical information on that subject. He says that using such thin pipe "was a gamble, but a good gamble." He adds that the sheet iron must have been double, and possibly triple, riveted to increase the strength of the joint, since the factor of safety was not high. Using the figures given in the newspaper article quoted above for the diameter and thickness of the pipe, and allowing for a 75% efficiency of the riveted joint, he estimated that the metal in the pipe had to stand a tensile strain of nearly 11,000 pounds per square inch, which would leave only a small factor of safety. On the dangers of the pipe collapsing when emptied, Bernard wrote:

The pipe would have collapsed on being emptied if the flow of water had been rapid. It was to guard against this difficulty that a head of only 7 feet was used. Evidently that was accomplished by using a gully on the high side or a ridge on the low side, since there was a difference in elevation of 80 feet between the two sides of the gap. By using only a 7-foot head, a fairly slow and comparatively safe flow of water was assured in emptying the pipe. The collapsing pressure is equal to atmospheric pressure of approximately 15 pounds per square inch, multiplied by the 22-inch diameter of the pipe, or 330 pounds per lineal inch, or 3,960 pounds per lineal foot — a pressure which such light pipe could not stand.²⁴

Since Andrew Rocca had no training in engineering, it is interesting to note that he did work out successfully the technical problems involved and that his method of piping the gap apparently stood the test of time. His connection with the flume and ditch received attention in the 1909 pamphlet, *Tuolumne County, California*, to which reference has previously been made. After relating the early history of the Golden Rock Water Ditch and the fact that Andrew Rocca became "sole proprietor" of it, the brochure goes on to say that "he invested a large amount of money in repairs, im-

provements and extension, transforming a single waterway into a system by creating ramifications.”²⁵

Operating the Golden Rock Water Company was not all clear sailing, though, and in later life Andrew Rocca used to reminisce about an incident that took place a year or so after the gap had been piped. As I have explained, in acquiring a controlling interest in the Golden Rock Company Rocca had obtained much of the stock by agreeing to supply the pipe and the provisions for the miners along the ditch. When the company was once again a going concern and the stock had greatly increased in value, he had an unpleasant encounter with two of the men who had been original stockholders. One evening, much to his surprise, they came to his home to demand the return of their stock, threatening his life if he did not hand it over to them at once. Preferring to risk his life rather than give up what he had worked so hard to achieve, Rocca decided to call their bluff and stood his ground in the doorway with drawn pistol. He told the men that they would get their stock back only over his dead body, and they withdrew for some private discussion. His firm stand evidently convinced the men that it would be wiser to let matters rest as they were, and they finally went away.²⁶

No hard feelings seem to have resulted from this incident, since Andrew Rocca said he later got to know one of the men very well — Smith we shall call him, for the purposes of this story. Rocca thought Smith was a highly intelligent though unscrupulous man, a person who could have accomplished almost anything if he had used his talents wisely. The path of honest endeavor had little appeal for Smith, however, and he once sold a large sum of Turkish bonds short, then gathered together a group of assorted renegades and sent them to Turkey to incite a revolution. Turkish bonds dropped markedly, Smith covered his commitments and made a modest fortune. Sometime later, in boasting to Rocca about the success of his coup in Turkey, Smith said: “Yes, I picked the old gobbler all right — in fact, I plucked it until there was hardly a feather left on the carcass!”²⁷

Keeping the miners supplied with provisions led to numerous other business ventures, and Andrew Rocca was kept busy rushing from one enterprise to another during the next few years. Most of the hours of his long, full days were spent along the ditch, at one of his various mining claims, or in the office of the Golden Rock Water Company, a wooden building located “on the south side of Main Street in Big Oak Flat . . . between the lots of Repetto and Watson.”²⁸ Part of the time he lived in the same area, but during some of the

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years when he was associated with the Golden Rock Water Company he lived in Garrote, now Groveland,²⁹ and this arrangement was apparently one of necessity, according to newspaper items of the day. On August 13, 1870, for example, the Sonora *Union Democrat* described the unhappy state of the bachelors of Big Oak Flat:

The boys are now obliged to ranch themselves at Oak Flat. The Hotel has long been closed. There is no meat shop. Things culinary are reduced to first and '49 principles. Every man there without a wife runs his own cooking. To get a bed at Oak Flat requires love. Money won't answer. If one has friends, he may repose out of the street. If not, he must pass on to Garrote.

Meat was one of the most important items in the diet of the hard-working miners along the ditch, and since there was no butcher shop at the time in Big Oak Flat, Andrew Rocca used to go to the plains, where the big ranchos were killing beef for the tallow and the hides with much of the meat going to waste. These trips were made on horseback, and since Rocca was an excellent rider himself, he had a connoisseur's admiration for the expert horsemen he saw on the ranchos and for their beautiful, intelligent animals. Years later he still remembered and talked about these skillful men, their sensitive mounts, and the trained leaders of the herd. The latter, on orders from the vaqueros, would split the herd into groups. As Andrew Rocca described this process to his children — acting it out with appropriate gestures of his expressive hands — the animals seemed endowed with little less than human understanding.³⁰

Transporting such a perishable product as meat from the San Joaquin Valley to Big Oak Flat in mid-summer in those days of slow travel and no refrigeration must have presented considerable difficulty. It was probably done by fast-moving, light horse-drawn wagons or by mule pack-trains, traveling in the relative coolness of the night. In later life Andrew Rocca spoke often of riding his own favorite saddle horse from Big Oak Flat to Knight's Ferry and back in a single day — a distance of more than sixty miles. It is certain, too, that in the early days he went on horseback as far afield as the Santa Clara Valley. Once many years later when he was visiting his daughter Lillian in Santa Clara, he said: "I used to ride the full length of this valley in the days when there was nothing but wild mustard everywhere. It was so tall in many places that it was higher than my head when I was on horseback."³¹

Eventually the demand for meat became greater than could be met by bringing it in from the plains, and for a time Andrew Rocca had a butcher shop in Big Oak Flat. The shop, according to an old friend of his, was across the road from where the big oak had

stood.³² And according to another source, many of the cattle for the shop came from a ranch on the Stanislaus River.³³ This probably means that most of the supply in this later era came from cattle brought in on the hoof and butchered near Big Oak Flat.

Another problem occupying a large part of Andrew Rocca's time as superintendent of the water company was that of finding and keeping suitable men to work as ditch-tenders. Such employees were important in keeping the ditch and flumes free of fallen trees and other debris and occasionally even of ice, too, in the coldest weather. The ditch-tenders also opened and closed the various outlets by lifting or lowering the gates, or wooden slots, along the flume and tributaries of the ditch.

Because of the loneliness, the fury of the storms, and the physical dangers connected with the work, it was difficult to find a man willing to take the job or to remain long at it if he did. Ditch-tenders were usually quite young men, sometimes they lived in a nearby community, but more often they lived in a tiny cabin at the head of the ditch or at a strategic point on it. Andrew Rocca used to reminisce in later years about one of his ditch-tenders who abandoned his post in abject terror one night in the midst of a violent electric storm. When the storm broke, Rocca had hurried along the ditch to see how his young tender was getting on, but he soon met the man rushing away from the scene. Trembling so that he could hardly talk, the ditch-tender explained that he had what one might call a Chaplinesque kind of nightmare straight out of *The Gold Rush* in which bears were tossing him and his cabin off the cliff. He refused to go back for any sum, including the gift of the whole ditch itself, he said.³⁴

Several writers refer to the fact that the Golden Rock Water Ditch was not a financial success. Edna Bryan Buckbee, who apparently wrote only of the days of the wooden flume and seemed unaware of its subsequent history after the gap was piped, says that the waterway "was unprofitable."³⁵ Mrs. Paden and Mrs. Schlichtmann, in mentioning that similar ditches were built all through the mines remark that "it is doubtful if many paid interest on the money invested," and of the Golden Rock Ditch they add: "Certainly this one in later years did not."³⁶ They do, however, speak of the ditch's "short-lived peak,"³⁷ and I am certain that it was a very satisfactory business venture for Andrew Rocca during the period from 1869 to 1875 when he operated it.³⁸ In fact, although he had not accumulated a fortune he had been successful enough in a modest way with the ditch and his claims to consider retiring from mining at

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the time he sold out and left Tuolumne County in 1875. Another factor contributing to this decision was a serious illness that had been plaguing him for many weeks — a painful antrum infection. This malady had evidently developed from working along the ditch and on his claims in rainy weather and thus having on wet clothing for long periods of time. It finally became so severe that it was necessary for him to go to San Francisco for treatment.³⁹

After 1875 the Golden Rock Water Ditch was owned by several large mining companies — first the Merced Gold Mining Company, then the Big Creek Gold Mining Company.⁴⁰ During the 1890's and early 1900's, the ditch was given a thorough cleaning and new flumes were built, lumber for the purpose being floated down the ditch. After the work was completed, a big celebration was held in Groveland. The water from the ditch at that time was used not only for a revival of some of the big gold mines, such as the Mack, the Moody, the Longfellow, the Mississippi, but for farm lands as well.⁴¹

In 1905 the ditch was acquired by the Big Creek Gold Mining Company, a Maine corporation, which later became the Tuolumne River Power Company. The company's headquarters were in the large white house then known as the Peri ranch house, now called Sugar Pine Lodge and owned by Judge and Mrs. W. Osborne.⁴² In 1909 this description of the holdings and interests of the Tuolumne River Power Company appeared in the *Tuolumne County, California* pamphlet:

The Tuolumne River Power Company has spent a large sum of money since it acquired the property in 1905. The system consists of 70 miles of main ditch which heads at the middle fork of the Tuolumne river, in the Yosemite National Park, and carries 1,000 miner's inches of water. Then there is a ditch, known as the "Big Ditch," from the south fork of the same river, which carries 5,000 inches. The middle and south forks are also connected by a ditch. The company owns 4,000 acres of timber lands and a lot of mining ground, but is in the field to supply electric power, water and timber. Its site for an electric power plant that will be added to by units until 22,000 horse power is generated has been selected and 3.616 feet of German steel pipe, 13/16 of an inch thick, ordered. This pipe will begin with a diameter of 30 inches, graduating to 20. The pressure will be under a 1,973 foot head and strike the buckets under a pressure of 24,000 pounds, or 836 pounds to the square inch. For demonstrating purposes the company also has an orchard of 400 mixed fruit trees and an alfalfa patch covering 8 acres. . . .⁴³

The subsequent history of the ditch is largely a matter of its steady decline and may be given in a few sentences. While the water system was important in the field of electric power for a short

time, it was no longer so after about 1915. The Big Creek Gold Mining Company held the property until 1917, when the State Railroad Commission permitted them to suspend operations because of insufficient business in the area served. From 1917 to 1923, the ditch was owned by the City and County of San Francisco and was operated primarily for water supply for their railroad and buildings, plus fire protection for the town of Groveland. After the completion of O'Shaunessey Dam, the property was no longer of importance to San Francisco, and in 1942 it was bought by Tuolumne County for the \$750.00 of accumulated delinquent taxes.⁴⁴

Yet there are, or were until quite recent times, a few remaining relics of the pipe and the flume, and it is still possible to walk for miles along the ditch in various parts of Tuolumne and Mariposa counties. In their 1955 book, Mrs. Paden and Mrs. Schlichtmann wrote:

Today a small portion of the useful old siphon remains — all pushed out of shape. . . . It is a disappointing and unimpressive piece of pipe, battered but big enough for a child to crawl within, partially covered with dirt and trash. . . .⁴⁵

Of the flume itself and its surroundings, Mrs. Schlichtmann, who has "walked for miles in that area, where little watercourses, bordered by wild tiger lilies, bleeding hearts and woodwardia ferns, rush down toward the main stream," writes:

I found portions of the old rotted flume in several places. In the early 1930's, some were standing on the densely-wooded mountains to the south and high above the South Fork of the Tuolumne River. Some years later I hiked downstream along the rugged canyon wall opposite Hardin's Flat, where I came upon the long-abandoned caretaker's cabin and larger portions of the flume, clinging to the rocky formations. Where the ditch crossed the early Big Oak Flat Road, sturdy low bridges of closely-fitted logs were constructed in a number of places. One of the most obvious of such crossings is to be found at the entrance to the Sugar Pine Lodge property above Groveland. The ditch itself is visible from many points on the present Big Oak Flat Road, and most people think it is a stream bed. Although it is still possible to walk great distances along the ditch, which is now heavily carpeted with pine needles, Nature is gradually erasing its course with small pines and undergrowth.⁴⁶

Thus, like the numerous lively mining camps of Gold Rush days, which now survive simply as sleepy ghost towns, the Golden Rock Water Ditch is silent and inactive today, with only a few lingering mementos to bear witness to its once thriving career.

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In preparing this article I have had generous assistance from my friend and fellow researcher, Mrs. Margaret E. Schlichtmann of San Leandro, co-author of *The Big Oak Flat Road, an account of Freightling from Stockton to Yosemite Valley*. During the many years she was engaged in research for that work, Mrs. Schlichtmann acquired a vast fund of knowledge about the area which the Golden Rock Water Ditch served. She not only put at my disposal some notes of interviews relating to the ditch but also answered various questions in correspondence and graciously agreed to read the draft of the article. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to her for all of these kindnesses and for her valuable assistance.

As in previous articles appearing in the *QUARTERLY*, I have also had valuable assistance from five members of my family who in long conversations and in written statements gave me their memories of their father's reminiscences through the years. They also answered numerous questions I have asked. The names of those members of the Rocca family who assisted me and the dates of their statements or letters relating to the subject matter of this article are as follows: Lillian L. Stewart of San Diego, March 20, 1945, April 5, 1947; Florence G. McFarling of Ukiah, February 17, 19, 1947; Idalene B. McCollum of Healdsburg, May 16, 1947, and conversations in summer of 1949; Andrew Rocca, Jr. of South San Francisco, March 8, June 7, 1947; and Bernard T. Rocca of Berkeley, February 17, November 18, 1947. In subsequent notes only the initials and last name of the persons supplying the information will be used to identify those statements.

NOTES

1. "History of Mining and Milling Methods in California," California Division of Mines Bulletin 141, *The Mother Lode Country* (San Francisco, 1948), p. 31.
2. *Ibid.* According to Logan, the pipe varied in diameter from 20 to 40 inches.
3. Edna Bryan Buckbee, *The Saga of Old Tuolumne* (New York, 1935), pp. 266, 278.
4. *Tuolumne County, California* (Sonora Union Democrat, 1909), pp. 53-54.
5. Irene D. Paden and Margaret E. Schlichtmann, *The Big Oak Flat Road, an account of freightling from Stockton to Yosemite Valley* (San Francisco, 1955), p. 202. The authors add that "it is best seen in September when the water is low," and when "South Fork, released from its timbered prison, comes lazying through the sunny flat but deep-cut banks." At that time, "whole trees" packed closely together in the rocky bed "attest the power of flood season."
6. Sonora Union Democrat, Nov. 2, 1867, and letter to the editor of that newspaper, signed "Azequia," and appearing in the issue of July 25, 1868, p. 2, col. 5, hereinafter cited as Azequia Letter.
7. Azequia Letter and Sonora Union Democrat, July 18, 1868. Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 195, 196, describe the flume as "by far the most amazing project ever to be consummated along the road" and add that the "fearful and wonderful" construction of the tall towers "would make a modern engineer shudder."
8. There is a variation in statements about both the number and the height of the towers. Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 195, say that the towers were 264 feet high, but as they point out, William H. Brewer in *Up and Down California in 1860-1864* (The Journal of William Brewer, Ed. by Francis P. Farquhar, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), p. 402, says the highest towers were 288 feet high. He also spoke of "twenty-two wooden towers," although most other sources are agreed upon eleven. The item in the *Union Democrat* of July 18, 1868, mentions thirteen towers, while other items in the *Democrat* of different dates speak of eleven, the number given in Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
9. Azequia Letter.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, and Buckbee, *op. cit.*, p. 277, who gives the higher figure. In a letter of October 7, 1960, Mrs. Schlichtmann wrote: "The early ditch was built by Chinese labor, using picks and shovels, and the company maintained camps for them at various places along the route."
12. What the Sonora Union Democrat referred to as "Pino Blanco" on many occasions was "Peñón Blanco," Spanish for white, rocky cliffs, near Coulterville. Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128, say that in the early 1860's it was felt necessary to increase the water supply and to this end "water was brought from the Middle Fork by means of a ditch, with the accompanying flumes, which conducted it into the South Fork at the Hardin's Flat dam." They add that: "Articles

written after that time speak of the Golden Rock Ditch as taking its water supply from the Middle Fork instead of the South."

13. Azequia Letter.
14. Sonora *Union Democrat*, Mar. 13, 1858, Buckbee, *op. cit.*, p. 277. On this subject, Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128 say: "The water was sold by the sluice-head (or fifty miner's inches) which cost \$5.00 a day. A miner's inch, they tell us, is the amount of water that flows through an orifice one inch square with the water a given depth over the top of the hole, usually four or six inches depending on the rules of the locality." As they point out, a miner's inch varies so much in different localities that it is impossible to give an accurate equivalent. However, as dictionary definitions usually indicate, it is about nine gallons per minute, "when taken as the flow through a hole one inch square, in a two-inch plank, under a head of four inches above the top edge of the hole." A small account book which Mrs. Schlichtmann had in her collection and which is now in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, gives the amounts of water sold by the Golden Rock Water Company in the 1860's to both miners and ranchers. As Mrs. Schlichtmann points out, this book contains the names of many Chinese who bought water from the Golden Rock Water Company and she adds: "I do not know why they were in need of ditch water — possibly it was for their small claims, or perhaps for domestic purposes in their settlement on the north side of Big Oak Flat."
15. Azequia Letter, Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
16. The item from the *Union Democrat* of November 2, 1867, quoted above on page 71, about the damage to the flume in a rainstorm, makes it clear that the structure was still standing at that time. The items in the *Democrat* of July 11, 18, and 25, 1868, definitely fix the date of the fall of the flume as July 9, 1868, not July 9, 1866, as the date is incorrectly given in Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
17. Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 196, though quoting the *Union Democrat* on the subject of the increased weight of the water when it was turned back into the flume being responsible for the collapse, add the further information that: "A summer wind storm simply tore it apart and let the giant structure fall." The Azequia Letter said that "much of the timber was very rotten and crushed into a mass of dust. The sugar pines stood best."
18. Though I am not certain of the exact cost of piping the Gap, it is generally believed to have been about \$12,000. Thus, Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 196, quote J. M. Hutchings, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* as follows: "Now a large iron tube placed upon the ground answers the purpose of the flume. This only cost, we are informed, some twelve thousand dollars." An item in the Sonora *Union Democrat* of March 13, 1858, pointed out that the water had to be kept at a great height, because of a sink in the mountains over which the water had to pass. It added that "an immense pipe" had been talked of at the time the flume was built but because of its great cost and "the poverty of the company" the idea had been abandoned. The article said that recently "a practical man" named John C. Ham had made a proposition to build a flume over the Gap.
19. Sonora *Union Democrat*, May 1, 1869. Andrew Rocca began acquiring an interest in the Golden Rock Water Ditch when he was in San Francisco in 1869 for medical treatment following a serious injury in a stage accident on the Priest Grade. See, Helen Rocca Goss, "The Fourth Estate in Old Tuolumne," *The Historical Society of Southern California*, QUARTERLY, Vol. XL, No. 2, June 1958, pp. 124-125. According to Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 172, and further information given me by Mrs. Schlichtmann, Perrin, who was from Massachusetts, arrived in Tuolumne County in 1849, mined in the Jacksonville area, built in partnership with Dr. J. L. Cogswell the Washington Hotel in First Garrote, and served in the State Legislature. He built the first thirteen miles of the ditch on contract for about \$150,000, and later was superintendent of the company until the fall of the flume.
20. As all supplies did in those days, the materials for the pipe undoubtedly went up the river to Stockton by boat, then by horse teams to the Gap. On the whole subject of river transportation and freighting in the era, see Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, especially Chapters I and II.
21. A. Rocca, Jr., B. T. Rocca.
22. This is borne out by other newspaper items at a date before the flume was built. For example, an item in the Sonora *Union Democrat* for March 13, 1858, said in part: "Big Oak Flat country is known to be the richest in mineral wealth and

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also the dryest and most destitute of water privileges of any section of the country.” And on this point Mrs. Schlichtmann writes in a letter of October 7, 1960: “Rattlesnake Creek is the main watercourse in the area, but it did not flow rapidly during the summer and autumn months. Only a few inconsequential streams flowed through the area during the early spring months. In Gold Rush days there was sufficient water only for panning, which was mainly done by Indian women with bateas, and they were quite successful.”


23. F. G. McFarling.
24. The figures given for the collapsing pressure in the final sentence are for sea level, and of course, the project described here was at a higher elevation. However, the difference would be negligible.
25. P. 54. In his memories given nearly 50 years later in Aurelius O. Carpenter and Percy H. Milberry, *History of Mendocino and Lake Counties, California* (Los Angeles, 1914), p. 425, Andrew Rocca spoke only of having a controlling interest in the Golden Rock Water Company rather than of being the sole owner.
26. A. Rocca, Jr.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Tuolumne County, *Assessment Roll, 1874-1875*, p. 101. Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 144, say: “Across the highway from the big stone building was the office of the Golden Rock Water Company and the home of its one-time owner, Andrew Rocca, . . .” See also the map in that book opposite page 118, which shows the office of the Golden Rock Company and Andrew Rocca’s home. From her notes of an interview with Clotilda Repetto De Paoli, and by way of further explanation, Mrs. Schlichtmann writes: “The office of the Water Company and your father’s home in Big Oak Flat stood on the south side of the road and on land that sloped toward Rattlesnake Creek. The slope was created by the early miners, who dug so closely to the main thoroughfare, and even under it, that heavy vehicles often sank into the road. Your father lived in back of the Water Company’s office, a two-story building to the east of the old Repetto home. The rear portion of his home and the office stood on stilts. The Repetto home, which faces the road, is three stories high at the back.”
29. On the changing of the name from Garrote to Groveland, the *Tuolumne County, California* pamphlet says on page 53: “The word Garrote was considered too repellant, and that it meant death by strangling was deemed sufficient cause for switching to a cognomen not eternally suggestive of murder.” At the time the name was changed, however, the Sonora *Union Democrat* was not very happy about it, and I believe Andrew Rocca shared the sentiments expressed by that newspaper in its January 23, 1875, issue. In an item announcing the change of names from Garrote Postoffice to Groveland, the *Democrat* admitted that Garrote was not “a handsome name” and that it had “unpleasant associations” as well, but concluded: “Yet for all that the pioneers of Tuolumne will stick to it and still call Jim Tannehill’s postoffice, Garrote.”
30. A. Rocca, Jr., B. T. Rocca, I. B. McCollum.
31. L. L. Stewart.
32. In 1914, while in Big Oak Flat on some mining business, my brother Andrew met Mrs. Joseph Raggio, an old friend of Andrew Rocca’s, who told Andrew Jr. about the butcher shop and showed him where it had been.
33. When Andrew Rocca, Jr. was in the section east of Oakdale on the Stanislaus River on a matter of business in 1940, he met a farmer of Italian descent who showed immediate interest in the name Rocca. “Your father lived in Tuolumne County long ago, didn’t he?” the man asked. “I have heard my father speak of him many times. It was my father who sold cattle to your father years ago when he had a butcher shop up that way.”
34. A. Rocca, Jr.
35. *Op. cit.*, p. 277.
36. *Op. cit.*, p. 203.
37. This is indicated not only by family memories of what Andrew Rocca himself said on the subject but by the *Assessment Rolls* of Tuolumne County for those years. His highest tax was paid in 1873, for the 1872 assessment, \$162.98 on his personal holdings, \$148.00 on the Golden Rock Water Company, and his name was included in a list of the largest taxpayers in the county that year, published in the Sonora *Union Democrat* of January 11, 1873. Also, his advancing \$16,000 to build the rockwork on the “Zigzag” on the Big Oak Flat Road, as described in Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 250, in 1874, indicates that he was doing well in those years.

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38. F. G. McFarling, I. B. McCollum, A. Rocca, Jr. He was eventually cured by a doctor in San Francisco who took effective, though drastic, measures to accomplish that result. After extracting a tooth from the upper jaw, the doctor pushed a probe up through the cheek bone to draw off the pus and thus relieve the pressure. This was done without any anaesthetic, and Andrew Rocca never quite forgot the ordeal. Later, a silver tube was inserted to act as a drain. He recovered completely from the infection but was left with slightly impaired hearing for the remainder of his life.
40. *Tuolumne County, California*, p. 54; letter of August 21, 1950, from A. C. Hender, then District Manager of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in Sonora. According to Mr. Hender, the Merced Gold Mining Company owned the property until 1903.
41. From Notes of a 1950 interview Mrs. Schlichtmann had with Edwin Harper of Big Oak Flat. Harper worked as a carpenter on the project under J. J. Lumsden. Harper thought that the ditch failed not only because of the decline in the mines but because the cost of upkeep of the ditch and flumes was so high. Albert Mack, he said, who was interested in getting water to his Mack Mine, was thought to have lost some \$30,000 on the project.
42. *Tuolumne County, California*, pp. 53-54; Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The former source lists the officers of the company in 1909 as: Charles D. Shaw, president; Frank W. Allen, treasurer; Hon. O. F. Fellows, clerk; B. R. Shaw, superintendent; Charles D. Shaw, William M. Shaw, John G. Dunning, Lester R. Willey, and Fred H. Carr, directors. All of these men were from "the Pine Tree State," and the corporation itself was a Maine corporation, according to this source. In addition to a photograph of the "inverted siphon," the pamphlet contains several other pictures of interest — a group of the officers, the dam and head of the flume, looking down from the flume, and a snow-covered picture of the Peri ranch house, the company's headquarters.
43. P. 54.
44. The information in this paragraph is from the letter of August 21, 1950, from Mr. A. C. Hender (*See* Note 40, above), who was kind enough to spend considerable time checking on the facts for me when I wrote to inquire if any part of the old Golden Rock water system was now incorporated in the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. As the information given above indicates, he gave a negative answer to that question.
45. Paden and Schlichtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
46. Letter of September 29, 1960.

A MIDSUMMER MOTORING TRIP

By U. S. Grant, IV

T MY PRESENT AGE I am certain I would never attempt such a trip, but in the summer of 1913 I was an energetic young man eager to escape from the confinements and restrictions of city life. I had just completed my sophomore year at Harvard and I was delighted to be again in my beloved California, where it was easy to get out into the country. Thus, this is a saga of impetuous youth plunging heedlessly into predicaments where the wiser fear to tread, unchecked by that judgment and wisdom which come from experience. Possibly, it was the awakening of a dormant exploring instinct, such as has spurred man to conquer the world, but on sober thought, I think it was a less heroic impulse and more likely merely the expression of the heedlessness and exuberance of youth. Whatever the stimulus, in June, 1913, my brother and I decided on a camping trip as an escape from the conventions of city life. Our transportation was to be a stripped-down, two-seater, Overland automobile.

We removed the windshield and fenders of the car to reduce weight but our supplies and paraphernalia added as much weight as we saved. The automobile was high-g geared and low-powered, and like all cars of those days, it was equipped with narrow, high-pressure tires. All these factors combined to make travel up steep grades or through heavy sand a dubious and sometimes hazardous project.

We left San Diego by the inland route, headed first for the San Bernardino Mountains. Our enthusiasm was only mildly checked by two punctures near Bernardo. The entry in my diary of the time notes that "We had no coats and wore only thin shirts and pants, supplemented by light sweaters" to guard against the evening chill. When we got beyond Escondido, a high fog blew in from the coast, a characteristic climatic feature of Southern California, and we were glad to make camp in a beautiful grove of trees near Fallbrook. Our water problem, always a prime consideration in camping, was solved by a nearby horse trough, and a canvas thrown over the limb of a tree made a good shelter.

The next day we drove along the shore of Lake Elsinore, a body

of water that, over the years, has seemed ever undecided whether to dry up completely or to swell to the overflow stage. The drive through Perris Valley and down the Box Springs grade to Riverside was uneventful, but a cold drizzle chilled us through before we reached San Bernardino. After receiving advice on how to reach Big Bear Lake, and good advice on fishing from Mr. Drew, a local Isaac Walton, we motored up into rocky Santa Ana Canyon to camp for the night.

Fifty years ago the main grade, possibly the only passable one leading into the San Bernardino Mountains, began some distance up Santa Ana Canyon. Here we camped for the night. My brother fished the stream, catching four trout, which he ate for supper, while I dined on a rabbit we shot en route. My diary of the time records numerous details that would prove wearisome to the reader; for that reason, most of them are considerably omitted. However, there are some terse descriptions, which, though painfully unliterary and unpolished, give a fair, if crude, picture of our progress.

"In the morning we started up the grade and I have never been up a steeper nor a longer grade than this one." At the time, I had momentarily forgotten my early auto trip up Nigger Nate's Grade to Smith Mountain (now Palomar) in the summer of 1904. That grade was probably as steep and, I believe, longer, but my tender years excused me from any helpful efforts. Of the grade to Big Bear Lake, I recorded that "the machine was too high-g geared and low-powered to pull up the steepest places so I had to get out and push, placing a rock behind the rear wheels when the engine failed to pull any longer. There were short stretches where it was necessary to 'race' the engine and then let the clutch in suddenly, "gaining a few feet each time. "With my bad cold, not helped by the cold drizzle of the day before, I got very winded a good many times."

"Big Bear Lake," so I recorded, "is a few miles from the top of the grade and is situated in a beautiful valley bordered by pines and other evergreens." We stopped at Mr. Knight's camp and he and his wife were most affable and accommodating. This country reminded me of my old home in Westchester County, in far-off New York state. The great pines, scolding blue jays, absurd woodpeckers, and acrobatic gray squirrels, made a sylvan paradise. But the chill, damp air decided us to rent a tent instead of sleeping in the open, not being yet hardened to the more primitive life. The Knight boys had a cozy, warm cabin elaborately decorated with a variety of post cards and some gray squirrel skins.

But we had difficulty getting "hellgomites" for fish bait and

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the fish were so elusive and un-coöperative that we decided to move on after only two days. The damp, chilling air was a disagreeable feature that hastened our departure. We did not realize at the moment that only a few days later this coolness and dampness would have been a most welcome relief.

With some trepidation we drove down the long, steep, narrow, and twisting grade and turned off to East Highlands, where we obtained gas, oil, and provisions. When we came to a road junction, one road leading to Oak Grove and Warner's, the other leading to Beaumont, Banning, and the desert regions beyond, we debated which road we should take. The desert, with all its fierce midsummer heat, its treacherous, sandy roads, and its scarcity of water, always fascinated me and I succeeded in persuading my brother, despite his more mature and wiser head, to take the desert route. Thus, the folly of youth triumphed over the wisdom of maturity, leading us into a predicament that nearly terminated our tenancy on this mortal coil. Many a person has shortened his life's span by a daring whimsey, or a heedless challenging of fate. But where one fails, two step up to take his place.

When we got near Banning, the glaring desert ahead of us, shimmering in its midsummer's heat, seemed to us a welcome site after the chill of the mountains. The road was wretched but easily passable. We bumped along slowly, but with eagerness to explore the mysteries of the heart of the desert. Near Whitewater we discovered an irrigation ditch in which we enjoyed a bath. This was truly a delightful spot. Over it all towered lofty San Jacinto Peak with little patches of snow near its barren summit. We could see pine trees clothing its upper flanks. What a contrast it made.

We were now on the margin of the Conchilla Desert. This quaint geographic name is now almost entirely forgotten in the passage of time. It is crudely salvaged in the much corrupted form of Coachella. The more euphonious Spanish name, Conchilla, meaning "Little Shell," comes from the myriads of small freshwater snail shells which are wafted into pockets, or heaped in small windrows by the desert zephyrs, particularly in the area west and south of Indio. These little remains of an aquatic fauna record the former presence of a great freshwater lake in the Salton Basin. The ancient beach line of this great prehistoric lake is well preserved at many places in the desert. Along this ancient strand, at the base of the Santa Rosa Mountains, there are a few corral-like walls of heaped stones which have been interpreted as Indian fish traps, but the Indians have no traditions of this lacustrine epoch.

My diary records: "Then we went on toward a small settlement called Palm Springs; an oasis directly at the foot of the lofty San Jacinto Mountains. It is a winter health resort, principally for invalids with tuberculosis. A Dr. H. L. Coffman is the medical director of the resort and he runs an inn called The Desert Inn, and also a stage line to Palm Springs Station, six miles to the north." At that time, what is now Garnet Station was Palm Springs Station.

The desert artist, Carl Eytel, was living alone in a shack near Palm Springs. I recall him well as a lean man with a large moustache, seemingly of frail constitution but wiry and actually, when under stress, possessed of great endurance. He appeared shy and sensitive. His eyes, narrowed from years of squinting in the sun's glare, seemed, nevertheless, forever admiring his beloved desert. His life was one of contrasts, like the contrasts of the arid regions — his youth spent in old and cultural Germany and his manhood spent in coping with the harshness and asperities of the desert.

Carl Eytel was quite interesting, but in my contemporary narrative I noted that "Mr. Murray, an old desert gopher, was too grouchy to be interesting and my brother called him an old file." I learned later that old Murray was a somewhat mercenary individual with a painfully practical evaluation of all human contacts. No doubt his calculating eye quickly assayed our drab appearance and convinced him we were impecunious interlopers unable to distribute any largess in his community.

What changes time has wrought! The sleepy little desert village, with its handful of white and Indian citizens of half a century ago, has become a famous retreat and playground of the retired, and now has a large population.

Another denizen of the desert we met so many years ago was Otto Adler, a friendly though rather stolid citizen of Palm Springs. He was the proud owner of the Red Front Restaurant and Store. He also possessed a team of horses and a wagon in which he drove us to see the grove of native fan palms in Palm Canyon. He had never been there and I fear that by mistake he took us to West Fork Canyon, or some other canyon. At any rate, there were palms in the canyon we visited and in their vine-covered, untrimmed, splendor they seemed more beautiful to us than the neatly trimmed ones growing in the coastal cities. Walking up this canyon, we heard the easily recognized cries of an eagle and we soon spotted the nest high up the precipitous canyon wall. A ticklish climb to a position above the nest showed us it was empty but we were rewarded for

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our gymnastic efforts by the wonderful view from the rocky rim of the canyon. The flat desert floor below us contrasted strikingly with the abrupt rocky slopes of the mountains. In the middle distance, parts of the desert appeared finely freckled, due to the wide spacing of the desert shrubs. The hardy, olive-drab creosote bush seemed omnipresent with some scattered cactus and occasional green patches of mesquite. The beautiful ethereal smoke trees preferred the alluvial slopes and dry washes near the foot of the mountains. Far across the desert the pastel-colored, blue-shadowed Little San Bernardino Mountains formed an appropriate backdrop to this scene. Some distance from their foot rose a gigantic nearly pure white sand dune, mountainous in size, and appearing totally devoid of vegetation. It was on this arid sand dune that a photographing party was said to have nearly expired shortly before our visit.

We took a cooling dip in the mountain brook near the palms, but soon the long shadows of the mountains behind us crept far out on the desert floor, warning us that this wonderful day was nearing its end. Adler's horses walked all the way back through the heavy sand but we were entertained by our driver's tales of the desert.

Our simple camp was in the lea of a small rocky spur of the mountains and near an irrigation ditch that solved our domestic water problem. It was but two miles to the falls of Tahquitz Creek where we could cool off in nature's shower bath. During daylight hours agile desert chipmunks dashed from bush to bush on obscure missions, and at night, bright-eyed pack rats persisted in a careful, though not always noiseless, study of our possessions. We disliked leaving such a desert paradise but further adventure called, so after a few days we departed from Palm Springs. We left early one morning, after a light camp breakfast. This meal was the last we were to enjoy for thirty-six hours, but at the time, we were unaware of the trying experiences ahead of us.

The road south was alternately sandy and dusty but quite passable. At Indian Wells, near some sand dunes, there was a small ranch, the last evidence of husbandry till we reached Indio on the Southern Pacific Railroad. At Coachella we stopped for gas, oil, and provisions, then continued south through Thermal to near Mecca. Here we turned off on a poor desert road, heading for the west side of the Salton Sea via Figtree John's, and the route to Brawley in the Imperial Valley. At Alamo Bonito, meaning 'pretty tree,' a lone rancher provided us with cool water, so refreshing in the intense heat. The beautiful blue water of the Salton Sea was in plain sight now, making a remarkable picture in contrasts. Blue

water and drab, gray, desert! No wonder Carl Eytel loved the desert.

The heat here was the most intense I have ever felt and one wonders how even the most hardy shrub could withstand this withering heat and dry air. Agua Dulce was the next landmark, consisting of an orange grove owned by a hardy pioneer. At Figtree John's we stopped to take a dip in a quicksand pool. This little oasis consisted of the pool, three or four palms, and some exceptionally tall bushes, but prior to the rise in the water level of the Salton Sea, there was a fig orchard here, owned by an old desert Indian named Juan Razon. This sturdy, primitive orchardist was more commonly known as Figtree John. In a more heroic environment, the unusual appellation "Figtree" attached to his name might have been considered a rude form of heraldry, but in the Salton Basin in 1913, I feel sure it was merely an attempt to distinguish this particular John from all other Johns, of which there were legion. At the time of our visit, Figtree was said to be ninety-one years old, but he was quite spry in spite of the weight of years. His temporary absence permitted us to take an uninvited dip in his quicksand pool, after which we walked to the shore of the sea. The rising water of this salty inland sea had inundated some sparse desert vegetation upon which numerous water fowl were perched. In the shallow water floated many dead fish, victims of the overheated water in the shoals near shore. The heat and glare were so intense that when we got back to our car it was too hot to sit in. So, we took another uninvited dip in Figtree's pool, this time with all our clothes on. In primitive surroundings, elegant social amenities are relaxed.

Near Figtree John's, a rocky spur of the Santa Rosa Mountains protrudes a little way into the flattish desert. With its white, limy incrustation marking the highest level attained by the prehistoric lake, it is a striking feature for many miles. It is now called Travertine Point. Our sandy desert road swerved around behind this ancient promontory, then struck out southerly, paralleling and but a short distance from the west shore of Salton Sea. This road had recently been "worked on," which seems to have accomplished nothing but the scraping aside of some of the scattered flattish rocks and the removal of occasional stunted bushes that infringed upon a planned straight course. Wherever possible, surveyors adopt straight lines instead of more picturesque curves because the latter pose geometric problems. The desert winds had blown loose sand into the wheel ruts, making the going very heavy for our already abused car. Many times we had to halt to scrape away sand that had accumulated too deeply, or remove rocks that might scrape the axles. In the

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intense heat these sporadic manual efforts at road improvement were exhausting.

The terrific heat and glaring radiation from the brilliant sun, and our efforts in smoothing the way for our tortured car, made our progress slow and painful. The numerous cross washes — dry stream beds athwart the road — were particularly troublesome. If the car did not stall in the sandy stream bed, it would labor ominously climbing up the other side. Our slow and halting progress continued for several hours, until, in ascending the gentle but very sandy incline out of what is now called Campbell Wash, our car broke down completely. This was a real disaster. The engine ran but the wheels would not turn, even though we labored frantically to remove the sand and pave the wheel tracks with stones.

We could not see far ahead due to a rise in the terrain. Our water bag was nearly empty and we were afoot at the mercy of a seemingly limitless desert. To wait for a traveler to rescue us was out of the question as no one else was foolhardy enough to travel this road in midsummer. To walk back to Figtree John's seemed equally impractical as we had traveled many miles from that oasis and our few remaining sips of water would be gone ere we had hardly started. Our only hope seemed to be to abandon the car and continue ahead on foot, hoping to reach Brawley before we expired. So we walked ahead a few miles, hoping to see some signs of habitation when we ascended the hill before us.

I shall never forget the discouraging scene that opened up before us as we rounded the top of the rise. In the far distance, a wisp of smoke marked the efforts of some pioneer in clearing his land, beyond which was the still more remote Imperial Valley. It was clear to us that with our failing water supply and waning strength, we would be unable to save ourselves by continuing in that direction. However, the only alternative was to give up hope and lie on the hot desert sand, waiting for the Invisible Commander, that grim terminator of all mortal things, to claim us for His own. But hope springs eternal and we trudged on with hopes that were dark and hearts that were heavy. Soon we noticed an old iron tank off to our left. We went to it, and although it contained no water, by turning it on its edge we made some shade in which to sit and ponder our fate.

Our situation now seemed hopeless. In a few hours we would be tortured by thirst. Without life-giving water in this intense heat and dry air the mouth parches, swells, and cracks; soon agony dis-

places reason, and the sufferer staggers crazily on, pursuing phantoms that lead only to death. In this torment Death truly becomes a kind and gentle shadow.

I cannot record all the gloomy thoughts that crowded our troubled minds as we sat in the shade of this old tank. How fast one's weal and woe crowd each other. Only a few hours before we were enjoying the beauties of the desert, beauties that were not impaired by the hot sun burning in a cloudless sky. Now, despair and hope made us ridiculous. We considered swimming the Salton Sea to the railroad beyond the far shore, twelve miles away. This would be suicide. Possibly some water remained in the radiator of our abandoned car! This was a cheering thought, for even if the water were rusty and oily, it would be wet and sustain us for several hours. To reach it was a tedious effort. I had lost my hat and in the heat and glare I became nauseated, forcing me to rest for a time beside a stunted bush. My brother kindly gave me his big brimmed hat and we continued on toward the car. It was but five miles away but seemed much farther. When we reached it we lay, exhausted in its shade, but as the sun neared the meridian, the shadow vanished and we had to crawl beneath the car. Titan was now attired in his midday heat and to expose ourselves to his burning eye would court disaster. So we drained all the remaining foul water from the radiator into our water bag and coffee pot and awaited, under the car, the coming of evening. We estimated we had traveled in the car about three hours from Figtree John's, hence, considering the delays due to the stalling car and intermittent road work, we must be thirty miles from that oasis. By strict economy and careful rationing, our water might sustain us during the ordeal of our return trip.

We could clearly see the point of rocks near Figtree John's with its white water mark. This would be our objective during our night's travail. When the sun got low in the west we started walking, feeling rather spry from the several hours' rest. At first we walked beside the road where the ground was harder, but when the light failed, we were forced to walk in the heavy sand of the wheel ruts. Each time we stopped to rest we took two swallows of water, always only two, because upon our water lasting depended our escape.

My brother became nauseated and soon suffered from cramps. After we had walked a few hours, we had to rest more often. My watch read nine-thirty, which was encouraging, as we had many hours to walk before the heat of the midsummer sun would add to our woes.

Each time we rested I dropped off to sleep, dreaming of home,

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the cool water at our peaceful camp at Palm Springs, or other pleasant scenes. The awakening to reality was a rude shock. Fortunately, my brother awakened me each time so we could continue covering as much of our journey as possible before sun-up. Occasionally, we heard the distant rumble of the trains on the east side of the sea. I thought of the cool drinking water in the Pullman cars in which I had so often been a passenger. Twice during the night a coyote crossed the road just ahead of us, appearing as a mere fleeting wraith in the dim light.

Sometime after midnight we came to a lone Palo Verde tree where some earlier traveler had made a dry camp. We stretched out on the sand, completely exhausted. I fell sound asleep but my brother was kept awake by cramps that often made him roll on the ground. When he awakened me, I noticed that the point of rocks towards which we were struggling did not seem any nearer, and I became thoroughly discouraged and told my brother I did not want to continue farther. However, he pointed out our tragic fate if we remained, so with painful effort we arose and trudged on.

Sometime later, on looking toward the east, I noticed what appeared to be a slender tongue of flame on the distant horizon. A moment later this proved to be the crescent of the moon and I knew "Old Sol" was just below, awaiting to arise in all his majesty and begin another torrid day. This was ominous, but soon Aurora, the dawn, brightened the eastern sky and the point of rocks looked much nearer. This greatly encouraged me for I felt we had a good chance of escaping. It was now my turn to encourage my brother who was suffering much from cramps.

Eventually, we came to the big bend in the road south of the point of rocks. I believed now we could reach Figtree John's providing our strength held out. Our water was about gone, the night's rationing having preserved but a few sips. The brush became larger and we heard the songs of birds which heralded the vicinity of water. Trudging along the road, which was more dusty than sandy here, we were delighted to see, beside the road, a crude wooden sign upon which some good Samaritan had scrawled "Water at Beach." We had not noticed this sign the day before. Hastening through the brush, we heard the splash of water, but we were soon dismayed to find the welcome was but the lapping of little waves on the beach. This was salt water and of no use to us. We wondered what cruel prankster would indulge such a fantastic sense of humor in misleading the weary traveler with that sign. But our discouragement and lack of faith in the inherent kindness of human beings was short

lived, for upon looking around a bit we found, close to the shore, a pool of warm, slightly alkaline water. This was Fish Springs, so named because some small carp were living in it.

Our troubles now seemed nearly over for we had plenty of water to drink and were within ten miles of habitations. Completely exhausted, we lay down beside the pool, pouring this wonderful water over ourselves and getting some much-needed rest. The early morning sun was already hot so we decided to walk on to Figtree John's. This was but a few miles away but it was a painful effort. The palms and quicksand pool made a pleasant sight. We cooled off in the pool and rested awhile.

My brother was in such bad shape from cramps I decided to seek someone with a horse and wagon to take him and me to the railroad. Leaving him in the shade of a palm frond at the edge of the pool, I walked away to seek help.

Within a few miles, at Agua Dulce, I found Figtree John who, with his squaw and two young boys, was living in a brush and palm leaf ramada. With some difficulty I explained about my brother's predicament and he agreed to go back after him with his team and farm wagon. While the young boys went after the horses, old Figtree carefully greased the much worn axles of his ancient wagon. As the horses walked both ways, it took us over two hours to fetch my brother.

After all these years, I have a clear memory picture of old Figtree John. He was a sturdily built Indian, not tall, but of rugged physique, with very dark skin and a weatherbeaten face, deeply lined by the harsh environment and the scorns of time. His bare feet were like horses' hoofs, and like them, proof against the burns and discomfort of the hot desert sand. His squaw was younger and could have been the mother of the two young boys, who appeared to be around nine years old; but precisely who sired these youngsters, considering John's advance age, may have been a family secret we felt was better left unexplored. After all, we were trespassers on his private domain and he was a dour Indian with a businesslike look around his eyes that discouraged undue inquisitiveness, or indulgence in any form of levity. Tales have been told of his hostility toward travelers but he was friendly to us, though noticeably uncommunicative. It was obvious he had never had any guidance in gracious social living for his table manners were primitive.

According to my diary, Figtree gave us a good supper, consisting of potatoes, noodles, coffee and biscuits. We slept that night on

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the desert sand beside the shelter. In the morning, our host woke us up at four o'clock, greased the precious wagon axles again, and we started for Mecca. We were so exhausted we both stretched out flat on the floor of the wagon. This trip across the desert to the railroad took three hours, as on sandy desert roads in midsummer horses always walked.

We got to Mecca in time for breakfast at the Hotel Caravansary, a weatherbeaten wooden building with store attached and tents behind for guests. Figtree was our guest for breakfast, disposing of a surprising quantity of food. He was a practical man of small means who grasped any rewards or windfalls that came his way. Later, we saw him at the grocery, investing his pay in copious quantities of starchy foods. Starches are the staff of life of millions of people of slender purse. I fear that the five dollars bonus we gave him for his horses' reward was merely added to his own larder.

After arranging for John McGrath, a miner, to go after our derelict car and pull it in with his team, assisted by Charley Brown, a practical mechanic, we left Mecca that night by train for San Diego, arriving home on July 3.

Several days later we returned to Mecca by train, arriving there in the early afternoon. John McGrath was sitting under the railroad water tank, which because it was always dripping water from leaks or overflow, made a cool retreat much enjoyed by the local citizens. He told us about his hot strenuous trip retrieving our car. He had noticed the many places in the road where we rested during our nocturnal ordeal and said that many an "old timer" could not have stood the trip. He estimated we had walked a total distance of forty miles, but upon a study of recent maps, I believe the total distance I covered on foot was just a bit over thirty-five miles. The heat, heavy sand, poor water in limited quantity, and the worry, made it seem longer to us.

Our automobile had twisted an axle loose from inside a hub. Charley Brown, an obliging hard-working mechanic, who drove a remarkably patched-up automobile for a mining company, helped us remove the broken part, and he ordered a new one for us from Los Angeles.

During the time we waited for the new part to arrive, we loafed around the station, often under the dripping water tank, which took the place of a municipal park. We took our meals alternately at the hotel and at McGrath's shack. We slept first in the hay at McGrath's, then moved to the green grass beside a reservoir.

One delightfully pleasant evening (for the desert can be

delightful when one does not have to walk miles under harrowing conditions), my brother, Cy Bendorf, and I went swimming in the reservoir. This pool of cool water, partly grown up with tulles and bordered by green grass, looked like a Garden of Eden compared to the surrounding parched desert. Myriads of night hawks, bats, and crepuscular insects were flying over its surface. We ate an *al fresco* supper on the upturned banks of this reservoir; an old prospector, Mr. South, joining us for the bits of food that came his way. Soon Cynthia, the full moon, rose and spread her silvery tresses over the landscape, giving the desert's dusty face an ethereal hue. One does not soon forget such scenes. Old Mr. South sought by a wearisome monologue to substantiate his claim of ownership of Cottonwood Springs, a desert watering place in the mountains twenty-five miles northeast of Mecca. Charley Brown was the owner of this oasis but later we saw old South starting out across the desert on foot in the moonlight, headed for Cottonwood which he sought to defend, if necessary, by force of arms. How this embroglio ended I never learned, but nine years later, when I was again in Mecca, Brown owned two artesian wells, an ice plant, and a small ranch a little ways south of the station. For the record, John McGrath had by then moved to Pomona, but his brother Wes took his place on the desert.

The next day the new wheel hub arrived, and after installing it, we bid goodbye to McGrath, Brown, and Bendorf and were soon on our way home. We stopped a moment at Indian Wells for a bath in an irrigation ditch and reached Palm Springs at sundown. We had dinner with our friend Adler, the restaurant owner and forest ranger, then bid him our adieu and motored home without incident.

Now the old Palm Springs is gone forever. Old Man Murray and Eytel and Adler have long been gathered to their forebears. Our pleasant desert camping site, with its chipmunks dashing from bush to bush and its pack rats making their nightly forays, has been overwhelmed by the pressure of burgeoning civilization. The somnolent little desert resort with its handful of whites and Indians, its dusty roads and great shade trees, all surrounded by miles of virginal desert unsullied by man's artificialities, has been replaced by a populous city with paved streets, large stores, supermarkets, and costly homes, all flanked by miles of new subdivisions. But I remember it in all its original charm, and sometimes I think I liked it best as it was, than the way it is now.

Thus ends this record of a midsummer's motoring trip of so many years ago.

PIONEER BUILDERS OF LOS ANGELES

A SERIES OF PERSONALITY SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE MEN AND
WOMEN WHO HELPED TRANSFORM THE PUEBLO OF LOS
ANGELES INTO A MODERN AMERICAN CITY

By Margaret Romer

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION



THE SERIES OF PERSONALITY SKETCHES which begins in this issue of the QUARTERLY undertakes to fill a gap in the history of Los Angeles and its environs which needs to be filled now, as long as documentary evidence can still be supplemented from personal recollections of near-contemporaries. The story of the early settlers of Spanish and Mexican ancestors has been pretty well told. The story of the *Norte Americanos* who came later and who transformed the pueblo into a city has so far been neglected. In his "*Biographical Sketches*," which the QUARTERLY printed over a period of several years, our unforgettable Marco Newmark dealt with the lives of some of these people.

Mrs. Margaret Romer now proposes to present in systematic, though not necessarily chronological order, the lives of the many men — and perhaps some women — who were active and influential during the period of transition. Her material is largely drawn from the records, but I have no doubt that she will also avail herself of the personal memories of many of our Society members whose life spans have overlapped those of some of the biographees.

The series begins on the following pages.

PRUDENT BEAUDRY

It was a lucky day both for Prudent Beaudry and for Los Angeles when the young Canadian arrived in 1852. He had come West in the Gold Rush, had made money in the merchantile business in San Francisco, lost most of it, and reached the Southland with about \$1,100.00 worth of goods and some \$200.00 in cash. With this meager stake he opened a small store on Main Street which he soon moved to Commercial.

Two years later, Mr. Beaudry bought the property at the corner of Aliso and Los Angeles Streets, remodeled it, and the building was henceforth known as the Beaudry Block. Soon thereafter, he went back to Montreal but retained his property here. Like most people who have once lived in Southern California and returned to the East, he came back to his "favorite city."

Always a money-maker, he went into business again in his own Beaudry Block. This was in 1861. During his lifetime, he made five large fortunes in different lines of business. Four of these fortunes he lost "through the act of God, or by the duplicity of man"; but he was not a quitter.

Mr. Beaudry's first big venture in Los Angeles was the purchase of twenty acres of land lying between Second and Fourth Streets, and between Hill and Charity (Grand Avenue) Streets. He paid \$517.00 for the tract! Less than \$26.00 an acre! He divided the land into eighty lots, sold them and cleared \$30,000.00 on the transaction.

So successful was this venture in real estate, that Mr. Beaudry bought thirty-nine acres between Fourth and Sixth Streets, and between Charity (Grand Avenue) and Pearl (Figueroa). On this tract, he cleared some \$50,000.00. It was largely these two developments that caused the change of the name of Charity Street to Grand Avenue. The new residents objected to the former appellation and appealed to the City Council for the change. Mr. Beaudry's heart was in the hill section west of the business district. He laid out streets and provided water. While he made money, he also spent it generously. In all, he donated to the public at least fifty miles of streets, which cost him no less than \$200,000.00 to open and grade. He was the first in Los Angeles to sell lots on small monthly payments so people of modest means could own their own homes.

In 1868, the Southland experienced exceptionally heavy rains which washed out the rather primitive municipal water system. Los Angeles was desperate for domestic water. Prudent Beaudry and several other prominent business men came

to the rescue and offered the City Council an arrangement by which they would organize a company and would guarantee to provide water for Los Angeles for the next thirty years. The offer was accepted, and Mr. Beaudry became the head of the new water company, which not only made good on its agreement to provide water, but proved exceedingly profitable to Mr. Beaudry and his associates.

In 1873, Prudent Beaudry was elected to serve on the City Council. Two years later, he was chosen as mayor, receiving ninety votes more than the other three candidates combined. The people's confidence in him was fully justified. He had a quick and keen perception and was an untiring worker. In those days there were many temptations to turn profit into private hands at the expense of the city, but Prudent Beaudry was incorruptible.

Mayor Beaudry took part in the ceremony of driving the golden spike near Lang Station, which signaled the completion of the first railroad that was to connect Los Angeles with the East — the Southern Pacific from San Francisco to Los Angeles.

Prudent Beaudry was a successful mayor, a successful business man, and a successful personality. It was indeed a lucky day for Los Angeles when he chose this as his "favorite city."

LYNDEN ELLSWORTH BEHYMER

In the pueblo days of Los Angeles the air vibrated to the soft tones of mandolins and guitars. With the coming of the Americans, the music of these instruments gradually lessened, and it was Lynden Ellsworth Behymer who brought music, American and European style, to the Angelenos.

For more than half a century, Mr. Behymer was an impresario — the czar of musical events in Los Angeles, the theatrical arts, and the lecture circuits. For thirty-one years he maintained an office in the Philharmonic Auditorium from which, it has been said, "He kept six trains of thought and two telephones going most of the time." He brought Paderewski, Sarah Bernhardt, Madam Modjeska, Madam Patti, Mark Twain, and many other celebrities to the town in the "cow country" in the early days. Later, he backed and helped make famous Ruth St. Denis, Maud Allen, Lawrence Tibbett and others.

Lynden was born in November of 1862. Twenty-four years later, in 1886, he and his bride, Nettie Behymer, stepped off an excursion train from Kansas City in the old Southern Pacific depot in Los Angeles.

Pioneer Builders of Los Angeles

The young couple's total material wealth was \$19.00. The groom secured a job at once, but it was not to his liking. Unloading lumber was not in his line. In a short time, he was ushering in the old Grand Opera House (formerly Child's) on Main Street below First. Shortly, he was in business for himself. He became proprietor of the program booth, which was a concession. He wrote notices of the coming attractions and persuaded the newspapers to run them. Next he became "Literary Editor" of the *Morning Herald*, for which service he was paid in books! In his second year in Los Angeles he became manager of the new Los Angeles Theater.

This was the turning point in his career. He began booking attractions. The old Mott Hall on Main Street, with the pungent odors wafting upward from the market downstairs, was at that time the setting for most of the events that attracted smaller audiences than the more pretentious theaters. Larger events were held in the old Hazard's Pavilion at Fifth and Olive where the Philharmonic Auditorium stands today. Mott Hall was the scene of Mr. Behymer's first ventures: Ovide Musin, the violinist; "Blind Tom," the negro wonder pianist; Emma Abbott, soprano; and Mark Twain, author and lecturer. All were successes. Later, Mr. Behymer moved to Hazard's Pavilion. This gave him courage to go on to still wider fields until his activities covered the entire southwest.

The National Grand Opera Company was coming to San Francisco. Mr. Behymer entered into correspondence to bring it to Los Angeles. He was ridiculed for his efforts. The very idea that a grand opera company should come to the "cow country!" This made "Bee" really angry! He was determined to get them here. He went to the bank to borrow the necessary money, and was refused. "Music," they said, "is not business." "Bee" was persistent. Mrs. Hancock, the wife of a rancher, was one of the patronesses of his earlier successes, so he went out to the Hancock ranch and came back with \$2,500.00 in his pocket. The grand opera company condescended to come to the town in the Southland and the event was a thorough success.

Now, "Bee" was really on his way.

However, he usually had to wheedle, cajole, beg, and all but steal the advance money necessary to bring celebrities here. He was at first shy and rather retiring, but necessity helped him to overcome these traits and in later years he became a most convincing speaker — and money raiser. Among his backers was Fred W.

Blanchard, a man of wealth and culture who was also a polished speaker. Mr. Blanchard built the old Blanchard Hall, the first music hall in Los Angeles, located on Broadway below Second Street. He gave Mr. Behymer a great deal of assistance in the earlier years in his speaking and money-raising efforts.

In the 1890's Mr. Behymer helped to organize the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Harley Hamilton. Some years later, he helped launch the Philharmonic Orchestra. Also, he sponsored a women's orchestra of symphonic rating, under the direction, too, of Harley Hamilton.

A little theater group backed by "Bee" presented Julius Caesar in an improvised outdoor theater in Hollywood Canyon. This led to the organization of the Hollywood Theater Alliance which, in turn, grew into the magnificent present-day Hollywood Bowl.

Mr. Behymer was loved, even adored, by those artists whom he helped to fame and glory, and was thoroughly hated by those who failed to come up to his exacting standards. It has been said that, "he dealt with more temperament and tantrums than any other one person in the West." Those who loved him, tended to make him a kind of father confessor — tell him their troubles and cry on his shoulder. An untiring worker, even-tempered, smiling, and diplomatic; experience taught him to deal with any kind of a situation, from oratory to fist fights.

Nettie Behymer worked with him faithfully throughout the years. In January of 1936, the Behymers celebrated their Golden Wedding. All musical Los Angeles joined in. A party was given for them which was attended by seven hundred fifty guests, speaking sixty-one different languages in addition to English. "Bee's" fame had by this become international.

About two months after this happy event, Mr. Behymer was seriously injured in an automobile accident. While his broken bones were mending, he continued to carry on his business affairs from his hospital bed.

On his seventy-seventh birthday, a friend asked him when he intended to retire. He replied, "I'm never going to retire. Why, only this morning my boot-black remarked, 'Double seven? Man, you is undefeatable!'"

On the eightieth birthday of "the grand old man of music" five hundred people attended a banquet in his honor in the ballroom of the Biltmore Hotel. It was given by the Southern California Symphony Association. There was a huge cake with eighty candles, and a scroll was

presented to him that was signed by all the members of the orchestra.

In his later years, Mr. Behymer suffered considerable illness, besides being injured in two different falls. He succumbed to his last sickness, and passed away on December 16, 1947. He left his wife, Nettie, a son, two daughters, eleven grandchildren and two great-grandchildren. His widow lived on for eleven more years.

JOTHAM BIXBY

The name Bixby is almost synonymous with early Long Beach. Long before there was a Long Beach, Jotham Bixby and his wife came to Los Angeles and bought the Los Cerritos Rancho fronting the ocean east of the San Gabriel River. On this magnificent tract of twenty-seven thousand acres, Jotham Bixby raised livestock, especially cattle and horses. So successful was his business that he formed a company and bought thousands of additional acres from the ranchos Palos Verdes, Los Alamitos, and the Santiago de Santa Ana, enlarging his holdings to more than seventy-six thousand acres.

Born in Maine on January 20, 1831, big broad-shouldered Jotham Bixby came from a large and substantial family. He was one of six boys. At the age of twenty-one he came to California by way of Cape Horn. For five years he worked in the gold mines, then went into the sheep and wool business in Monterey and San Luis Obispo Counties for nine years more. In 1863 he married Margaret Winslow Hathaway, the daughter of a minister. Three years later, in 1866, the Bixbys came to Los Angeles and established the Bixby Ranch. They had a family of five children, three boys and two girls.

Being the oldest family in the Long Beach area, they set the tone for that community — a Western cattle ranch with a New England flavor. They were people of integrity, strong character, and rigid moral principles. They were good citizens with the welfare of the community at heart. This is attested by their later gift to the city of Long Beach of the beautiful Bixby Park, now so famous for its state association picnics and other large public gatherings. The land on which Long Beach was built, was purchased from the Bixby estate.

MAJOR GEORGE H. BONEBRAKE

Bonebrake was one of the prominent names in Los Angeles in the 1880's and '90's. Major George H. Bonebrake was a banker, an active financier, and a builder who helped transform the dingy town into a city.

Born on his family's ancestral farm in Ohio, George attended the village school only two or three of the winter months each year. At seventeen he was sent to Otterbein University from which he graduated in six years with such an excellent record that he promptly secured a position on the faculty of an academy in a nearby town. While serving there, he studied law in his spare time.

Then the Civil War broke, and George Bonebrake joined an Indiana regiment as a volunteer private. By the end of the war he had risen to the rank of major. Returning to civilian life, he and a partner set up their own law office under the firm name of Brown & Bonebrake. Later, he was made cashier of the Citizens' Bank at Nobleville, Indiana. Meanwhile, he had married the intelligent and charming Miss Emma Lock, a former classmate. A few years later, Mrs. Bonebrake developed tuberculosis and her physician recommended a move to Southern California.

In 1878, Major and Mrs. Bonebrake arrived in Los Angeles and they both fell in love with the community and the climate at once. But her tubercular condition was too far advanced to benefit from the climate. The patient grew steadily worse. Aware of her approaching death, she requested that she be buried in Southern California.

Although crushed by the tragic loss of his wife, Major Bonebrake rallied and threw his whole great soul into his business career and the development of the community they both loved.

In the early 1880's the corner of First and Spring Streets was ugly with old shanties. Under the Major's leadership, these were torn down and replaced with a fine new bank building. Business was moving southward at that time, and the old brick schoolhouse on Spring Street had almost outlived its usefulness. Bonebrake and his business associates had it torn down and built in its place the magnificent four-story Bryson-Bonebrake Block. Major Bonebrake was president of the Los Angeles National Bank and organized a number of banks in the surrounding towns. He served as vice-president of most of them, thus directing their affairs in a safe, conservative manner.

Aside from his financial activities, Major Bonebrake had a love for growing things. He owned numerous groves of walnuts, olives, lemons and oranges, and personally supervised the culture of these fruits.

It was men of sterling qualities, like Major George H. Bonebrake, who made Los Angeles what it is today.

Major Bonebrake passed away on October 30, 1898.

Pioneer Builders of Los Angeles

OZRO W. CHILDS

Among the entrepreneurs of Los Angeles in the early American period was Ozro W. Childs. He financed and directed everything from the digging of ditches to the building of an Opera house.

Born in Vermont in 1824, Ozro Childs came to Los Angeles in November of 1850, a young man of twenty-six. Like most other Americans in Los Angeles at that time, he went into the mercantile business. He and his partner, J. D. Hicks, started a small tin shop on Commercial Street in a little adobe building about twenty by forty feet. They did a good business and prospered.

However, Childs did not restrict himself to the tin business, he had a wide variety of interests and talents. He contracted with the city to build a ditch to carry domestic water to the southwest part of town. Taking water from the *Zanja Madre*, or main ditch, the new ditch ran south between Main and Los Angeles to Fourth where it turned west and ambled over to Fifth and Olive, and then ran down Olive Street on the west side of Central Park (Pershing Square) to Ninth Street. Mr. Childs took his pay for the job in land — some two hundred acres lying between Sixth and Ninth Streets and between Main and Pearl (Figueroa).

Later, H. D. Barrows joined the firm of Childs and Hicks, and the business was enlarged to include hardware. It was thereafter called J. D. Hicks and Company. In 1861, Mr. Barrows bought out the Childs and Hicks interests, and Ozro Childs gave all his attention to a vocation that he had started some time before as a hobby. He took up horticulture as a business. He gathered rare trees, fruits and plants from all over the world, cultivated, and sold them. He was the first commercial horticulturist in this area.

Meanwhile, Mr. Childs had taken a wife. She was Miss Emeline Huber, a German girl whose family had come here from Louisville, Kentucky. Mr. Childs built a fine home on Eleventh Street between Main and Hill and on the ten acres immediately surrounding the house, he laid out one of the loveliest gardens in Los Angeles County. Gravel walks were laid in the shade of pines and other trees rare in the area. There were velvety lawns, gorgeous flowerbeds, and summer houses scattered here and there. The grounds were a show-place to which people came for miles around to gaze at its beauty.

On the land surrounding his private gardens, Mr. Childs grew the trees, plant and flowers which he sold commercially. Fruits that were once rarities here, he

propagated in his nursery and made common — the persimmon, the black walnut and many others. He had the "Midas touch" — and prospered.

As his wealth increased, so did his investments. He dabbled in real estate, in the insurance business, was president of the Los Angeles Electric Company, and was a stockholder and one of the trustees of the Farmers and Merchants Bank. He and a few other leading citizens established the Main Street horse-car line which ran down Main Street from Temple to the Washington Gardens at Nineteenth (now Washington Boulevard). There were two cars on the line originally, with one horse to pull each car. A capacity load was eight to ten people, depending upon the size of the passengers. The fare was ten cents. The car barn and horse stable were at the Washington end of the tracks. Later, the line was extended to the race track in Agricultural Park (Exposition Park).

Although Ozro Childs was a Catholic, he, in association with other civic leaders, donated the land on which the University of Southern California was started as a Methodist college.

In 1884, in his latter years, Mr. Childs built Childs' Opera House on Main Street below First. It was the first large theater in town, having a seating capacity of eighteen hundred people. The opening event was one of the most glamorous spectacles ever witnessed in the town. The opera house retained its position as the leading theater until it was superseded early in the twentieth century by the Mason Opera House on Broadway.

The Childs family was sociably inclined and hospitable. Many a gay party was held in their home. On one occasion, they gave a huge public reception in honor of the charming, unostentatious Polish dramatic actress, Madam Helen Modjeska.

Mr. and Mrs. Childs had three charming daughters, all belles of the town. They were Emma, Carrie, and Ruth. They also had two sons, Ozro W. II, and Stephen V. Childs.

Near the beginning of the great boom of the 1880's, Mr. Childs subdivided part of his magnificent orchard into lots and sold them under a unique lottery plan. There were as many chances sold, at \$350.00 each, as there were lots. On a certain day, the names were thrown into a container, mixed, and then drawn out one at a time. The chance-holders were then given their choice of the lots in the order in which their names were drawn. These lots lay on the east side of Main Street extending southward from Eleventh.

About this time also, the Childs family sold much of their other property and it

was Emeline Childs who named the streets that were laid out through their land: Faith (now Flower), Hope and Charity (Grand Avenue).

Not long after the completion of the opera house, Ozro W. Childs died on April 17, 1890.

His widow sold the magnificent home place to Henry E. Huntington. Years later, when Broadway was extended southward, the property was taken over by the city, the mansion was razed and today the Broadway traffic flows over the ground where once bloomed the beautiful Childs gardens.

ANTONIO FRANCO CORONEL

One of the pillars of Los Angeles, both in the Mexican and the early American periods, was Antonio Franco Coronel. Although he served with the Mexican army against the United States in the war; yet, after the peace treaty was signed, he remained in Los Angeles and became a staunch and loyal American citizen.

Born in Mexico City in 1817, Antonio came to Los Angeles with his parents when he was seventeen. Being well educated for his time, Antonio taught in the first public school in Los Angeles which was started by his father. There were no text books. Only a blackboard served as instructional material. He also assisted the priests with their clerical work.

A fine-looking man, with the beard and mustache that was traditional of the period, Don Antonio Coronel was an exceedingly capable a man of genuine refinement and courtly manners. Four years after his arrival in Los Angeles, he was made assistant secretary of tribunals for the town. Five years later, he became judge of the first instance, which corresponds to our justice of the peace. He was still only twenty-six years of age. The following year he was appointed inspector of southern missions.

Then came the U.S.-Mexican War, and Frémont, Kearny, and Stockton "invaded" California. Antonio Coronel joined the Mexican Army and became a sergeant-at-arms to help defend his country against the enemy. He was at that time a member of the body of magistrates of Los Angeles.

After the war, California was under United States military law, and Frémont gave the Californians their choice of remaining in their homes and becoming American citizens, or returning to Mexico. Antonio Coronel chose to remain. Already one of the leading citizens of Los Angeles, he threw himself wholeheartedly into the new government, serving first as county

assessor, and in 1858 as mayor. The next twelve years, Don Antonio was a member of the Los Angeles City Council. He also served for a time as state treasurer. He was one of the founders of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, and was an influential personage among American, Spanish and Mexican citizens alike.

At the age of fifty-six, Antonio Coronel married Mariana Williamson, an American lady born in Texas. The marriage proved exceptionally successful. Mrs. Coronel worked with her husband in the handling of their various properties as well as in the administration of his general business affairs.

Although from a cultured and aristocratic family, Coronel had a strong feeling of sympathy for the common people and especially for the Indians. He wrote many letters to the Federal Government in an effort to get justice for them. Mrs. Coronel was in complete accord with his sentiments, and together they assembled a remarkable collection of Indian, Spanish, and Mexican curios which Mrs. Coronel later presented to the city of Los Angeles. She was also very active in work of a philanthropic nature, serving through the Children's Home Society and the Ladies' Aid Society, as well as being a member of the Pioneer Society, and the *Historical Society of Southern California*. She spoke both English and Spanish with equal fluency and served as interpreter for Helen Hunt Jackson in much of her research for her famous novel, *RAMONA*.

The original home of the Coronel family was an adobe house east of the Plaza. As the center of town gradually moved southward and the Plaza district degenerated, Antonio Coronel built a new home "way out" on Central Avenue at Seventh Street.

On April 17, 1894, the good man, Antonio Coronel, closed his long and useful career — a loyal American to the last.

DR. RICHARD S. DEN

In the early American period of Los Angeles a man who bore a striking resemblance to the well-known equestrian painting of George Washington was frequently seen riding a magnificent black horse. He was Dr. Richard S. Den, whose life was as dramatic as his appearance.

Born in County Kilkenny, Ireland, in 1821, of a noble and deeply religious family, Dr. Den received his medical education in Dublin, specialized in obstetrics. He graduated with honors at the age of twenty-two but had great difficulty in getting a start in practice because of his youth. At last he secured a position as ship's surgeon on a sailing vessel bound for

Pioneer Builders of Los Angeles

Australia. On this long voyage, the young doctor achieved the remarkable record of keeping everyone aboard, both passengers and crew, in excellent health.

From Australia, the ship sailed to Valparaiso, Chile, and then to Mazatlan on the west coast of Mexico. In Mazatlan, Dr. Den received news of his brother, Nicholas Den, who lived at Santa Barbara. Resigning his position as ship's surgeon, young Den boarded a coast-wise steamer for California, arriving at Santa Barbara on the first of September, 1843. He intended only to visit his brother and then return to his home in Ireland.

The following winter, Dr. Den visited Los Angeles and while here, it became necessary for him to perform an unusual and difficult operation. This deed of mercy endeared him to the Angelenos and they prepared a petition signed by both Mexican and American citizens, asking Dr. Den to make his home among them and to establish his practice in Los Angeles. Deeply moved by their gesture, he accepted their invitation and started practicing here in July, 1844.

Then came the Mexican War. Los Angeles was Mexican territory, and Dr. Den was made chief physician and surgeon of the Mexican forces in Southern California. In line of duty, he treated both Mexican soldiers and the American prisoners held by the Mexicans. Among his patients were Thomas O. Larkin, the only American Consul ever appointed to California, and the beloved American citizen, Benjamin "Don Benito" Wilson. Strictly neutral in the war, Dr. Den cared for all who needed his services. When not on military duty, he treated the civilian sick — Americans and Mexicans, rich and poor, free or for a fee, according to the case. Little wonder he was loved by everyone.

After the war, came the Gold Rush. Dr. Den himself had a touch of the "gold fever." He organized a prospecting party and headed for the "diggin's" in Calaveras County. For about a year he prospected without much success. He discovered there was more gold in his medical practice than in the mines. Besides, his medical services were badly needed in the mining region. As in the Mexican War, he treated all who needed him, regardless of whether they

were rich or "broke." Money seemed to flow toward him as naturally as chips floated down the current of a stream.

After a few months of practice in the mining country, the young doctor moved to San Francisco where he continued to follow his profession. While there, he helped to organize the Society of California Pioneers.

In 1854, Dr. Den returned to the "cow country" but settled in Santa Barbara where he took charge of the San Marcos Rancho, stocked with 2,000 head of cattle. In the big drought of the 'sixties, he lost most of the cattle by starvation. Added to this loss, was the death of his brother, Nicholas Den.

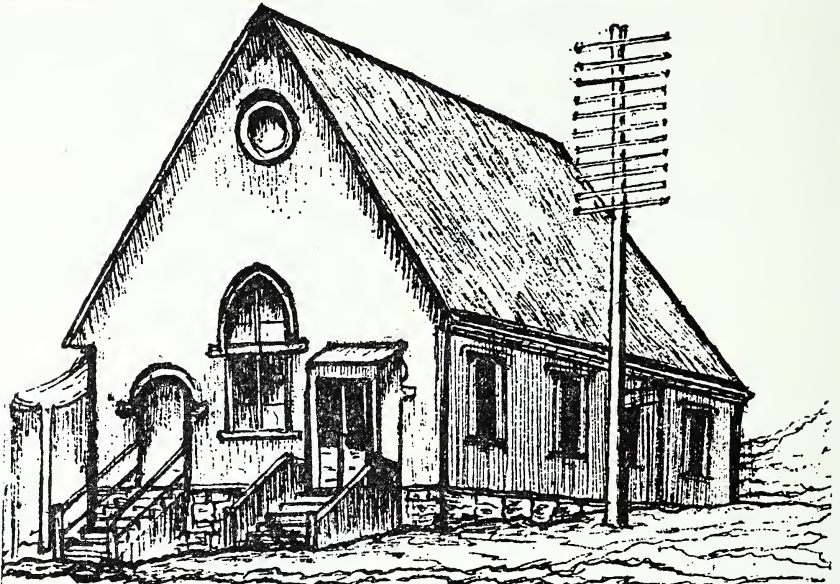
In 1866, at the age of forty-five, Dr. Den returned to Los Angeles where he remained for the rest of his life. He was a close friend of "Don" and "Doña" Abel Stearns. Socially, he was a Beau Brummell and the dream of most of the belles of the town. In spite of all the admiration he received from them, he remained a life-long bachelor. His dignity, his high sense of honor, his skill, and his unvarying adherence to medical ethics won him the respect of all classes of Angelenos. The Mexican population said of him, "Después de Dios, Doctor Don Ricardo," (After God, Doctor Don Richard.)

Dr. Den maintained a fine office on the second floor of his own building which he constructed on North Main Street adjoining the Baker Block. It was three stories high with a front of white marble imported from Italy. It was considered the most glamorous office building in town.

In a period when most men wore heavy beards, mustaches and goatees, Dr. Den wore none of them but was smooth-shaven. He usually dressed completely in black — a long broadcloth Prince Albert with a velvet collar, an extremely high white starched collar with a black silk scarf wrapped twice around it, and a high black hat, under which was a mass of wavy hair, white in his later years. In this conventional costume, he went the rounds of his patients, astride his favorite black horse.

This unusual man is credited with saving the lives of hundreds of Angelenos before surrendering his own to the "Grim Reaper."

(Series to be continued)



*"The Old Landmark that Must Give Way to Modern
Improvements in Court House Square"*

THE LITTLE CHURCH ON THE CORNER

A Clipping from the *Los Angeles Times* of Sunday, August 16, 1891

Submitted by

MRS. DEXTER MONROE

"The little church on the corner," of which the above cut is a faithful reproduction, is the first Protestant house of worship erected in Los Angeles.

On May 4th, 1859, an organization was formed by Rev. William E. Boardman, under the title of the "First Protestant Society," with a constitution declaring that its members "unite for the purpose of supporting Protestant worship here."

In 1864 they built "the little church on the corner," at that time quite an imposing edifice for Los Angeles.

In 1865 the society reorganized under the title of the "Saint Athanasius Episcopal Church," when the society refunded the money spent by the Presbyterians in assisting in building the church, and it was formally transferred to the Episcopalians.

The first officers were as follows:

Senior Warden.....	G. J. Clark
Junior Warden.....	H. F. Dibblee
Vestrymen: J. M. Griffith, S. E. Briggs, T. Woolweber, J. Henfield, R. I. Hays, C. R. Conway	
Secretary.....	S. E. Briggs
Treasurer.....	J. M. Griffith

The Pastors of the Church have been: Elias Birdsall, J. Talbot, H. H. Messenger, C. F. Loop, J. B. Gray, William H. Hill.

The congregation continued worship in the building until Christmas day, 1883.

In the meantime the property had been sold to the county, and when it was vacated by the church, was used for such county offices as could not be accommodated in the old Courthouse.

— *"The Times."* Los Angeles, Sunday, Aug. 16, 1891.

LAS FAMILIAS de CALIFORNIA

(*The Families of California*)

Conducted by MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

Genealogical Queries and Answers

12. Can you tell me who Dr. Vincent Gelcich married? I am working on Dr. Gelcich's connection with oil used in the '60's. — A. B. Perkins, 22941 West Lyons Avenue, Newhall, California.

Answer: The 1870 Federal Census for Los Angeles records the following information:

408-419 *Dr. Gelcich, Vincent*; age 42, male, white, physician, real estate valued at \$20,000, personal property at \$1,000, born in Delmatia. *Petra S.*, wife, 27, female, white, keeps house, born California.

In the *Historical Society of Southern California ANNUAL*, Vol. III, Part 2, in *The Owens Valley Earthquake of 1872* by C. Mulholland appears this excerpt:

"Dr. Gelcich occupied a building, one end being used as a drug store and the other as a dwelling. The end of the dwelling went out at the first crash, and through this he escaped with his wife and infant child; just as the side walls and roof fell in."

The Los Angeles Public Library has interesting photographs of Dr. Vincent Gelcich and his wife, Petra. On the reverse side of one of Mrs. Gelcich's photos is says, "Mrs. Petra (Pico) Gelcich. daughter of Antonio María Pico. Wife of Dr. Gelcich — soloist and charity worker during the 60's and 70's." I understand she was the daughter of Captain Antonio María Pico (born at Monterey about 1800) and Pilar Bernal.

The *Los Angeles Daily Herald*, Saturday morning, June 6, 1885, printed a most informative obituary notice of Dr. Gelcich's death that occurred on June 5, 1885. It mentions his marriage to an Agnes Dawson Hughes in 1879. Apparently he married twice as further substantiated by the data in the 1880 Federal Census for Los Angeles:

118-180-193 *Gelcich, Victor* (sic), white, male, age 52, married, physician. Mother, father and self born in Austria. ... *Agnes*, white, female, age 35, wife, married, keeping house. Mother, father and self born in Ireland.

13. In the March number of the QUARTERLY, Mr. Owen states in his article on the old Plaza Church of Los Angeles, that Doña Eustaquia Pico, mother of the numerous and famous Pico's which play such an important role in the political life of California, is not buried within the church building. If this is the case, where was Mrs. Pico buried? — B. C. Dexter, Sierra Madre, California.

Answer: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIFORNIA by Warner, Hayes, and Widney (1876 — p. 108) states the mother of Pío Pico was buried in 1845. In Helen Tyler's article, *The Family of Pico* in the *Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY, (p. 221, Vol. 35, No. 3, 1953) she refers to the letter written on January 24, 1846, by Father Durán to Pío Pico expressing his sympathy at the loss of Pico's mother. The article says she was buried in San Gabriel. Father Zephrynn Englehardt, in his MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES (Vol. IV, p. 464), states Señora Pico died in January, 1846, and was buried in Los Angeles.

However, thorough searches made of the burial records at the Plaza Church and the Missions of San Gabriel, San Fernando, Santa Bárbara, San Juan Capistrano and San Diego have failed to divulge any mention of Doña Pico. It is possible it is in one of the missing records.

In the "*Las Familias de California*" section of the March, 1960, issue of the QUARTERLY, p. 90, Mrs. Dexter Monroe noted her great-grandparents, José María Ortega and Francisca López, with four children. Additional information on this family was then submitted.

- Husband: Josef María Ortega
 Born: 1760 at Loreto Presidio, Baja California
 Died: 1821 at Santa Inés Mission
 Married: June 14, 1779, at San Diego Mission
 Parents: Josef Francisco de Ortega and María Victoria Carrillo y Millar
- Wife: María Francisca López
 Born: 1763 at Santa Ana, Baja California
 Parents: Josef Ygnacio López and María Fecunda de Mora
- Children:
- Josef María Martín Ortega, born March 2, 1781, at San Diego Presidio, married January 13, 1799, to María Gertrudis Celia Rodríguez.
 - María Antonia de la Cruz Ortega, born May 3, 1783, at Santa Bárbara and died January 19, 1792 at Santa Bárbara.
 - Josef Vicente Ortega, born about 1785, married January 11, 1807, at Santa Inés to María Estefana Olivera, buried October 27, 1817.
 - Joseph Antonio María Ortega, baptized April 8, 1789, at La Purísima, married February 24, 1811, at Santa Bárbara to María Tomasa Rodríguez.
 - José Dolores Ponciano Ortega, born November 18, 1790, at La Purísima, married August 30, 1813, at Santa Inés to María Dolores Leyva.
 - María Antonia Loreta Ortega, born September 9, 1792, at Santa Bárbara.
 - María del Pilar Salvadora Ortega, born October 17, 1794, at Santa Bárbara, married May 30, 1810, to Santiago Argüello.

Las Familias de California

Juan María Ortega, baptized February 17, 1796, at Santa Bárbara.

María de la Soledad Ortega, born April 13, 1797, at Santa Bárbara, married August 30, 1822, to Luis Antonio Argüello, died in 1874 at Santa Clara (Grandparents of Mrs. Dexter Munroe).

María de Jesús Salvadora Ortega, born June 1, 1800, at Santa Bárbara, married to Josef Ramírez.

Josef Joaquín Gerónimo Ortega, born September 30, 1801, at Santa Bárbara, married March 4, 1821, at San Diego to María Casimira Pico.

Josef Dolores de Altagracia Ortega, born February 6, 1804, at Santa Bárbara.

María Manuela Ortega, born June 4, 1806, at Santa Inés.

María Concepción Ortega, born in September, 1808, at Santa Bárbara, married November 23, 1824, to José Antonio de la Guerra.

María Catarina Manuela Ortega, born November 25, 1810, at Santa Bárbara, married November 8, 1829, to Josef Carrillo.

Genealogical Notes

Padron (census) of the Presidio of San Diego, 1790

Copied from the Eldridge Translation in the Bancroft Library and Edited by
MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

1. Don José de Zuñiga, lieutenant in command of the company of this presidio; native of Cuauticlan, Mexico, 34 years old, unmarried.

2. Don Pablo de Grijalva, second lieutenant, Valle de San Luis, Sonora, 48 years old; wife, Doña Dolores Valencia, 40 years old; an orphan, 14 years old.

3. Ignacio Alvarado, sergeant, Real de Santa Ana, 45 years old, unmarried.

4. Francisco Acebedo, corporal, Sinaloa, age 42, unmarried.

5. Antonio Yorba, corporal, Villafranca, Cataluña, age 47; wife, María Josefa Grijalva, age 24; they have five children: boy 15, boy 13, one 4, one of 2 years, and a baby girl.

6. José María Verdugo, corporal, Loreto, age 37; wife, María López, age 24; they have four children: one girl 11, one 9, one 3 and a baby boy.

7. Juan María Olivera, corporal, Loreto, age 37; married to María Guadalupe Briones, age 26; they have four children: one boy 9, one 7, one 4 and a baby boy and an orphan girl age 13.

8. Francisco Serrano, corporal, age 46; married to María Silvas, age 26, Sinaloa; they have two children: one boy 7, and a girl 3.

9. Manuel Nieto, soldier, native of Sinaloa, 56; married to María Teresa Morillo, 37; one boy 11, another 5; and Nieto's mother, Manuela Pérez, widow, 70.

10. Antonio Pena, soldier, native of San Juan del Cabo, 44, single.

11. Francisco López, soldier, native of Mission Todo Santos, 48; married to Feli-

ciana Arballo, 38; one boy 12 and one 3, one girl 10, one of 5 and a baby girl.

12. Antonio de Cota, soldier, El Fuerte, Sinaloa, 58; married to María, 26; one girl 11, one 5.

13. Vicente Feliz, soldier, from Alamos, Sonora, 51; widower.

14. Mateo Rubio, soldier, European, 38; married to Ursula Domínguez, 26; one boy 9, one 3, one girl 10, one 5, and one baby girl.

15. Juan Asevedo (Acebedo), soldier, from Loreto, 34; single.

16. José Olivares, soldier, Guadalajara, 34; married to Juana Ontiveros, 21; one boy 3 and one baby boy.

17. Francisco Bruno (García), soldier, Mexico City, 32; single.

18. Quinto Zuñiga, soldier, Guadalajara, 44; married to Rufina, 30; one boy 11, one 5, one baby boy, and one girl 6.

19. Pedro Lisalde, soldier, Sinaloa, 36; married to María Encarnación Pérez, 22; one boy 4, one 1 and a girl of 5.

20. Antonio Sandobal, soldier, City of Durango, 50; married to María Dolores Ontiveros, 34; one girl 11.

21. Salvador Cariga, Loreto, 30; married to María Guadalupe, 30.

22. Francisco Feliz, soldier, Los Alamos, 28; married to Josefa de Cota, 19 (daughter of Roque).

23. Francisco Valenzuela (Juan Segundo), soldier, native of Los Alamos, 39; wife is Agustina Salazar (Agustina Alcántara y Salazar), 36; one boy 6, one 5, one girl 20, one 3 and a baby girl.

24. Pedro Mejías, soldier, Sinaloa, 38;

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married to Ana María Ortega, 36 (daughter of José Francisco).

25. Francisco Antonio Ibarra, soldier, native of Mazatlan de los Mulatos, Rosario, 34; married to María de los Angeles Velásquez, 30; one boy 11, one 6, one 4, one 3 and a girl 9.

26. Ramón Buelna, soldier, Sinaloa, 30; married to Petra Mejías, 21; one boy 3, one 2 and a girl 4.

27. Máximo Alanís, soldier, Chametla, Rosario, 32; married to Juana Miranda, 34; one boy 6, one 4, one 3, one girl 10 and a baby girl.

28. Manuel Bustamante, soldier, from Cuba, 38; married to Clara, 26; one girl 11, one 9, one 6 and a baby girl.

29. Carmen Arana, soldier, from Real de Cozala, Durango, 32; wife is Manuela Astorga, 32.

30. Doroteo Feliz, soldier, Los Alamos, 26; married to Juana Lobo, 19; one girl 2 years.

31. Francisco Sotelo, soldier, from Sinaloa, 40; married to Gabriela Silvas, 34; one boy 11, one 7, one 5 and a girl 2.

32. Crispín Pérez, soldier, from Sinaloa, 38; married to María Armenta, 30; one girl 13.

33. Juan Padilla, Real de Santa Ana, 43, single.

34. José María Pico, San Javier, Sonora, 27; married to María Eustaquia López (Gutiérrez), 18.

35. Manuel Silvas, Sinaloa, 27; married to Gertrudis Camacho, 22; one boy, one 2.

36. Estéban Pérez, Rio Yaqui, 27; single.

37. Juan Verdugo, Loreto, 28; wife is Matilde Amesquita, 21; one boy 3 and one baby boy.

38. Juan José Sepúlveda, from Sinaloa, 26; married to Tomasa Gutiérrez, 21; one boy 2 years.

39. José de Herrera, Guadalajara, 31; single.

40. José Carlos Rosas, Rosario, Sonora,

32; married to María Dolores, 26; one baby boy, one girl 4 and one 3.

41. Felipe Romero, armorer, Guadalajara, 36; married to Rosalía Márquez, 20; one boy 10, one girl 12, one 3.

42. Joaquín Higuera, Sinaloa, 39; married to María Beatriz de Cota, 34; one boy 13, one 5 and one girl 2.

43. Joaquín de Osuna, from Loreto, 22; single.

44. Pedro Alvarez, Rio Yaqui, 30; married to María Teresa Graciano, 28; one boy 10, one girl 12, one 7 and one 2.

45. Vicente Rodríguez, soldier, Real de Cozala, Durango, 22; single.

46. Juan José Alvarado, Loreto, 21; single.

47. Francisco Leandro Duarte, Real de Aduana, Sonora, 24; single.

48. Feliciano Ríos, from Tepic, 22; single.

49. José Monroy, Tepic, 37; widower.

50. Ignacio Ruiz, Rio Yaqui, 20; wife is María Gorgona, 20.

51. Patricio Ontiveros, Chametla, Rosario, 18; single.

52. Claudio López, from Real de San Antonio, 23; married to María Luisa Cota, 14; one baby boy.

53. Juan Antonio Espinosa, Sinaloa, 36; single.

54. José Feliz, Alamos, 19; married to María Celia de Cota, 32; one boy 9, one 4, one girl 6, one 3 and one baby girl.

55. Luis Gonzaga Enríquez, Mission San José de Comondu, 19; single.

56. Domingo Aruz, retired soldier, European, 50; married to Gertrudis Quintero, 24; one boy 13, another 7.

57. Lorenzo Esparsa, carpenter, Aguas Calientes, 45; married to Juana Arias Alvarado, 34; 2 orphan Indians: one girl 20 and one 9.

58. Juan Varajas, "Decentor del Departamento de San Blás," native of the same Villa (San Blás), 30; single.

(signed) JOSE DE ZUNIGA
(rubrica)

(countersigned) FR. HILARIO TORRENS
(rubrica)

BOOK REVIEWS

MESSENGER OF DESTINY: *The California Adventures, 1846-1847, of Archibald H. Gillespie, U.S. Marine Corps*, by Werner H. Marti. (Printed by Lawton Kennedy for John Howell Books, San Francisco, 1960).

History, although frequently fashioned by little-known men, does not always rescue them from oblivion. A minor biography such as this one runs a greater risk of remaining unpublished than does the historical portraiture of major figures — particularly commissioned canvasses. Because most biographers select the “publically great” as their subjects, it is satisfying to hail the appearance of studies that concern men not so well known.

In 1846, Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, disguised as a merchant, delivered to the military explorer, John C. Frémont a crucial series of secret instructions from President James K. Polk which helped determine the American role in California on the eve of the Mexican War. The major focus of this book concerns that crucial year in the life of these key figures.

Marti, using scarce source materials, re-structures and interprets the perilous events behind the military conquest of California. The encounter between Frémont and Gillespie is the high point of his volume. After that event Gillespie, except for brief prominence as military commandant of Los Angeles during a local rebellion there, and ancillary service during the Battle of San Pascual, which was followed by his giving of testimony at Frémont’s court martial, fades into obscurity. It is the Gillespie who actively participated in the central events of the conquest of California who will most interest the reader.

This book, and books of its type, perform their best function in filling in the details of events sketched all too broadly by general histories. — *Andrew F. Rolle.*

MONTGOMERY AND THE PORTSMOUTH, by Fred Blackburn Rogers. (John Howell, Books, San Francisco, 1958.) *Preface*; illus.; notes, *Index*; Pp. 146, xiv.

MONTGOMERY AND THE PORTSMOUTH is primarily the story of an historic ship of the United States Navy, and one of its commanders, a dedicated, intelligent, and level-headed naval officer; and it is a very good one, too. But it is also history that will be of interest to every Californian, whether it be the new arrival who grew up elsewhere and did not in boyhood absorb the flavor and color of early California history, or the true native son. To the former it will do much to fill a gap in his knowledge of California, and to the latter it will give increased pride in being a Californian.

The important role played by Commander Montgomery and the *U.S.S. Portsmouth* in the conquest of California during the Mexican War is well told, and the author has heightened the interest by fitting it into a proper framework of the whole history of the course of events in California. He quotes freely from the writings of Commander Montgomery, as well as others, and while the official nature of Montgomery’s writing lacks some of the color of Downey’s writing,

both of which cover the same period, there is unmistakably a gain in authority and authenticity. Downey wrote to entertain. Montgomery wrote to the conduct of a military campaign.

An interesting aspect of these operations was the very small numbers of men involved. It seems incredible that California, which now appeals to such a large population, should have then been so little known and appreciated by both sides that no greater effort was required to make the conquest. Truly we owe the possession of this area to the determination of a small band of wise and courageous men.

The parts of the book that deal with the later history of Montgomery and the *Portsmouth* will be of less interest to Californians as such, but all Americans will read with enjoyment the entire book. It naturally has an especial appeal to navy men, and California has its share of them.

The book is handsomely printed and bound, and does credit to author, publisher, and printer. — *Rear Admiral Ernest M. Pace, Jr.*

KIRBY BENEDICT, FRONTIER FEDERAL JUDGE, by Aurora Hunt. (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, 1961.) *Map; illus.; Bibliography; Index; Pp. 268. \$9.00.*

As the title page of the book says, this is "an account of legal and judicial development in the Southwest, 1853-1874, with special reference to the Indian, slavery, social and political affairs, journalism, and a chapter on circuit riding with Abraham Lincoln in Illinois."

Usually biographies are written about extraordinary personages. This is a well documented life story of a not uncommon type of lawyer, who reached his peak as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico. He was appointed as an Associate Federal Judge of the Territory of New Mexico by President Pierce, largely by reason of his friendship with and support by Senator David Davis and other friends from Illinois — circuit riding lawyers who rode with Lincoln. He was continued in office by Buchanan and made Chief Justice of his Court. He was continued in office by Lincoln, but "let out" by Johnson.

Born in Connecticut in 1810, he moved West in 1821 to Ohio, studied law, and was first admitted in Mississippi where he learned French and Spanish, which latter stood him in good stead in New Mexico. He returned to Illinois where he rode circuit with Lincoln and others.

In this book is a most interesting comparison between Benedict and Lincoln, written by a correspondent of the *Illinois Citizen* of Danville on May 29, 1850. While only a small fraction of the book deals with this circuit riding era, I quote an excerpt because to me it is an analysis of the character of the subject of the book, Kirby Benedict:

"It is with reluctance that we introduce into this article the name of Kirby Benedict. This does not arise from any particular prejudice but from a consciousness of inability to do justice to our subject. We have never yet met Benedict's equal. He cannot be called a profound jurist, for having satisfied himself with the knowledge of the general principles of his profession, he is too impatient and fond of excitement to apply his energies to the acquisition of necessary legal details.

"Abraham Lincoln and Kirby Benedict are the direct antitheses of each other and are as widely separated as heaven and earth. Benedict is easy, graceful and fascinating. Lincoln is rough, uncouth and unattractive. The former is kind, affable, and courteous; while the latter is stern, solemn, and unfamiliar.

"Benedict has never been a deep thinker and, in his arguments, he depends almost entirely upon the resources of a rich and powerful imagination. As far as oratory is concerned, he transcends, by far, any member of the Bar on the Circuit; and it is perhaps true that he possesses more than all the others combined.

"At one moment he dissects the testimony of a witness and over some trivial flaw, vents all the gall and bitterness of his invectives; then suddenly the mockery ceases and he solemnly and earnestly pleads for his client as his tones range from dulcet to fortissimo or the thunder of Niagara.

"Yet with all his brilliancy and wit, the fascination of his eloquence and the sparkling joyousness of his disposition, he is never happy when alone. He lives only when his mind can be on the wing and like a caged eagle, pines when his pinions are fettered.

"How different is Lincoln! He is gifted with a mind deeply imbued by study. His style of reasoning is profound; his deductions logical and his investigations are acute. In his examination of witnesses, he displays a masterly ingenuity and a legal tact that baffles concealment and defies deceit. When he addresses the jury, there is no false glitter or sickly sentimentalism. In vain we look for a rhetorical display of sublime nothings. His argument is bold, forcible, and convincing.

"Such are some of the qualities which place Lincoln at the head of the profession in this state and although he may have his equal, it would be no easy task to find his superior."

The main value of the book is the story of New Mexico during the period from Benedict's appointment to his death in 1874. In reading the story of his life during this period, as judge, ex-judge, lawyer, disbarred lawyer, newspaper man and financially embarrassed promoter, we see the problems of travel in that Territory, the disputes between Indian tribes, the problem of water rights, the boundary disputes, etc. It also deals with such matters as killing, slavery, peonage, poverty, inebriation, frontier living, etc.

Of interest to many will be the fact that Kirby Benedict was an organizer of

Book Reviews

the *New Mexico Historical Society* and one of its early presidents. He set out to accumulate photographic data, maps, etc., but these were lost in 1871.

This is not a great book, but is a valuable contribution to the history of

New Mexico and Arizona. It is also a picture of life in the Southwest during that era. From it, we can see and understand the area and people. — *McIntyre Faries*.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JUNIPERO SERRA, O.F.M., *A Biography* by Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., Ph. D. (Washington, D. C., Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959.) Vol. I: *Illus., Maps*; Pp. xiv; 448. Vol. II: *Illus., Maps, Bibliography, Index*; Pp. xiv; 508.

As a sub-title the work bears the following: *The Man who never Turned Back*. Indeed, the biographer might also be so categorized after twenty years of research and writing on Serra. The Academy of American Franciscan History is to be congratulated on this well-published two-volume work, which should be the final study of Serra. Authoritative, definitive, it is the work of the most ardent Serraphile and justly deserves the Henry Raup Wagner award for the best book of the year concerning California history.

Though the illustrations are not as many as in the Serra Trail book, nor are his footnotes so detailed or copious as in his edition of Palóu's Life of Serra, Father Maynard has produced his best work on his favorite subject. Some thirty-six articles listed in the bibliography of this study, most of them concerning Serra directly or indirectly, indicate the biographer's previous interest in his subject.

If the book were not so essential to the Serra cause for canonization, the bibliography might have been reduced considerably, especially in the matter of archival citations where even individual letters are cited in full. It is only slight exaggeration to say that the whole world has been searched for Serra materials; and they have turned up in the most likely and the most unlikely places. Private collections, governmental archives, religious depositories, and educational institutions have yielded their treasures through thousands of hours of research and many thousands of miles of travel in reconstructing the story of one of California's most notable figures.

As a biography, the Geiger work traces Serra's life from humble birth as a Mallorcan peasant in a two-story stone house at No. 6 Calle Barracar, Petra. Son of devout Catholic parents, young

Serra was soon to choose the service of the church as a career. Study and application, good teachers and his own innate talent soon won for Serra considerable distinction within the Franciscan order. America, a missionary challenge, soon beckoned, and Doctor Serra left his professorship accompanied by his inseparable companion, Fr. Francisco Palóu, bound for the New World. After experience in the mission field of Sierra Gorda (1750-1758) and duties as an itinerant preacher, Serra was finally called to California.

The struggle for the occupation of California and the organization of the Sacred Expedition are too well known to bear repeating; suffice it to say, without Serra much of the will to occupy this northern outpost would have been lacking. Serra was eager for missionary success to crown the Franciscan efforts and opposed bitterly any force that stood in his way. Conflict between local military authority and Serra as Father President of the local Franciscans was almost inevitable. Strong frontier soldiers such as Rivera, Fages and Neve were not always in accord with the Franciscan goal as expressed by Serra, and the zealous Franciscan was not one to give in easily. Working against unfavorable odds, the Mallorcan was able to plan, institute, and see fruit from some nine of the California missions before death overtook him in 1784.

Serra's fame has grown since his death. A good, contemporary biographer in Father Palóu, and a modern one in Father Geiger, have aided, "Monuments to Serra line the road" that he took. "His missions have been restored — about a million people from all parts of the globe visit them annually. His name is a household word in California. He is a candidate for sainthood." — *Donald C. Cutter*.

THE DESERT WAS HOME. By Elizabeth W. Crozer Campbell. (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1961.) Pp. 265; *illus.* \$6.75.

This book is a soul-stirring eulogy of the desert as well as a realistic and vivid account of the development of the Twentynine Palms area from a desert oasis to a modern community. The reader lives

with the author, sharing the hardships and the joys of pioneering.

Mrs. Campbell is a native of New Jersey and came west with her husband for his health. He had been gassed in

the first World War. After hospitalization in Linda Vista, he was advised to try the desert; so off they went to the Twentynine Palms oasis, pitched a tent and camped for about a year. City reared, Mrs. Campbell was ill-fitted for her new roll, but she adjusted to the life, learned how to "rough it" and even the necessary art of handling a gun. The area at that time was cattle country and a hide-out for bootleggers and questionable characters whose main ambition was to avoid the sheriff. These derelicts had to come to the oasis for water, sometimes creating difficult situations.

The dry air did so much to improve Mr. Campbell's health, that the couple resolved to file a claim for a homestead and make the desert their permanent home. The reader experiences with them all the homey details of starting their ranch with limited financial means; the feuds, the fence-cutting, the encounters with the undesirable element. Homesteaders were most unwelcome in the area.

In compensation for their labors and troubles, the Campbells experienced the satisfaction of creating their home with their own hands and of finding, not buying, much of their material such as posts and building stones. They were sixty-one miles from the nearest place where they could buy gasoline. At first they had to haul water from the spring. Later, they dug a well. The reader worries with them over the problems of keeping food in the desert heat without ice, and cooking on a rickety old stove which they picked up for \$3.00. He works and sweats with them as they build their first cabin of one room. He also shares in the beauty of the desert through Mrs. Campbell's vivid descriptions of the velvety, starry nights, of brilliant moonlight, of gorgeous sunsets and inspiring, promising sunrises. He hears the yipping of the coyotes in the hills, sees the glorious and colorful wild flowers, and feels the eloquent stillness. He knows the fury of the desert storm and the terror of its sudden flash floods.

The book is filled with fascinating anecdotes about the predicaments the Campbells got into while exploring "their" desert — its oases and water holes, and

their encounters with odd desert characters. The reader gets acquainted with, and learns to love, their wild animal friends, many of whom actually moved in and lived with them for varying lengths of time. Mrs. Campbell says, "There is something touching in the confidence wild creatures display in districts where they have been unmolested." There was Liz, the collared lizzard; Kit, the fox with the long graceful silvery tail; Jerry, the big kangaroo rat; and Phoney, the road runner. Countless birds hovered near them. Patty, the St. Bernard dog, was trained not to molest the animal friends, though she was often jealous of the attention they received. Sometimes birds would flutter down to them, worn out from the long migrations, or wounded with shot by some hunter. The Campbells would feed and care for them until they were able to fly on their way.

The author spoke fervently of the pioneer spirit; referring to the whole-hearted co-operation of the homesteaders. When a road was needed, they all pitched in and built it — forty-five miles of it. When a school was needed, they built it with their own hands. When anyone was sick or injured, the neighbors helped take care of the patient. They helped each other build their houses, dig their wells and raise their windmills. The author regretted the weakening of that fine pioneer spirit as the desert became settled. Billboards appeared, picknickers littered the oases, and trash began to blow around. "The old desert bonds are gone," she lamented.

The author, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Crozer Campbell, is an archeologist of considerable note. She has published five books on the subject besides magazine articles. In later years she was associated with the Southwest Museum at Los Angeles, with the Arizona State Museum, and with the University of Arizona.

Mrs. Campbell's latest book, *THE DESERT IS HOME*, makes little reference to her work in archeology. Her style is vivid, glowing, realistic and warmly human. It is sentimental without being "mushey." In short, the book is hard to let alone, once the reader has started the story. — *Margaret Romer.*

Activities of the Society

JANUARY MEETING

Historical Writing and Research was the topic of a panel discussion at the January meeting of the Society held at the Los Angeles County Museum. Vice-President Justin G. Turner, moderator, spoke briefly of his personal experiences resulting from manuscript research. Dr. Harold M. Hyman, Associate Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles, told of the importance of the historical profession today. Mr. Irving Stone, well-known author told of his experiences and his workday in Italy while doing research on Michelangelo for his current best seller "The Agony and the Ecstasy."

FEBRUARY MEETING

Annual American History Program

The Society held a dinner meeting at the UCLA Faculty Center, February 1, 1961. President Gustave O. Arlt spoke on "Carl Schurz and the Civil War." He gave a vivid picture of the diplomatic and military activities of this great soldier-statesman, drawn chiefly from his diaries and from his voluminous correspondence with members of his family and other associates. These documents leave the clear impression that, while Carl Schurz was an enthusiastic and devoted soldier, he was probably much more successful as a statesman and politician.

Vice-President Justin G. Turner, who had recently returned from the Orient where he studied conditions in Formosa, spoke on "Formosa and the United States Today." He discussed the problems presently confronting Formosa and the United States. Mr. Turner described the status of the eight and one-half million native islanders and the two million mainlanders who came to Formosa with General Chiang Kai-shek. Mr. Turner stated that the Formosans are ready for independence as their people are literate and

their educational standards far higher than any other southeast Asian country, with the exception of Japan, and that if Formosa became independent, its policy would be patterned after the Republic form of government of the Philippines.

MARCH MEETING

At the March meeting of the Society at the Los Angeles County Museum, Dr. Andrew F. Rolle, a member of our Board of Directors and Associate Professor of History at Occidental College, spoke on "The Distinctiveness of California." Dr. Rolle gave an analysis of California history, where we are today and where we might want to go in the future. He stressed that the recent past has been one of California's most complicated and demanding periods, and its future promises to be more confusing.

However, history can form a rather important corrective to what might be called too much per-occupation of problems of the present. Dr. Rolle stated that we will better understand what will happen in the future by having studied the past, and particularly the immediate past.

Great changes will continue to envelop California's physical appearance as it moves from a rural toward an urban culture and from a horizontal into an increasingly vertical skyline. People who are coming to California by the hundreds of thousands know nothing about the history of the state and it will be up to people who believe in California, and the roots that go back into California, to help educate these people, if we are to remain the most distinctive state in the Union.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MRS. MARCO R. NEWMARK, Curator

FRANK FRANK — Two large lace tablecloths for use at social hour after the regular meetings.

HERBERT GREEN, JR. — Map of Lankershim sub-division in the San Fernando Valley.

CHARLES PUCK — Scrapbook: Newspaper clippings of early Los Angeles.

MRS. ANA BEGUE DE PACKMAN — Brochure: "Idyls of the Missions"; Libretto: *Drama and International Marriage* (Fitch and Carrillo).

FRANK B. PUTNAM — Record book Los Angeles Water Works Company, 1860-1870; souvenir brochure: 60-Year Anniversary edition *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, September 20, 1957; pictures: Mounted historical pictures of Los Angeles and Orange County from Security First National Bank collection; brochure: Security First National Bank of Los Angeles — Los Angeles historic views; books: 125 copies CALIFORNIA MEMORIES, by Jackson A. Graves; 14 copies: MY SEVENTY YEARS IN CALIFORNIA, by Jackson A. Graves.

MRS. FLORENCE DODSON SCHONEMAN — *California Herald*, 18 issues, official publication of Native Daughters of the Golden West.

MRS. ALICE TYLER — photograph of Pío Pico; 11 miscellaneous clippings of Los Angeles; Document: Distribution of Estate of Catalina Pico de López; account book of receipts and disbursements paid by Attorney MacDonald for the Estate of Catalina Pico de López.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MRS. STAFFORD L. WARREN — photograph 1890 Fiesta Float of the Students of College of Medicine, University of Southern California.

MRS. HELEN VERMEWLEN — 32 individual mission photographs; four prints: *Raising of the American Flag in 1847 at: Yerba Buena; San Diego; San José; Sonoma.*

OTTO J. ZAHN — buggy whip.

New Members

The Officers and Board of Directors of the *Historical Society of Southern California* take pleasure in welcoming the following new members who have recently joined the Society.

LIFE

Mrs. William Warren Orcutt

ANNUAL

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Mrs. Edward P. Crossan
Eddy Feldman
Ernest O. Frevert
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Millard M. Mier
Allan Nevins
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Miss Lucy H. Purdum
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Thomas E. Workman, Jr.

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INSTITUTIONAL

Los Angeles County Library — Inglewood Branch
Los Angeles County Library — San Fernando Branch

Historical Society of Southern California

PUBLICATIONS

IN-PRINT ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Vol. Part	Member Price	Non-Member Price
II 1 1891	\$4.00	\$5.00
III 4 1896	3.50	4.50
IV 1 1897	3.50	4.50
IV 2 1898	3.50	4.50
IV 3 1899	3.50	4.50
V 1 1900	3.50	4.50
V 2 1901	3.50	4.50
V 3 1902	3.50	4.50
VI 1 1903	3.50	4.50
VI 2 1904	3.50	4.50
VI 3 1905	3.50	4.50
VII 2-3 1907-1908	4.00	5.00
VIII 1-2 1909-1910	4.00	5.00
VIII 3 1911	3.50	4.00
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XIV 2 1929	3.50	4.50
XIV 3 1930	3.50	4.50
XV 1 1931	6.50	7.50
XVI 1 1934	3.50	4.50

*Originally marked XIX in error.

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XX 2	June, 1938	2.50	4.00
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XXXVI 4	December, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVII 1	March, 1955	2.50	4.00
XXXVII 3	September, 1955	2.50	4.00
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XXXIX 4	December, 1957	2.50	4.00
XL 1	March, 1958	2.50	4.00
XL 2	June, 1958	2.50	4.00
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XLII 4	December, 1960	2.50	4.00

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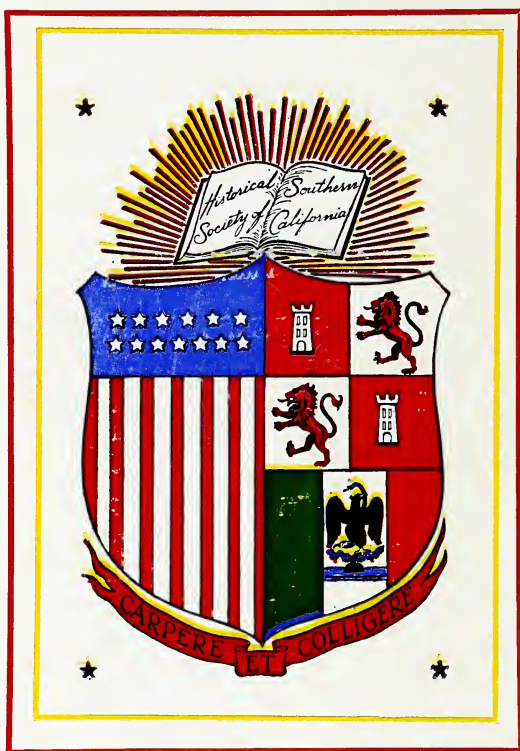
Year	Vol. Part	Year	Vol. Part
1894	I 1	1893	III 1
1896	I 2	1894	III 2
1897	I 3	1895	III 3
1898-1899	I 4	1906	VII 1
1899	I 5	1922	XV 2-3
1891	I 6	1933	XV 4

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Year	Vol. No.	Year	Vol. No.
1935	XVII 1	1948	XXX 2
1935	XVII 2	1949	XXXI 1-2
1935	XVII 3	1949	XXXI 4
1935	XVII 4	1950	XXXII 1
1936	XVIII 1	1950	XXXII 2
1936	XVIII 2	1950	XXXII 4
1936	XVIII 3-4	1951	XXXIII 1
1937	XIX 1	1951	XXXIII 2
1937	XIX 2	1951	XXXIII 3
1940	XXII 1	1952	XXXIV 1
1940	XXII 2	1952	XXXIV 2
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1941	XXIII 1	1953	XXXV 4
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1941	XXIII 3-4	1956	XXXVIII 1
1945	XXVII 4	1957	XXXIX 1
1946	XXVIII 2	1957	XXXIX 2
1946	XXVIII 3	1957	XXXIX 3
1947	XXIX 1	1959	XLI 1
1948	XXX 1		

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California



AN EXCEPTIONAL GIFT TO THE SOCIETY

The Historical Society of Southern California acknowledges with sincere appreciation the gift of the revised art work for our original blazon which appears above. The blazon, designed in 1891 by President George Butler Griffin, was used on Society ANNUALS until the QUARTERLY was established in 1935. At that time variations in the design were made and used through 1960. Now our long-time member, Miss Clementina de Forest Griffin, daughter of George Butler Griffin, has made a gift of new art work for our blazon to be printed in full-color henceforth.



JUNE, 1961 — Vol. XLIII — No. 2


THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
QUARTERLY



— Photo from portrait presented to the Society by Miss Ruth Pico

MARTIN AGUIRRE — FAMED SHERIFF

See "The Story of Martin Aguirre, Famed Los Angeles County Sheriff" — page 125.

 THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed an unbroken record of continuous activity and growth. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December. Our other publications include a complete BIBLIOGRAPHY and a complete TOPICAL INDEX of all our published works through 1957.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. All persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history of the West.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

The Society is a public non-profit corporation. Its principal sources of revenue are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.

MEMBERSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS:

(Dues include one subscription to the QUARTERLY)

<i>Individual Life Member</i>\$300.00	<i>Sustaining Member</i>\$25.00
<i>Patron Member</i> 100.00	<i>Active Member</i> 15.00
<i>Contributing Member</i> 50.00	<i>Student Member*</i> 7.50

Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible income tax items.
* Available only to bona fide students under 25 years of age.

Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to the Editor. Other correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARGARET J. CASSIDY, *Executive Secretary*

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California

Telephone REpublic 4-2823

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA **QUARTERLY**

VOLUME XLIII

June, 1961

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The HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY, official publication of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, 1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California, is issued four times each year during the months of March, June, September and December. Annual membership \$10.00. Second Class postage paid at Los Angeles, California. Manuscripts, articles, photographs, and illustrations submitted for publication in the QUARTERLY (at the owner's risk) should be addressed to: Gustave O. Arlt, editor, *Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY*, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles 24, California.

The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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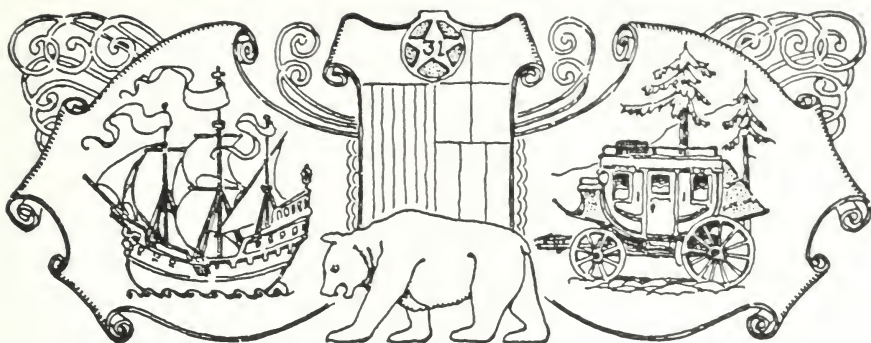
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY, June, 1961

The Story of
MARTIN AGUIRRE
Famed Los Angeles County Sheriff

By Margaret Romer

THE STORY OF Martin Aguirre's life is a Western thriller that sounds, in spots, like fiction, but is actually true. It is unfortunate he had neither children nor grandchildren to entertain with the chain of dramatic incidents that made up his colorful career. The eighteenth sheriff of Los Angeles County lived and died a bachelor.

This fact is in itself a mystery in view of his warm social nature. He loved people, gloried in visiting with them, and was a frequent and welcome guest in the homes of his many friends and relatives. Harry Carr, well known writer and friend of Aguirre, characterized him in these revealing words: "He had the fighting courage of a bull terrier, the tender sympathies of a girl, and a soul unblemished by dishonor."*

Martin Aguirre was born in San Diego on September 21, 1858,

* *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1929.

to José Antonio Aguirre and Rosario Estudillo Aguirre. Martin's father was a sea captain with a fleet of five merchant ships which sailed the high seas to bring Oriental and European luxuries to the ports of Southern California in exchange for hides. The family had extensive land holdings between Santa Ana and San Diego, and also in the San Jacinto area.

His mother died when he was still a boy and he came to Los Angeles to live with his cousins, the Joseph Wolfskill family in the fine old adobe built by William Wolfskill, father of Joseph, who was one of the first Americans to settle in Los Angeles, then known simply as the pueblo. Martin attended the town school at Second and Spring Streets, and later graduated from St. Vincent's College, the only school of secondary level in the Southland. It was the predecessor of Loyola University, then located on the south side of Sixth Street between Broadway and Hill.

The Wolfskill home and ranch was located between Alameda and Central, and between Third and Fourth Streets. A zanja, or ditch, ran through the property to bring water from the river. Characteristically, Martin devised a dam to create a swimming hole where he and his cousins with their friends could cool off on hot summer days.

Once when the boys were playing they were Indians, one of them shot an arrow straight up into the air. All the faces were upturned to see where it would come down. That arrow hit — not the traditional bull's eye, but one of Martin's eyes, blinding him in that eye for life.

Martin was passionately fond of horses and dogs. An excellent horseman from childhood, he always had a horse of his own. His horses always respected him and would do anything he wished of them. It was as if he and his mount were one creature. It was this unity of spirit in man and horse that later made possible Martin's heroic rescue work in the terrible flood of 1886. Dogs were his second love but, after growing to maturity, his way of life was such that he could not keep one of his own. However, he frequently gave good dogs as gifts to his friends.

When Martin was a very young man, the pueblo had no municipal fire department. Instead, there were two volunteer fire companies. There was keen rivalry between them and the whole town would turn out to see which company would get to a fire first. Often the betting ran high. Martin belonged to one of them, the Confidence Company No. 2. Their fire house was on North

The Story of Martin Aguirre

Main Street. There were two pieces of equipment, the steam fire engine and the hose cart. The fire engine was drawn by the baker's horses, but the hose cart was pulled by man power. Martin had a sturdy little roan pony that could "go like the wind." Whenever the fire bell rang, Martin would mount the little roan and, lasso in hand, would go tearing up town. On approaching the fire house, he would lasso the tongue of the hose cart, loop the lariat on the saddle horn, and the cart would go bouncing off to the fire behind the flying heels of his horse.

About this time also, Martin was working in the Wolfskill orange packing house — the first in Southern California. The crates were packed by hand and the workers were paid by the crate. Martin was the fastest packer on the place. Besides packing orange crates, he could do almost anything that needed to be done, and Joseph Wolfskill made him his foreman. He was an excellent salesman as well. An incident will illustrate this characteristic.

One day a buyer from New York came to the plant to purchase a large shipment of citrus fruit. Martin showed him through the packing house. The New Yorker was egotistical and was very sure of himself. He informed young Martin that he knew oranges, and that time would be saved if he would show him what was available and let him (the buyer) make his own choice. Martin dutifully showed him the stock including some of the finest oranges in Southern California, but the New Yorker was unimpressed. He would have none of them. Then he pointed to a huge pile of fruit over in a corner.

"Those look good. Why didn't you show me those oranges?" he asked.

Martin replied, "I didn't think you would be interested in them, but they are for sale if you want them."

"Yes, I'll take those," and the buyer promptly made out a big check and handed it to Martin.

After the "smart" buyer had left, Martin took the check to Joseph Wolfskill. The owner of the packing house looked at the check and then at Martin. "You had the nerve to *sell* those 'wind-falls?' " he stammered.

"Well, he said he knew oranges, and he wanted them," grinned Martin.

Martin Aguirre's quick wit, quick action, and bravery were early apparent. The times were rough and thugs and bandits were

common. In 1885 Aguirre was elected constable of Los Angeles County to help maintain order in the community. The responsibility could not have been placed in better hands, as his countless acts of bravery and heroism later conclusively proved.

The life of an officer of the law in the 1880's was an active one. Walking home from the office one night after a hard day, Aguirre heard the voice of an obviously old man calling for help. It was pitch dark under the branches on the tree-shaded walk. Instantly alert, Aguirre shouted, "Hold it! I'm coming!" and started running toward the sound of the voice.

His shouted response scared the two thugs who were robbing the old man. In the darkness they stumbled almost into the arms of the constable. With the speed of lightning, Martin laid out the two men in succession with his bare fists, handcuffed them, tied them to a tree, and then went to the aid of their victim.

The elderly gentleman was unhurt but was suffering from shock. After taking him to his home, Aguirre returned to the tree where he had secured the handcuffed bandits, and marched them off to jail. The whole affair was merely an incident in the day's work.

On another occasion Aguirre, single-handed, subdued an armed prisoner who had gone berserk in a courtroom. In emergencies, the thought of personal danger seemed never to enter his head.

A life as bold as Martin's involved much danger. A local undesirable character whom he had apprehended and sent up for two years, vowed as he was being taken off to jail, that he would "get" Aguirre when he got out. Early one morning, some two years later, there came a knock at the Wolfskill home. Mrs. Wolfskill opened the door and at once recognized the man. He told her he wanted to speak to Constable Aguirre.

She knew Martin was in his room but, wishing to protect him, she replied, "I don't know if he is still here or if he has gone to the office. Wait a moment and I'll go and see."

Leaving the man on the porch she went to Martin's room and told him who was there. Against her protests he said, "I'll go and see him."

The instant Martin came to the door, the thug drew a gun and fired point blank at him. Seeing the motion, Martin slammed the door, thus deflecting the shot. It resulted only in a wound; the bullet lodged in Martin's upper arm. A little thing like a bullet in

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his arm did not stop the active young constable. He quickly overpowered the ex-convict, handcuffed and arrested him. This time, the man was sent up for life for attempted murder.

The rains had been unusually heavy in the winter of 1886 and the river was rising alarmingly fast. One evening, most of the citizens were going to bed unaware of any impending danger. Martin knew what was happening. He mounted his horse and rode along the west bank of the river spreading the news of the coming flood. Meanwhile, all hands on the Wolfskill place turned out to build a dike of sandbags around the house. There was a skylight in the ceiling of the dining room, and a ladder was placed against the outside wall to provide the only access to the house when the waters should reach their home.

By the following morning, the river had widened until all the land between Boyle Avenue and what is now Central Avenue was under water, although Central Avenue had not yet been laid out. Down the swift current in the middle of the river came houses with screaming people at windows and on roofs. Domestic animals, furniture, lumber and all kinds of debris went bobbing down the stream.

Martin Aguirre on his good and willing mount swam out into that torrent nineteen times, making a rescue on each trip — occasionally holding up two victims of the flood — one with each hand. Back to the Wolfskill home he brought them, where they were admitted into the house through the skylight. Other willing hands then took care of them. On Martin's last trip he held a little girl. His faithful horse was by this time almost at the end of his strength. While swimming to shore the horse became entangled in a submerged fence. Horse and rider lost their balance and were rolled over and over by the current. The child was lost in the mishap.

Throughout his life, Martin's heart never quite recovered from the ache caused by the loss of the little girl; even the satisfaction of having saved more than a score of other lives, did not compensate for the one he felt he had failed to save. The horse survived, but the ordeal left its mark and he never regained his former powerful strength. He served his master for some time longer, but was later retired to pasture for life.

The remarkable rescue work done by the young constable won for him the undying gratitude and affection of the citizenry. The County Bar Association presented him with a gold watch as a token of appreciation, and the following year, the people elected him

County Sheriff. Sheriff Aguirre promptly appointed William A. Hammel, his boyhood playmate and life-long friend, as deputy sheriff.

After serving as sheriff for two years, there was a change in the local political climate and he was replaced by John Burr. However, his services were considered so valuable that he was retained as deputy by the new Sheriff Burr. With the exception of the few years that Aguirre served as warden of the State Penitentiary at San Quentin and the time he later spent in San Salvador, he was a deputy county sheriff for the remainder of his life. It has been said of him that he was a "fixtured" in the sheriff's office. He served successively under Sheriffs John Burr, William A. Hammel, John C. Cline, and William Traeger.

Courage of the Martin Aguirre type could not fail to win wider recognition. In 1899, the Governor of California, Henry T. Gage, appointed Aguirre to the position of warden of the penitentiary at San Quentin. The institution was at that time in a terrible state. The dope habit was rampant, making the prisoners unruly. After a long, tedious investigation, Aguirre found out how the drugs were getting into the prison, and was able to put a stop to the obnoxious trade. In the detective work, he was aided by his cousin, William Wolfskill, son of Joseph Wolfskill in whose home Martin had grown to manhood. William Wolfskill was the armorer at the penitentiary.

To provide work for the prisoners, the institution operated a mill that made jute bags, or "gunny sacks." Aguirre initiated a new process of using rotary needles to sew them, thus materially speeding up production. He also straightened out the discipline, being strict but unwaveringly fair. The men appreciated the warden's strong sense of fair play as was attested in an incident in Los Angeles years later in which the loyalty of one of the prisoners probably saved Aguirre's life.

In February of 1901 occurred one of the famous shipwrecks off San Francisco. The big ship, the *Rio de Janeiro* was approaching from China with 211 passengers and some two million dollars of treasure in silver and other cargo aboard. She had fought heavy seas all the way across the Pacific and as she sailed into the Golden Gate she was caught in a thick white blanket of fog in mid-channel. In attempting to grope her way to a safe landing, she ran into rocks and ripped the bottom off her hull. In thirteen horrible minutes she disappeared from sight completely, with the loss of 128 lives and all of the treasure. An exhaustive search was made for the vessel,

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but the 345-foot, 3,500-ton mass of steel had disappeared as completely as if it had evaporated. No trace of the complete ship has ever been found. The wreck is one of the maritime mysteries of San Francisco.

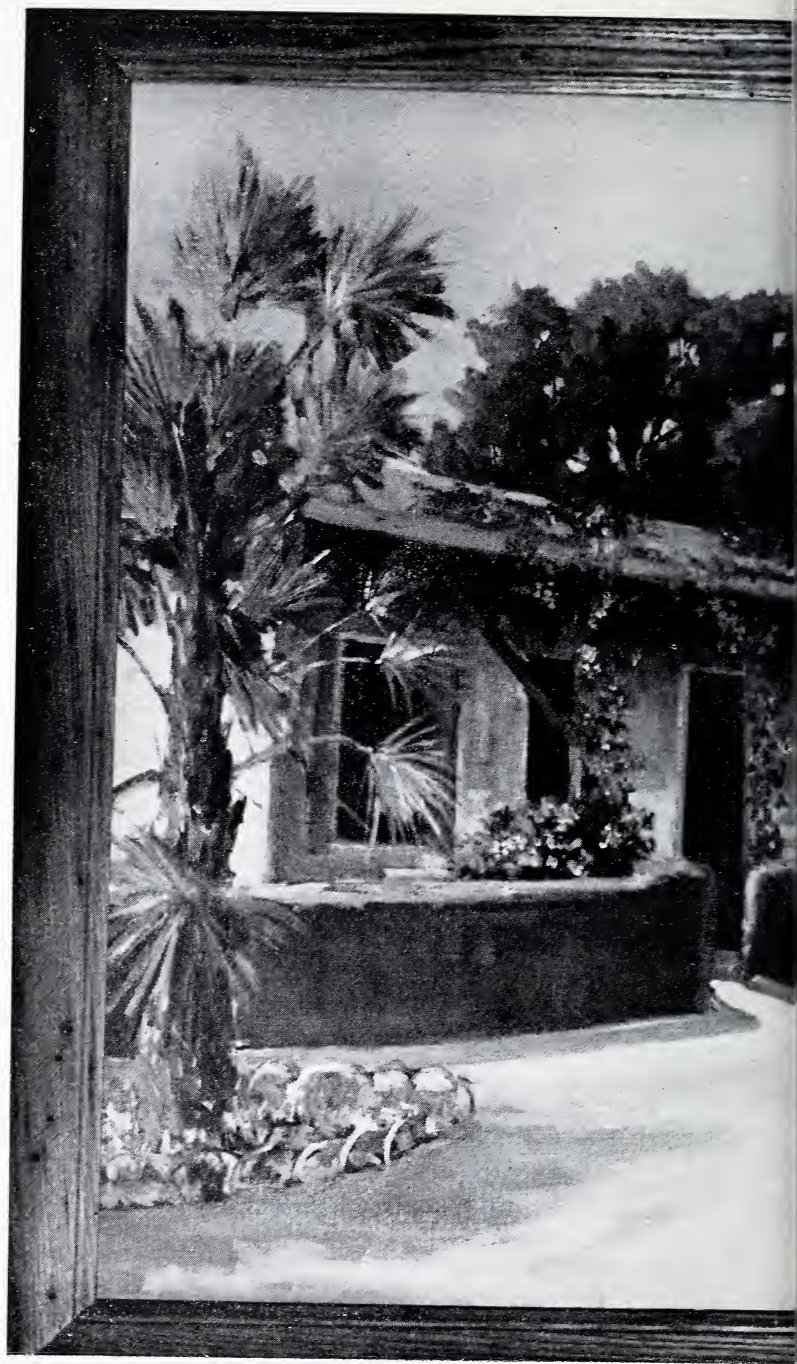
Some months later, part of the ornate hardwood staircase from the ship's salon was found floating in San Francisco Bay. It was retrieved and brought to the woodshop of San Quentin Prison where a handsome chair was made from the beautifully grained wood and presented to the warden. Later, a cribbage board was made from the scraps. Both the chair and the cribbage board were among Aguirre's treasured possessions for the rest of his life. In his last illness, he gave the chair to his good friend Eugene Biscailuz, then under-sheriff, who still treasures it. The cribbage board is now in the possession of the John C. Wolfskill family.

Martin Aguirre served as warden at San Quentin until 1903 and these years, though rich in achievement, were perhaps the most unhappy years of his life. Politics were "dirty" in those days. Muck raking was the rule. While not personally involved, Aguirre was in the midst of it, and it was not at all to his liking. With the termination of Henry Gage's term as Governor of California, and the inauguration of Doctor George C. Pardee, came also a new warden for the State Penitentiary, and Aguirre gladly turned his steps southward again. One more mission was to be fulfilled before he could return to his city of first love — Los Angeles.

The government of San Salvador commissioned him to come to that Central American country to supervise the construction of a penitentiary. This mission he fulfilled as thoroughly as he had done all his previous assignments.

Returning to Los Angeles, he was again appointed deputy county sheriff, and soon after that he was made the Chief Criminal Deputy. About this time also, Eugene W. Biscailuz came into the Los Angeles County Sheriff's office as a deputy, and he and Aguirre became lifelong friends. Young Biscailuz was like a son to Aguirre.

Meanwhile, Los Angeles was growing. The old Wolfskill orange groves had been subdivided into industrial lots. The Southern Pacific Railroad had crept southward from Naud Junction and connected with the old road that ran from Los Angeles to San Pedro — the first in Southern California. The Wolfskill family had moved out of the old neighborhood into a fine new home overlooking the Pacific at Redondo Beach. Martin Aguirre took up residence in a suite in the old Baker Block on Main Street, and furnished it largely with pieces made in the shops at San Quentin. His apartment was



OIL PAINTING OF

This reproduction of an oil painting, by Mary Wolfskill Swartz, shows the children of Joseph,



— Photo courtesy George L. Swartz

WOLFSKILL ADOBE

in which Martin Aguirre grew to manhood with his cousins, the William Wolfskill.

characteristic of the man — bright-colored rugs, masculine, orderly, and loaded with trophies and souvenirs of his many exploits.

One of his hobbies was his "Rogues' Gallery." He had perhaps two thousand pictures of bandits, thugs, cattle rustlers and other types of "wanted" men in his private collection. These were often useful as well as merely entertaining, as the Sheriff's Department frequently referred to Aguirre's "gallery" to supplement its own records.

Another hobby was hunting ducks, plover, or other table game. Deer or larger game hunting had little or no attraction for him, but he loved to take his shotgun and, with a male companion, wander the nearby marshes and then bring table delicacies to the homes of his friends.

In the pursuit of his duties as deputy sheriff, Aguirre rode all over Los Angeles County in the business of tracking down cattle rustlers. Strangely, he did not carry a gun for this work, but a razor-sharp bowie knife which he kept in a sheath in the armhole of his vest. Always more concerned with the safety of others than himself, he gave this explanation for his unusual procedure: "You see, if anything starts I don't know where bullets might go, or whom they might hit, but I know where this knife is going."*

Aguirre was not a large man. He was well under six feet in height, but his muscles were like iron and his agility was remarkable. His dark eyes sparkled with life and fire. He always dressed well and his manners and conduct were typically those of the true Spanish gentlemen. His deeds of bravery to the point of rashness were many. On one occasion he prevented a Los Angeles County jail break by holding back fourteen convicts at the point of a gun, single-handed. They had planned to fight their way out.

Another dramatic incident occurred in Aguirre's later years. He and his cousin, William Wolfskill who had been the armorer at San Quentin, were standing in front of the old Richelieu Saloon which was located in the basement of the Bryson Block.

Suddenly William Wolfskill tensed and warned in an undertone, "There goes old 'Scar Face'. He just went down into the saloon."

A flood of memory surged through Aguirre's mind. He recalled the convicted criminal with the vivid scar on his cheek whom he had caught and sent up many years before. He remembered, too,

* *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1929.

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how this man had vowed to “get” the deputy sheriff when he should again be free.

William Wolfskill continued, “I don’t think he saw you.”

To which Aguirre replied, “Well, I might as well get it over with anyway.” He turned and went down into the saloon and approached the ex-convict. With a smile (possibly forced), he said, “What are you drinking?”

“Scar Face” looked up in surprise, “Well, if it ain’t the deputy sheriff — and Warden Aguirre!”

Martin reminded him of his threat to “get” him.

“Oh, no. Not now,” the man replied, “I couldn’t bump you off now. The boys all consider you their best friend. You done so much up there — making’ things better for ’em.”

How gladly Aguirre bought his old enemy a drink!

Martin had two brothers and a sister also living in the Los Angeles area. His brother Miguel Aguirre married and had a large family. Four of his daughters are living in the area now in 1961. They are Rosa Aguirre, Anita Aguirre, Marie Aguirre Schreiber, and Dolores Aguirre Heinlein. Miguel’s two grandsons, Martin Aguirre (namesake of the subject of this story) and Carlos Aguirre live in San Jacinto. Martin Aguirre’s other brother, Joseph, also married and is survived by a son and a daughter, Alfred and Naomi. His sister Dolores, married Francisco Pico, son of the famous Andres Pico who made the peace treaty at Cahuenga with General John C. Frémont which brought Southern California under the *Stars and Stripes*. Dolores and Francisco Pico had four children, two of whom are still living. They are Ruth Pico and Gertrude Pico Harrison.

Even an iron constitution like that of Martin Aguirre must sooner or later surrender to the Grim Reaper. At the age of about seventy his health began to break and he suffered periods of illness, but he remained on his strenuous job. Then came the time when he was forced to rest, and he went out to his sister’s ranch at San Jacinto. However, resting was a habit Martin Aguirre had not acquired. He had never learned how.

After enduring the “rest cure” as long as he could, he insisted on coming back to the city where he could “keep an eye on things.” He had previously given up his suite in town so he rented a room in the old Alhambra Hotel on North Broadway temporarily, until

he should be well again. But he grew worse instead of better. His friends urged him to go to a hospital, but he only laughed at the idea. Martin Aguirre — in a hospital!

The end came on the morning of February 25, 1929. A group of old friends surrounded his bed. Among them were William A. Hammel, his boyhood playmate and later sheriff, Sheriff Traeger, and Under-Sheriff Eugene W. Biscailuz.

Three days later, final services were held at the old Plaza Church where he had worshipped since boyhood, and his body was laid to rest in Calvary Cemetery.

By this time, Los Angeles had grown into a great city where a million persons went about their daily routine unaware of the tremendous debt of gratitude they owed this courageous man who, time and again, put his own life on the line for the good of the people of his community.

What more could a man do for his home land?

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Background and personal information on Martin Aguirre was furnished the author by Mr. and Mrs. John C. Wolfskill and Former Sheriff Eugene W. Biscailuz, a director of the *Historical Society of Southern California*.

WHO IS AUTHOR J. M. J.?

The editor of the QUARTERLY has in his files of unpublished manuscripts one entitled, *An Episode in California's History: The Foot and Mouth Epidemic in 1924*. The manuscript is signed only by the initials "J. M. J." As we plan to publish the article in the forthcoming issue of the QUARTERLY, we would appreciate hearing from "J. M. J.," in order that the manuscript may be properly credited.

MEXICAN SERENADE

The Story of the Padua Hills Theatre

By Pauline B. Deuel

PART II

The Padua Scene Since 1935

BY THE BEGINNING OF 1936 the Mexican Players were a well-established group, producing six or seven different plays a year on a regular schedule. Under the sponsorship of the newly-organized Padua Institute, the popularity of the performers continued to grow — and with it grew the talents of the production staff. Frequent trips to Mexico replenished their stock of ideas, and outstanding programs were offered at the theatre. More and more people traveled to Padua Hills to see these very entertaining presentations.

The educational aspect of the program was given a boost in the summer of 1936 when the Claremont College Spanish Department arranged a six-week course in connection with the Institute. The students lived in dormitories on the campus, where they spoke only Spanish. During the mornings they attended classes, and they spent the afternoons and evenings at Padua studying folk dancing, singing, and theatre production. They took lunch and dinner there at a special table, practicing Spanish conversation with their teachers and with the Mexican Players. This plan afforded students an excellent opportunity to refresh their Spanish in an atmosphere of authentic Mexican culture.

The emphasis on arts and crafts grew during the next few years. Hayrold Russ Glick of Pasadena, who had done the original iron work for the lobby and dining room, opened an iron forge at the east entrance to the back-stage rooms of the theatre. There he created many lovely examples of his art for sale to visitors. William Manker, a well-known Southern California artist, started a ceramic

studio at Padua in the spring of 1937, and his beautiful work was on display there for many years.

To keep interested people acquainted with these and other activities at Padua Hills, Mr. Garner began printing *News Notes*. An outgrowth of the earlier "News Letter" which had been lithographed and sent to friends, the *News Notes* have appeared regularly every six weeks over the years, giving an informative commentary on current happenings at the theatre. Anyone interested in the work of the Institute may be put on the mailing list to receive these bulletins.

In March of 1938 the Padua Hills area had a chance to be thankful that it was located on a mesa above the valley. A disastrous flood swept down over the lowlands from the canyons of the San Gabriel Mountains, inundating many acres of land. Luckily little damage was done at Padua, in spite of the fourteen inches of rain which fell in that section. The buildings and gardens escaped destruction, but some water seeped into the costume room and drenched many outfits of clothing. To bring order out of chaos, the girls spread the clothes over the seats in the auditorium — a very satisfactory arrangement for indoor drying!

The theatre and dining room were closed for a week during the flood, as the streets leading to the mountains were barred to traffic. Much of the road system in the area was disrupted by the water and the large rocks that had rolled down from the mountains. The regular program was resumed the next week, however, although attendance fell off for quite some time.

The annual spring play about San Ysidro, in which the Players always re-enact the Indian ritual dance for rain, was presented that year with the hope that the gods would not send another flood. During the opening matinee performance on April 6 there was a very heavy rainstorm, foreboding dire consequences. Fortunately, little rain followed that first show.

The impressive Easter sunrise service, which had been inaugurated in 1931, continued as a regular feature of the Institute's program until the war caused its termination in 1943. The theatre was always opened at 4:30 o'clock on Easter morning for prayer; then the Mexican Players presented hymns of Mexico and early California. Afterwards, led by the Players, the audience would file out to the open area at the eastern edge of the mesa to await the sunrise. The Reverend Albert D. Stauffacher of the Claremont Community Church led the service for many years with a moving meditation

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entitled *Salutation to the Dawn*. His talk was timed to end with the first rays of the sun, and just as he finished his last words, one of the Players would begin to sing the Mayan "Hymn to the Sun." Wrapped in a colorful sarape and wearing an elaborate Mayan headdress, he would appear from below the far edge of the hill as the sun rose above the distant mountains. The service ended with a traditional hymn, and the group then returned to the building for breakfast in the Padua dining room. The effective blending of religious lore gave great distinction to this event.

The Mexican Players received outstanding recognition in June of 1938 when *Stage Magazine* named them as one of the ten best little theatre groups in the United States. In the section "On Other Broadways" the columnist Albert McCleery wrote:

Stage awards the Palm to the Padua Hills Theatre in Claremont, California:

To the Mexican players who have made it one of the few truly folk theatres in America. For the complete simplicity of its productions, spoken half in English and half in Spanish, that are so admirably keyed to the spirit of the Padua Hills themselves. For giving direction and fresh impetus to the old Spanish culture that is so much a part of the native Southern California. For a unique venture in the American theatre that should be as important to visitors in the Southwest as Hollywood Boulevard.*

Many visitors did make Padua Hills a part of their itinerary, including such well-known personages as the novelist Hugh Walpole and the poet Carl Sandburg. Numerous motion picture actors also came to see the Players and were invariably impressed with the naturalness and spontaneity of the productions.

The entrance of the United States into World War II brought many changes to Padua Hills. Many of the young men who worked at the theatre joined the armed services, and the Players were forced to use plays that called for more girls and fewer men in the cast. Too, a new production staff had to be assembled when both the director and the technical director went into the Army in 1943.

During the early months of the war, when a blackout was enforced on the Pacific Coast, the theatre scheduled only one evening performance a week. That was on Saturday, with the rest of the shows being given in the afternoons, Wednesday through Saturday. Beginning in 1943 all of Padua was closed on Mondays, including the dining room. This schedule gave everyone the same day off and proved to be so satisfactory that it has continued to the present day.

Gasoline rationing had a much more serious effect on the

* Albert McCleery, "On Other Broadways," *Stage*, February 1938, p. 86.

theatre and dining room, for few people could spare gasoline to drive the miles to Padua Hills. Attendance fell off considerably during the war years, in spite of enticements such as bus excursions from Los Angeles and Pasadena for matinees.

One interesting sidelight to the war years is that the weaving studio at Padua Hills was called upon to produce a special type of filter cloth for the vintners of Southern California to use in making champagne. The war blockade prevented the vintners from replenishing their supplies, which they imported from France, and they found that the material could not be duplicated on textile machines. The cloth had to be of a double texture which could be made only on hand looms. Señora María Prado of the weaving studio was glad to demonstrate to the vintners that she could make the filter cloth on her looms. Her product was in such demand that she and her husband worked long hours to fill the orders. One newspaper commented that this contribution to the war effort ensured sufficient champagne to christen all the new warships on the Pacific Coast!*

As a result of a visit to Padua in 1944 by Walt Disney, the Mexican Players were invited to perform in his motion picture *The Three Caballeros*. Mr. Disney had been completely captivated by the entertainment at Padua, and he wanted the Players to provide some dances and musical background for the film, which was the first to use a mixture of cartoons and action by real people. The setting was Latin America, with scenes about the different countries. The Players went to Burbank to perform at the Disney studios there, and they added a very colorful touch to that delightful picture.

In March, 1945, a fire broke out in the costume room and destroyed everything stored there. The only garments saved were those of the current play that were kept in the dressing room. This unfortunate occurrence was probably caused by a damp coat being hung too near the heater; but whatever the cause, the fire did over \$20,000 damage. It meant the loss of many irreplaceable costumes that had been brought from Mexico by the Garners and friends. Months of searching for just the right outfit for a certain play had often produced a lovely garment that was really a museum piece. Such costumes would be very difficult to duplicate, even after months of work. Not daunted, however, the costume staff immediately began making other garments to replace the lost ones. Pleas in the local newspapers brought gifts of material from residents in the area, and the following play was authentically — if not elaborately — dressed.

* *Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 1941, Part II, p. 5.

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Another great loss in the fire was that of notes and stage directions for many of the plays. A file of papers was kept in the costume room, and it was completely burned during the fire. Included in the file was material on most of the early plays, for, although there were no scripts, notes had been kept on the plot outline. Much beautiful and imaginative work went up in those flames.

The present costume room, repaired and renovated since the fire, is a model of neatness. The spic-and-span appearance of this orderly section of the theatre is due to the excellent care of Mrs. Kathryn Welch Dickinson, widow of the former director, Charles Dickinson.

She has been in charge of costumes at different periods for over fifteen years, and her efficient management is reflected in the attractiveness of the clothes worn by the Players. The costumes have to be kept exceptionally neat, since the Players come in close contact with the public in the dining room and lobby, and a strict cleaning schedule is followed. The men's white outfits are sent to a laundry, but the girls' elaborate dresses must be washed and ironed by hand. All costumes are cleaned and mended before they are put away in the storage room, so that they will be ready to use at any time. Mrs. Dickinson's devoted attention to the many details of the costume room has been a valuable contribution to the Padua Hills Theatre.

In the years after the war the program of the Padua Institute was able to expand again. Mr. Dickinson returned as director of the Players, and many of the men actors came back to augment the casts of the plays. Special exhibits and programs were encouraged, such as the annual expositions of the Pomona Valley Fuchsia Society, and they added interest to the regular productions on the hill.

The theatre and dining room definitely established schedules as they are followed today: plays are given six times a week, Wednesday through Saturday evenings at 8:30 with matinees on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons at 2:30; the dining room is open every day except Monday for luncheon at 12:00 noon and 1:15 p.m., and for dinner at 6:00 p.m. and 7:15 p.m., with entertainment by the Players. Both Mexican and American food is served. After guests are seated at a table, the waiter or waitress describes the menu orally; there is no written bill of fare, for this is their "home." During the meal fresh, hot tortillas are brought to each table; they are cooked by one of the girls at a brazier right in the room.

One of the most pleasant customs at the Padua dining room is the recognition of birthdays and anniversaries. The Players form a procession and walk into the dining room singing the traditional

Mexican anniversary song "*Las Mañanitas*." Surrounding the honor guest, they finish the song and murmur their best wishes in Spanish. The hostess gives the guest an attractive card containing the words of the song, and it makes a lovely memento of the occasion. This ceremony often inspires surprise parties, and the entertainers are always happy to carry in a birthday cake.

Increased home construction in the valley prompted Padua Hills, Inc., to open up a second tract of land for subdivision in 1948. Located immediately south of the first tract, this section contains forty-two lots. Now almost completely filled with homes, this residential site has become a very attractive complement to the Padua center. Many noted artists have built homes there, including Millard Sheets, Albert Stewart, and Arthur and Jean Ames. A large nursery has been built below the mesa along Camp Baldy Road, in the part zoned for limited commercial buildings. Seyfarth's Padua Hills Gardens stock an extensive variety of plants, and the green trees and shrubs in the display areas add a pleasant touch of color to the brown hills.

The Mexican Players extended their sphere of activities after the war when they co-operated with national and state officials in various projects. The office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs prepared a recording of talks and musical selections in Spanish by members of the group, and this program was later broadcast by short-wave radio to Latin America. The army used the Players for part of a film entitled "Cultural Activities in the United States." This picture, presenting various aspects of our national life, has been shown all over the world. In 1950 some of the Players traveled to Jolon to help celebrate the restoration of Mission San Antonio de Padua. Years ago some of the first Players had performed at the Mission during the sesquicentennial of the death of Father Junípero Serra, long before the restoration of the buildings was begun, and it was fortunate that a similar group could be present at this more recent celebration. The Players have always felt an affinity for this Mission because of the name which both bear.

For several months during 1950 the Padua Institute sponsored a program over a local radio station in Pomona. This half-hour broadcast was presented every Tuesday afternoon, and it featured talks by Mr. Dickinson and musical selections by the Players. It was an excellent opportunity to explain the work being done at Padua and to describe more fully the phases of Mexican folklore which were presented in the plays. Such a project required many hours of preparation, however, and the participants could not continue to take so much time away from rehearsals at the theatre — in spite

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of its value. In recent years the Players occasionally have taken part in television programs, and they find that guest appearances are more suited to their schedule.

In 1955 the Padua Institute formed an auxiliary organization to help in the promotion of its program. Called the Associates, this group is composed of men and women in the United States and Mexico who wish to become active supporters of the Institute. The annual membership fee is ten dollars (ten pesos in Mexico). More than 250 people have joined the Associates, including many noted public figures in both countries.

In recent years the Padua Institute has sponsored an annual art fiesta in September. Under the management of Milford Zornes, who is the art director for the Institute, it has become an outstanding event in the Southern California area. At the first fiesta in 1953, thirty-two artists from the Pomona Valley joined in presenting exhibits and demonstrations of painting, weaving, pottery modeling, and iron forging. A similar number of participants have taken part in the succeeding fiestas. Some of the well-known artists are: Millard Sheets, Phil Dike, William Manker, Richard Pettersen, Harry McIntosh, Charles Lawler and Albert Stewart, whose interesting ceramic statue of an Indian girl stands in the Padua gardens.

Interesting art exhibits are always on display in the lobby of the theatre at Padua. Visitors may also browse among the attractive shops in the patio and below the pergola, where items imported from Mexico are on sale. Distinctive pottery made at Padua by skilled Mexican potters is a feature of one of the studio shops. During the Christmas season guests may buy fascinating *piñatas* — and also trinkets with which to fill these gay decorations.

Deserved recognition for years of devoted service to Padua Hills came to Mr. Garner in 1954. At a meeting of the Padua Institute, the Associates presented him with a medal for his work in cementing Mexican-American relations. Señor Adolfo Domínguez, distinguished Mexican diplomat and then Consul-General of Mexico in Los Angeles, was the speaker of the evening, and he paid special tribute to Mr. Garner for the international good will fostered by the Institute.

A less formal but even more impressive honor was bestowed upon Mr. Garner in June of 1956 in Mexico City. Señor Fermín Caro del Castillo, one of the Associates and an ardent supporter of the Padua program for many years, planned a surprise celebration for Mr. Garner at the home of a mutual friend. At that time Mr. Garner was presented with a magnificent sarape which has his own picture woven into the center. Skilled weavers had copied a photo-

graph and had made an almost unbelievably accurate reproduction in the heavy wool blanket, in which blue, white and black colors predominate. This beautiful work was on display in the Padua lobby for several months, to allow visitors an opportunity to view its exceptional artistry.

During June and July of 1957 the Mexican Players celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary. The first presentation of the group on July 2, 1932, was duly honored over a period of six weeks with various festivities. The principal celebration was a large party attended by 350 associates, alumni, and trustees. Six members of the original company were present. Of these, Casilda Amador is the only one still actively connected with the Players. After some years' absence, she returned in 1953 to act as hostess and membership chairman for the Institute. Always a very talented performer she has starred in many of the outstanding productions of the Players.

The Players are now looking forward to future anniversaries, which will be more famed milestones in the eminent history of the Padua theatre. The personnel of the group necessarily changes over the years, but the original spirit of the Players lives on in their distinctive productions.

Plays and Players



WHEN THE FIRST GROUP of Mexican Players began producing plays in 1932, there were no scripts for the cast to follow. The production committee would decide on the region of Mexico or early California to be treated in the next show. Then they would outline the story, noting specific points that should be emphasized, and they would choose some of the typical songs and dances of that particular region. This plan of action was presented to the cast, and the actors formulated the dialogue to match. Since there were no scripts and no memorized lines, the dialogue varied from show to show. Thus each performance became the spontaneous conversation of carefree young people, carried on within the framework of a very simple story pattern.

No difficult dramatic action was required, so the players were relaxed and thoroughly enjoyed their roles, participating in each show as if it were a party held in the home of a friend. The magic of this spontaneity gave a sparkle to the unaffected stage manner of the performers, who were really non-professionals, and they took on the appearance of accomplished actors. This unique system of play production at Padua Hills has been one of the most interesting

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phases of that theatre, and it has been the subject of much comment and study by writers and theatrical personnel.

The technique involved here is, of course, a direct descendent of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* which flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Traveling groups of actors, wandering up and down Italy, presented comedies which had a basic plot but no written dialogue; the lines were improvised by the actors as they went along, and the spirited dialogue gave novelty to each play. When the young Mexican-Americans at Padua were called upon to create plays, they unconsciously adopted this method of the early Italian theatre. Fortunately they had a close-knit group of young people who worked well together, for that is an important factor in this type of production. Each player must be ready to respond immediately to the demands of the story as it develops on the stage. The impromptu dialogue must unfold quickly and artfully, giving life and meaning to the story pattern. It is one of the most difficult of stage techniques, and the players of those early years showed great talent in responding to its requirements.

The *commedia dell'arte* had certain stock characters that appeared in almost every play, such as "Harlequin," "Columbine," and "Pantaloon," with their traditional costumes and actions. The Padua players did not adopt these stylized symbols, but they did return again and again to typical characters: the hero, the heroine, the comic relief, and the villain. Their simple stories revolved around similar basic patterns, just as did the Italian comedies. And, in the same way, they created variety through dialogue, dance and song, rather than through plot.

Too, the early Mexican Players were as informal and unexpected in their actions as the Italian companies. They often engaged the audience in conversation, drawing them right into the play and compounding the feeling of intimacy that the small theatre inspires. A market scene always called for a little barter with the guests, especially if someone familiar with Padua were in the theatre and felt like carrying on the bargaining — either in Spanish or in English. However, even an unsuspecting new visitor might be urged to buy a sarape or a basket! Special friends would be recognized, and a birthday or anniversary might be noted. Since many of the guests in the early days knew the players personally, these asides would bring great delight and amusement to both actors and audience.

During the first ten years of the theatre the personnel of the Mexican Players was fairly stable. When certain players had to leave the group, they were replaced by others who were familiar

with the stage methods or who fitted in quickly under the excellent training given by the production staff. During World War II, however, with most of the men in the armed services and with some of the girls going into war work, the Players lost many members. Those who were left had to double up on the tasks in the theatre and dining room, and there was little time left for the customary community effort in creating productions. The solution was to delegate the responsibility for an entire show to one or two people, so that they could write a script and plan the musical numbers. Thus it was that plays came to be written out and lines memorized by the cast. This system has been followed more or less consistently in the years since the war, for it has been difficult to maintain a permanent cast with the *esprit de corps* necessary for the technique of the *commedia dell'arte*. The unsettled years right after World War II, the Korean War period, and the recent times of stress have all contributed to the problems of recruiting and keeping players.

The surprising effect of the switch in play production methods, however, has been the very slight change in the results. The cast learn their lines and do not consciously plan for spontaneous dialogue, but they often deviate from the script. The plots of the plays are so simple in construction, and the atmosphere on stage is so informal, that asides and ad-libbing seem to appear without the actors' volition. Such actions would be dangerous in a regular play where split-second timing means so much, but they add fun and vitality to the productions at Padua Hills. There the actors do not even have to worry about orchestra cues, for the musicians are right on stage as part of the play, and they can begin a selection with or without the proper lines.

A bit of the original feeling of impromptu entertainment may have been lost with the advent of scripts, but something even more valuable has been gained: the plays are now written down so that they can be used over and over again, and much charming material has been preserved for future audiences. In the early years plays could be repeated only if the same cast were still available and could remember the original story line. Usually it was easier to work out a new play than to resurrect one, for the old play was identified with specific actors and incidents, and it lost its flavor in repetition. Dozens of delightful productions are forever lost, because no record was kept of the dialogue — and whatever remained of the director's notes burned in the unfortunate costume room fire of 1945. Only the traditional Christmas play and the annual spring presentation of the Ysidro legend are left from the first shows. Luckily, however, there seems to be an inexhaustible supply of ideas at Padua Hills,

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The MEXICAN PLAYERS

PRESENT



"Rancho Viejo"

Memories of early Spanish California
by ELIGIO HERRERA

JUNE 4th JULY 26th 1958

WED • THUR • FRI and SAT EVENINGS at 8:30

MATINEES WED and SAT at 2:30

PADUA HILLS THEATRE

CLAREMONT • CALIFORNIA

NATIONAL 6-1288

PROGRAM COVER OF LATER PERIOD

and each director creates many beautiful new plays which are tailored to the special talents of the current cast, plays which are now added to the growing file of scripts.

All of the plays at Padua Hills follow the same basic pattern, which provides the theatre with a suitable medium for both entertaining and educating its audiences. The scene is always some spot in Mexico or early California; the plot is very simple but the material is authentic; there is some comedy relief; the stage sets are as realistic and colorful as possible; the costumes, songs, and dances combine to reproduce a true picture of the folklore of the region. Obviously a plan such as this requires considerable research, and much time and effort are spent in study, so that the customs of the people will be presented accurately. Frequent trips to Mexico on the part of the production staff and visits to Padua by Mexican experts on the folk arts help to maintain a high standard of artistic work.

The Players always choose a scene from Mexico or early California as their background, for one of their aims is to preserve the rich heritage of Indian and Mexican folklore. Colorful regions, such as Yucatán, Tehuantepec, Michoacán, and Veracruz, are very popular. Effective shows have been done about almost all of the states of Mexico, however. The old Palomares Rancho of the Pomona Valley and various places along *El Camino Real* (the King's Highway of the Mission fathers) are favorite settings in California. When the Players presented *Conchita* in 1957, the scene moved to the San Francisco area of the early nineteenth century to tell of the famous true love story of Conchita Argüello and the Russian Count Rezanov.

An uncomplicated plot is necessary for these plays, because much of the time is dedicated to musical numbers. There is not enough space for the development of a complex story or for character analysis. Furthermore, since many of the plays are given in Spanish, the actors must rely on exaggeration and pantomime to convey their ideas to the audience. So the plots deal with elementary concepts shown in large, simple designs: the hero always wins the girl; right conquers wrong; the villain either reforms or is run out of town; the quiet life of the country proves to be better than the fast existence of the city.

The charm of the Padua plays come out in the clever stage business and the distinctive bits of action that supplement the basic plots and which emphasize the element of folk art. The stories may be elementary in plan, but the embellishments are so imaginative that one forgets their fundamental simplicity.

Almost all of the plays are comedies, for that is in keeping with

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the happy spirit of the theatre and dining room. Even the productions with a serious note have much comedy relief, and the songs and dances are bright and cheerful. This relaxed atmosphere helps the play-goer to feel a part of the action, to identify himself with the pleasant people on the stage and to feel that they are his friends. It generates a feeling of good-will toward them that often inspires a broader understanding of Mexico and the Mexican public. Whatever success these plays have had in promoting better relations between our country and its southern neighbor is sufficient reward for the effort, because the Padua Institute is sincerely dedicated to the mutual acquaintance of these two nations and their international friendship.

Many techniques are used to make the audience an actual part of the production. An outline of the plot is always printed in the program, too, so that the simple story is clear to everyone. In addition, one of the members of the production staff sometimes appears before the curtain to welcome the guests, as in his own home, and to explain the action of the play. If a master of ceremonies or narrator is needed, he may be a part of the cast — stepping out of character long enough to bring the audience up-to-date on what is happening.

In *Doña Mercadía's Cure-All* the audience has the role of tourists visiting a small town in Michoacán; a young man acts as interpreter for them, and he periodically interrupts the Spanish conversation to explain matters to the "tourists" in broken English.

In *Tito, el Toreador*, one of the early plays, two villagers were seated on the edge of the stage — one on either side of the proscenium arch — and they discussed the action with each other and with the audience.

Tres Puertas (Three Doors) used an ingenious device to present a program of songs and dances: the curtain rose on a scene with three doors in the rear, each leading into a different region of Mexico, and the audience decided through its applause whether it wanted to visit Yucatán, Tehuantepec, or Michoacán. The audience even cast ballots in *Vote por la Reina* (Vote for the Queen), a play about choosing a fiesta queen.

Even if the play follows a more conventional pattern, there will always be a fiesta scene at the end which includes the audience. The happy ending is celebrated on stage with appropriate musical numbers; then the actors invite their guests to join them as they continue the fiesta outside the theatre. In summer the entire cast

leads the audience outside to the *Jamaica* in the patio, where everyone may take part in the little street fair. During the rest of the year the players go singing through the auditorium and meet the guests in the foyer. A *merienda* (light refreshment) is served in the dining room for those who wish to try delicious hot Mexican chocolate and *buñuelos* (crisp pastries).

The stage sets for the Padua productions have been consistently excellent in their artistry. Since they are built to last at least six weeks, they are solid and can be strikingly realistic. Some are also very beautiful, with a lavish use of color and design. Seldom does a set fail to draw a murmur of appreciation and applause from the audience when the curtain goes up. Many people can take satisfaction from this reaction, too, because the creation of the sets is a community effort. The director may sketch out the plan, but the entire production staff assists in the building, lighting, and arrangement of properties.

Before the program even begins, however, the audience is treated to an introduction to Mexico. The striking asbestos curtain in the theatre has painted on it a large map of Mexico in bright colors, and it serves as a wonderful conversation piece. This distinctive map, designed and painted by Charles Dickinson, always stimulates such interest in the states and cities of Mexico that it is left down as long as possible — much longer than the ordinary asbestos curtain.

Mr. Dickinson, whose varied talents contributed to many of the theatre's outstanding features, was director of the Players for over fifteen years. His association with Padua began when he was a graduate student in Claremont and extended until his untimely death in 1950. He wrote most of the plays during that period, creating a succession of excellent productions that will long be remembered by the Players and their friends. His brilliant work was largely responsible for the high artistic quality of all the Padua presentations from the very beginning, and he did much to perfect the characteristic program of the group.

The Players seek out unusual scenes for their plays in order to present different aspects of Mexico and its customs. *Yucatán*, for example, took place in the courtyard of the Mayaland Lodge, the lovely hotel at Chichén Itzá on the Yucatán Peninsula. *La Cocina* (The Kitchen) showed the large kitchen of a Mexican home, complete with a real charcoal brazier where fragrant tortillas were cooked right on stage. For *Mamacita* (Dear Little Mother), a story of

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AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION AT THE THEATRE

TOP PHOTOGRAPH: *Eugene W. Bicailuz is shown dancing on stage when he was invited to participate in one of the theatre's informal performances.*

LOWER PHOTOGRAPH: *Descendants of California's first Spanish settlers are always enthusiastic performers in the theatre foyer when called upon to participate. Shown here, dancing in the foreground are, left to right: Clarence Palomares dancing with Isabel Lopez de Fages, and Alphonse B. Fages dancing with Juanita Avila de Palomares.*



—Photos courtesy Irene Welch Garner



— Photo courtesy Irene Welch Garner

SCENE FROM "LA COCINA"

This comedy, about life in a typical Mexican kitchen, features the actual preparation and cooking of delicious tortillas on stage.



— Photo copyright by Walt Disney Productions

MEXICAN PLAYERS SUPPORT DONALD DUCK

Scene from "The Three Caballeros," Walt Disney's first full-length feature production, in which the Mexican Players from Padua Hills were featured along with Señor Donald Duck.

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PICTURESQUE SERAPE

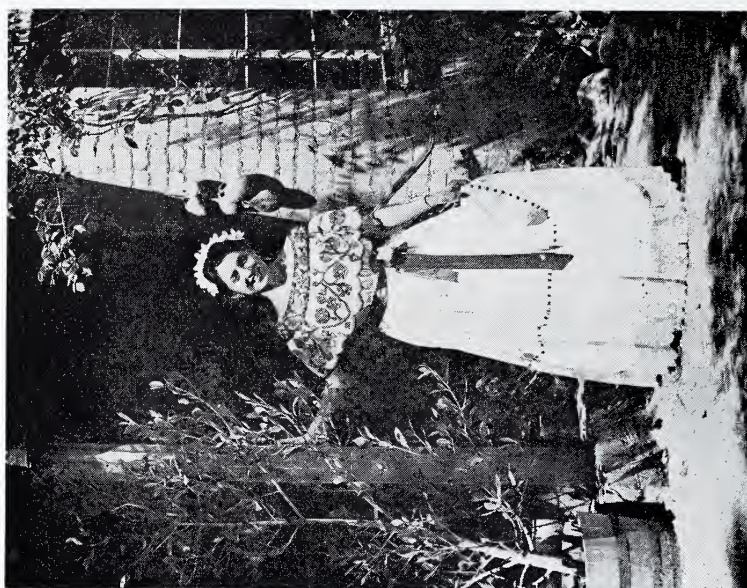
Herman Garner is shown, with one of the Mexican Players, standing beside his colorful portrait which had been woven into a serape and presented to him by Señor Fermín Caro del Castillo while on a visit to Mexico in 1956.



—Photos courtesy Irene Welch Garner

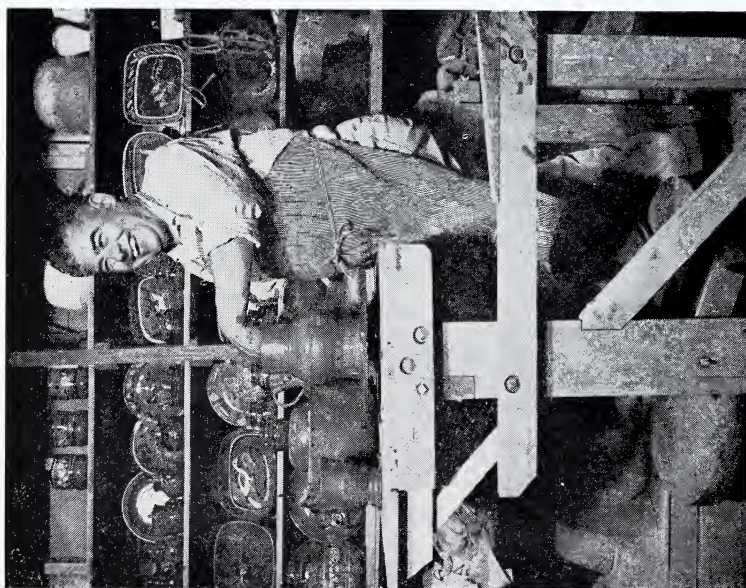
THE MEXICAN PLAYERS' ORCHESTRA

The Padua Hills Orchestra furnishes music for the theatre and dining room. Here is a photograph of one of the earlier groups. From left to right: Catalino Alba, with the guitarrón; Alphonso Chávez and José Alba, with guitars; and Gregorio Valadez, violinist. Seated is Musical Director Francisco Velázquez, with the salterio.



— Photo courtesy Irene Welch Garner

PADUA HILLS HOSTESS
*Casilda Amador, lovely greeter at Padua Hills,
is always present to welcome guests.*



— Photo courtesy Irene Welch Garner

POTTER AT WORK
*An interesting sight at Padua Hills is watching
Potter Juan Montes spin his wares.*

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the Tehuantepec region, three tons of sand were poured on the stage to add to the realism of the beach scene. An actual street in the city of Guanajuato was copied for the set of *Calle del Beso* (Street of the Kiss), a street so narrow that lovers standing on opposite balconies can lean out and kiss each other. The pottery center of Tlaquepaque near Guadalajara was reproduced in *Tlaquepaque*, and one of the Players set up a potter's wheel on stage to make bowls and vases during the play. In *Las Canacuas* the setting is the beautiful island of Janitzio in Lake Pátzcuaro. The play takes its title from the lovely ceremony called *Las Canacuas* which is performed by the Tarascan Indians of Michoacán for honored guests; colorfully costumed girls do the dance, carrying on their heads lacquer trays filled with fruits and flowers which are later presented to the guests.

A very popular production in the early forties was *Hoy! La Familia Rojas* (Today! The Rojas Family). This play told the adventures of a family of actors in a traveling tent show in Mexico. A play-within-a-play revealed how this troupe gave a performance and how they depended on the audible prompter, so typical of such shows. The stage was draped with yards and yards of unbleached muslin to give the appearance of a tent, and the audience was treated to a very realistic presentation. This show was so successful that a sequel was written to tell more incidents in the lives of the Rojas family.

Two of Charles Dickinson's more unusual plays were the result of a trip he made into the Mexican state of Sonora in 1947. *Sonora Sketch* has as its setting the Alamos home of the writer John W. Hilton. Mr. Hilton had entertained Mr. Dickinson and had given him permission to use the title and scene. He even came to Padua Hills for the opening night to see himself portrayed on stage by Mr. Dickinson. The other play, *El Limoncito* (The Limeade Stand), took place in a plaza in Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora. The limeade stand of the title was a real place where Mr. Dickinson had enjoyed a cooling drink and a talk with the owner, Señor Isidoro Angulo. Both the stand and the owner turned up in the amusing story about rival soft-drink vendors. The daughter of the owner had the pleasure of attending one of the performances of *El Limoncito*.

Some other interesting features of Mexican life that have served as play material are: the national lottery in *La Fortuna de Don Esteban* (The Fortune of Don Esteban), the professional letter-writer who tends to the correspondence of his less literate countrymen (*The Scribe*), the trains that are forever late (*Celaya Stop*), the bullfights (*Tito, el Toreador* and *Manolo*), and the matriarchal

society of Tehuantepec in *Como Siempre* (As Always). Plays about early California have always been a favorite at Padua, because of the historic events that occurred nearby in the days of the Rancho San José. The Players had a special tie with the history of this region, too, because two members of the early group were direct descendants of Don Ignacio Palomares, original owner of the upper part of the rancho. Some fifteen plays have been written about those early days.

The annual Christmas play, *Las Posadas*, has become famous for its beauty and impressive scenes.* As it is now presented, the story begins on Christmas Eve in the humble home of Ramón and Lupe, who are preparing the *piñata* and the *nacimiento* (figures representing the manger scene at the birth of the Christ child). Their young son Panchito is helping them. (Sometimes Panchito becomes a young daughter, depending on the child actors available!) The celebration is almost spoiled when Ramón is falsely accused of stealing money from the church collection box, but all turns out happily. The central part of the simple drama becomes a dream sequence, when the medieval *coloquio* or mystery play is presented. Here we see the shepherds, the three Wise Men, and there is an exciting battle between the Angel and the Devil. Authentic Christmas music adds to the appeal of this moving story.

The annual spring production has had various titles. It is now called *En el Mes de Mayo* (In the Month of May), and it tells of one young farmer's faith in San Ysidro, the patron saint of farmers. This play reflects the Indian heritage of Mexico and shows how allegiance to the ancient gods is still sometimes in conflict with the Christian religion brought by the Spaniards.

Another production that has become an annual affair is the fall presentation of *Festivales*, a musical panorama of Mexico. This revue of songs and dances of the different regions evolved from the 1935 program given by Graciela Amador, one of the guest-teachers from Mexico. The great popularity of this type of production led the Players to repeat it many times, and it is now a regular yearly show. It has had various titles: In 1949 it was called *Festivales de California* in honor of the one-hundredth anniversary of the state's entrance into the Union, and the program was devoted to music and historic sketches about early California.

Every play contains a great variety of colorful dances. Some of the favorites are repeated frequently, such as "*Los Viejitos*," the

* See Part I, p. 25.

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dance of the little old men of the Tarascan region. The comic effect of this number is increased by the amusing masks worn by the dancers. Another popular selection is the "*Jarabe Tapatio*," the Mexican Hat Dance. In "*La Bamba*" a couple throws a long sash on the floor, and they tie a bowknot in it with their feet during the dance, never once losing step to the fast music. Many of the dances require great skill, and long hours are spent in training the young actors in the intricate steps.

Much rehearsal time is also dedicated to learning the songs which are such an important part of both the plays and the entertainment in the dining room. The Padua musicians have a collection of hundreds of lovely songs, so the selections for each play can be quite varied. The musical instruments used at Padua Hills are authentically Mexican. The guitars and violins are familiar to audiences, but visitors often inquire about the *guitarrones*, the large bass guitars, and the fascinating *salterio* that has become an important part of the Players' music. The latter instrument is called a psaltery in English, and it dates back to Biblical times, being mentioned many times in the Bible. The *salterio* is now made only in Mexico, where the original form was changed and enlarged, and it is used chiefly in that country. It is similar to a harp, but it is played in a horizontal position; the box is held on the knees, and the strings are plucked with steel plectra. The arrangement of the strings is such that the tones do not follow in order, as in a piano, making it a very difficult instrument to play.

The beautiful and realistic costumes also add greatly to the effectiveness of every scene in the theatre. Much of the material is purchased in Mexico, so that colors and designs will be authentic, and the outfits are then made at Padua. When a new type of costume is needed, someone on the staff will hunt for an actual model in Mexico and bring it back to the theatre where accurate copies can be made for use by the Players. The preparation and maintenance of costumes is a perpetual task, for work on the next play begins as soon as one production has opened.

Excellent assistance in publicity has been given by Mrs. Irene Welch Garner with the beautiful photography that she does for the Players. Her striking pictures are on display along the pergola at the theatre and are often seen in the newspapers of Southern California. She has effectively caught the expressive actions of the Players and the lovely scenes of the plays. There is no better way to remember the theatrical productions than by looking over the picture file.

Obviously, a young member of the Mexican Players is more than just an employee with a full-time position. He is an actor in the theatre; a waiter or bus boy and an entertainer in the dining room; and an apprentice in the arts of song and dance. These young men and women set up the tables in the dining room before lunch and dinner and then serve the guests. During the meals they leave their duties for a few minutes at a time to dance and sing with the musicians. At night and on matinee days, after clearing the tables, they hurry to the dressing rooms to prepare for their roles in the current play. And they participate in the after-show entertainment, either outdoors or in the foyer. Rehearsals are usually held on the afternoons when there is no matinee — and these are strenuous sessions of learning new musical numbers. All of this goes on six days a week throughout the year, except for a two-week vacation in September. The schedule is rigorous, but the training is excellent, and many of the Players have used the skills learned at Padua to good advantage in later years. Several of them have gone on into professional singing or dancing, and a number have become teachers.

The director's position, too, has many facets. A good example of the multiplicity of talents needed by the director is the work of Eligio Herrera. Not only does he write and direct the plays, but he also teaches dancing and singing to the group. He acts in the plays and manages many production problems. And he is confidant and counselor to the Padua family. He has made an outstanding contribution to the success of the Institute.

Most of the former Players live in the Pomona Valley or neighboring communities and keep in touch with the theatre through alumni reunions. They still are members of the family and, as such, leave a little of their hearts at Padua. One of the Players for many years, Manuel Vera of Pomona, became so thoroughly identified with the Padua productions that he even surrendered his correct name. In the very first play, *Serenata Mexicana*, Manuel's stage name was Miguel, and ever since then he has been known by that name, in the theatre and out. Few people realize that his real name is not Miguel. Time has rectified this mistake, however — his son, Manuel, is now a member of the Players, and at long last the correct name of Manuel Vera appears on the programs at Padua Hills.

There have been many outstanding players at Padua during the years since 1932. Patrons will associate certain faces and names with the plays that they have seen, of course, but all of the produc-

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tions have been fortunate in their fine casts. The Players have created over one hundred and forty different plays, and each one has been a worthy addition to the repertoire of this unique theatre.

Que Vayan con Dios

FOR OVER A QUARTER of a century the Mexican Players have been performing at Padua Hills, as entertainers and unofficial ambassadors of good-will. Through artistic adaptations of the genuine folklore of Mexico, they have successfully interpreted the customs of that country to visitors from all over the world. The public recognition that has come to them is well deserved; it is, of course, gratefully acknowledged by the Players. But even more treasured are the personal expressions of pleasure and gratitude from the thousands of individuals who have come to Padua. The Players have made many friends for themselves and for Mexico, friends who sincerely wish them continued success in the future. The gracious Mexican expression of farewell, "May you go with God," becomes a wish for all of the members of the Padua family: *Que vayan con Dios*.



LA CASA ALVARADO

(*Casa de Ayer*)

By Isabel Lopez de Fages



SAINT JOSEPH IS ENSHRINED IN *Casa Alvarado* . . . for it was on his feast day, March 19, 1837, that Padre Salvidea of San Gabriel Mission; Señor Ygnacio Palomares and Señor Ricardo Vejar rested under a giant oak and blessed the land, dedicating it to the foster father of Christ, under the title of *Rancho San José*.

When our acquisition of the adobe seemed doubtful, my husband, Alphonse B. Fages, and I made a novena to St. Joseph and promised him a shrine if our petition should be granted.

Now St. Joseph, represented by a beautiful statue anonymously bestowed on us by a friend, stands in an arched deep-set window in the dining room of Casa Alvarado. The statue had stood in St. Joseph's Church, Pomona, from 1907 to the time of its destruction only a few years ago, when a new church was built.

After years of agonizing over the useless destruction and neglect of California's historical landmarks, and our yearning for an adobe of our own, we made the plunge and became the third owners of this wonderful old casa.

To a Catholic any spot on which the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass has been celebrated is blessed. But we, as Californians, whose ancestors made the long trek to California with Don Gaspar de Portolá and Padre Junípero Serra in 1769 are also obsessed with a desire to preserve the state's history, landmarks and colorful traditions. However, because our feeble efforts so often have met with failure, we have become convinced that only through ownership can we hope to preserve even one historical landmark during the lifespan of ourselves and our daughter, Nancy Elisa.

There is room here for only a brief summary of the history of Casa Alvarado. Someday we hope to give you the complete story of Rancho San José.

When Ygnacio Palomares and Ricardo Vejar received the grant to Rancho San José on April 15, 1837, Don Ygnacio chose the upper portion on which to build his home and Don Ricardo decided to

La Casa Alvarado

build on San José de Abajo (lower San José). Because Señor Palomares loved neighbors, he decided to invite some of his friends and relatives to move out to the fertile valley.

Among them was Ygnacio Alvarado and his wife, Luisa Avila. Land immediately south of the first Palomares home was deeded to them, with the stipulation that a room large enough to house religious services be incorporated. A spacious sala, eighteen feet wide and forty-two feet long was included. According to Ramón Vejar, now 88 years of age, at the conclusion of Mass or other services, the altar placed at the north end of the room, was turned toward the wall and a fiesta followed. Ramón is a grandson of Ricardo Vejar. Although services first were held alternately in neighboring rancho homes, the little settlement centered about the Palomares and Alvarado homes. Soon services were held in the latter exclusively because of the size of the room and convenience for the majority of attendants.

In 1886, Pomona Land and Water Company became owners. At this time the parish of St. Joseph was established in Pomona and a resident priest took charge. Gone was the old custom of once a month mass in Casa Alvarado, but there remain a few old-timers who recall ceremonies and fiestas which they attended as children.

Ramón and Reinaldo Vejar, Margaret Monroy de Ybarra, now 90, who received her first communion in the casa; Mr. Fages' mother, Elisa Mirande de Fages, and Homer Duffy (Mr. Pomona) have regaled us with stories of the old days. The solemnity of mass, benediction of the Blessed Sacrament; baptisms, confirmation, first Holy Communion, and the gayety of simple joys of a community picnic and barbecue, coupled with spontaneous songs and dances have been recounted. Only a brief portion of a description of these events will be quoted from F. P. Brackett's *History of Rancho San José*, which was published in 1920. Much of the material was garnered from Cyrus Burdick, affectionately known as "Don Cy" to the Californios. He and his family were the first Americans or Anglos to establish homes in the vicinity.

The fine adobe east of the San José hills and south of the Casa Palomares, now called 'Cactus Lodge' was the home of Ygnacio Alvarado. During the later years of his life, Ygnacio Alvarado was confined to his bed stricken with paralysis, but the house continued to be a center of attraction in the community, because of its location and roominess, and because of Doña Luisa Avila de Alvarado, his wife, whose quiet hospitality stood out in contrast to the brusqueness of the paralytic. The picture of 'Tía Luisa' as recalled by one who knew her, is that of a lady in black... with a large white neck-scarf... over the shoulders, pinned at the throat with a brooch of jet or of Spanish gold, and with white

stockings and black cloth slippers on her feet. Her kindness and generosity are well remembered. . . .

The adobe house of Ygnacio Alvarado, with its one spacious room, is always the gathering place for any social or religious occasion. The Alvarado dances were gay affairs. . . .

Here Brackett describes the costumes of the participants; the games and dances; the food and many other delightful details. The account continues:

Here, also, at the Alvarado house, services were held once a month on Sunday when the padres came out from the mission. And there was a time when the services were held here and alternately at the Palomares house father east on El Camino Real. (Restored later home of Ygnacio Palomares, built in 1855.) And the old adobe house has witnessed a number of weddings. . . . Arising from their knees, the blessing of the padre upon them, the gay company went to the wedding dinner. Sometimes as many as a hundred guests sat down to one of these feasts. . . .

When the question of education of the children of the fast growing community arose, Cyrus Burdick, Francisco Palomares and Juan García were chosen as the school board of trustees. First sessions were held in Casa Alvarado in 1870, but almost immediately it became necessary to construct a plain frame building southeast of the adobe.

Luis Arenas, who had married a sister of Ygnacio Palomares had petitioned and received an addition to Rancho San José, and when he sold to Henry Dalton in 1846 he, with Ricardo Vejar, petitioned for a division of the rancho lands. This was recorded on February 12, 1846. At the same time, the home-site of Ygnacio Alvarado was reconfirmed in an official deed.

Before 1846, the beginning of American rule, no dispute or question of boundaries existed between the three friends, but Henry Dalton convinced Ricardo Vejar that they should petition for partition and establish boundaries against the protest of Ygnacio Palomares. As a result, each received a grant to his third of the land. Alcalde Juan Gallardo of Los Angeles granted the petition on February 12, 1846.

In 1851, an act of Congress created the United States Land Commission for the purpose of confirming or denying claims to land grants made under Spanish and Mexican rule. September 29, 1852, Dalton and Palomares filed a second petition and each of the claims was approved. A second confirmation of title of Ygnacio Alvarado's property was recorded by Palomares on March 6, 1871. On January 20, 1875, the government issued a patent to Dalton, Palomares and Vejar for the rancho, then encompassing 22,340 acres.

La Casa Alvarado

On August 15, 1883, Lugarda Alvarado de Palomares, wife of Francisco Palomares and daughter of Ygnacio and Luisa, deeded the property to her adopted daughter, Juana Alvarado de Preciado.

The Pomona Land and Water company assumed ownership of both the Palomares and Alvarado homesites on April 15, 1887. According to the Nichols family the head of the family was Dr. Benjamin S. Nichols, who also formed the water company. The property was recorded in the name of A. P. Nichols on December 13, 1899.*

Members of the Nichols families occupied both adobe houses and sold the Palomares site to Roscoe Hart in recent years. In 1951 we purchased Casa Alvarado from Miss May and Harold Nichols.

Many years ago my husband and I sought the histories of adobe houses in the Eva Scott Fenyes collection of water color paintings for the Southwest Museum. We found many of the landmarks neglected and uninhabited. Others had been demolished in the interest of progress, or through sheer lack of interest by communities or the state.

We were always saddened by these conditions. We had lived in La Casa de Adobe of the Southwest Museum and experienced the tranquility of life in a home of this type.

Then the day came when we decided to leave our Sherman Oaks home and settle in Pomona, Don Alfonso's birthplace. We decided to look for an adobe and retraced our steps to Casa Alvarado. It wasn't for sale then, but six years later it was, and, as I said at the beginning of this article, our supplication for the intercession of St. Joseph was answered.

The house is quadrangular. Originally it had ten adobe rooms. An adobe bed-room wing was destroyed by the Nichols family, whose New England logic told them it would be simpler to construct three new redwood rooms on the foundation of the old ones. Two have quaint victorian fire-places.

The main portion of the house, facing east, contains the sala, eighteen feet by forty-two feet; a twenty by twenty foot dining room; a twelve by twelve foot den with raised adobe fireplace and two adobe kitchens. The two kitchens are in the north wing. Ramón Vejar tells us that a winery and blacksmith shop completed this section.

The Nichols family constructed a two-story redwood water tower in place of the winery and blacksmith shop and moved in a small two-room bunk house from a ranch, placing it on the west end

* Abstract of title supplied by Title Insurance and Trust Co., Los Angeles.

of the patio. They re-opened a closed fireplace in the sala, using a contemporary victorian mantel.

We have not accomplished a great deal from a restoration to the original standpoint. Fortunately it only has been necessary to maintain the structure itself. Plans to restore must remain for the future.

Immediate needs are for reinforcing exposed adobe walls, both interior and exterior, and we hope to obtain a recipe for adobe and cactus plaster which we have been told will last for thirty years if properly applied.

We have paved the patio, refinished the beautiful old pine floors in the sala and painted redwood exteriors several times. We hope to floor the dining room and kitchen in square mission tile and refinish the bedroom floors. The shingled roof was renewed just previous to our purchase.

Our family attachments to the hacienda may be of interest. Closest of these is that of Doña Luisa Avila de Alvarado who was my great-aunt. She was a sister of my grandmother, Juana de la Cruz Avila de López.

Concepción López de Palomares, wife of Ygnacio was a sister of my grandfather, José Antonio de Candelario López. Alfonso's grandmother, Sara Martínez de Mirande was a grand-daughter of Ricardo Vejar. Ricardo's mother was Josefa López de Vejar.

Ygnacio López, our common ancestor and founder of the family in California, came to San Diego with Don Gaspar de Portola and Father Junípero Serra, and was the first of the soldados distinguidos to bring his wife, María Facunda Mora de López, and the smaller children to make their home there. Alfonso is a descendant of the second oldest son, Juan Francisco, who married Feliciano Arballo, gay little widow of Juan Bautista de Anza's second expedition in 1776.

The writer is descended from the youngest son, Claudio López and Luisa Cota de López, buried under the holy water font in San Gabriel Mission Church. Claudio was major-domo of the mission for thirty years and mayor of Los Angeles in 1836.

Our daughter is the ninth generation through her father's line and the seventh through that of her mother.

Although we have many fine antiques and heirlooms, we still need many more to furnish the house authentically. Above the sala mantel hangs a lovely eighteenth century oil painting of the Blessed Virgin flanked by two old cathedral candle sticks — the gift of Norman Nuerenburg, who assisted with the restoration of several rooms at San Fernando Mission.

La Casa Alvarado

An office of Holy Week printed in Salamanca Spain in 1582 was given to us by Theodore A. Willard with whom we both worked for many years.

A cylinder piano with wooden dancing figures handed down in the López family since 1864; chairs and dresser brought around the Horn by the Waite family, my maternal grandparents in 1850; a 120-year-old four-poster bed presented by Clara Haydock, upon the death of her mother, Luisa López de McAlonan, and many other treasures are included.

The adobe is our home and some modern comforts must remain, but we continue to look for additional authentic furnishings and are grateful for many gifts and loans.

Casa Alvarado is located at 1512 Hacienda Place, Pomona; however, within a few months, due to the sale of some of our lots, the new address will be 1459 Old Settlers' Lane, approached from Park Avenue. Visitors are welcome by appointment.

Rancho San José Parlor, No. 307, *Native Daughters of the Golden West*, has dedicated a historical plaque placed at the La Casa Alvarado on October 29, 1954.

Pioneer teas sponsored by the parlor honor the old timers and bring together old friends.

St. Joseph has been re-enshrined. He must have been pleased to see Father Mathew Poetzel, O.F.M., in the brown robes of his Order, blessing the house and grounds!


May Casa Alvarado remain for many years a haven for those who seek the peace and joy to be found within her walls!

LOS ANGELES RECREATION, 1846-1900

By Henry Winfred Splitter

PART II

Baseball

HOUGH BASEBALL SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED into Los Angeles in 1870, the early comments on the game were irrelevant and sketchy. This early club was very likely none too successful at hitting the ball, for it smarted under the faint ignominy of "Shoo-Fly Club."⁷⁸ It may be that the phrase "batting flies," with reference to high drives into the outfield, originated in some such pleasantry.

The sport did not immediately catch on here, for as late as 1874 the only ball club in Los Angeles was composed of high school girls. A description of what the reporter considered a typical game is the following:

The "pitcher" throws the ball by describing a circle round and round with the right or left hand (it makes no difference which), like the motion of a windlass, and then letting go when she gets up a good velocity. The ball goes careening through the air with a charming uncertainty of direction, and sometimes lights on the head of an observer who is possibly standing behind the pitcher, or it passes through a window of the schoolhouse, or possibly goes plunk into the extended apron of the catcher, who receives it with a little feminine squeal that is perfectly killing to a susceptible young gentleman observer.⁷⁹

An additional four years were required, seemingly, for the city to arrive at the dignity of having what may be its first modern baseball write-up. The occasion was a Sunday championship game between the Nameless and Academy clubs. The Nameless were under the necessity of going to bat with but seven players and wound up their first inning with a blank. The Academy then went in and secured nine runs before the inning closed. From this time to its end the game was closely contested, winding up in the ninth inning with the Academy Club four runs ahead. The feature of the game

was the time, two hours, forty-one minutes, which was considered a record-beater for the area and even the State. The write-up concluded with the line-up, with name of player, number of times out, and number of runs; together with the final score (13-9) in favor of the Academy. The following Sunday the Nameless Club played the Dauntless, and this time, perhaps with nine players, emerged triumphant, 24-6.⁸⁰

In the 1880's baseball picked up speed locally. In March, 1882, there is a notice in the *Herald* of a scheduled game between the University and Ivy baseball clubs at Agricultural Park on Saturday afternoon.⁸¹ A city baseball league was organized in the summer of 1884, and one Sunday afternoon in September its first game was called, between the Mutuals and the Pacific teams. The Pacific had been formerly known as the Printers. The game announcement stated:

The cars of the Main street and Agricultural Park street railway leave every seventeen minutes for the grounds.⁸²

Professional Eastern teams began coming here for winter practice about 1886. During the real estate boom of the winter of 1886-1887, the Sixth Street (now Pershing Square) Park, then called the "ball park," was the scene of a game between the Louisville club and a local team. Louisville won 4-2. Coach Spaulding of the Chicago team declared his intention of coming to Los Angeles for a series of three games during the winter, and the St. Louis Browns and a Kansas City club were also scheduled to show up here. The Stockton club played a series of three games here in October, 1886.⁸³

The Sixth Street Park, as a ball field, was, the next year, 1887, augmented by the new Peck and Ruggles baseball diamond and grandstand, considered to be the equal of the celebrated Haight street grounds of the California League in San Francisco. The Peck and Ruggles team was the only professional club in Southern California at this time. Frank Harris, the best player in Santa Ana and one of the best in Southern California, signed up with the club. Ramay, former official umpire of the Northwestern League, now a local resident, was official umpire, with orders

... to fine any and all players who disobey the rules, which is expected to eliminate recent spectator growls.

The P & R's were equipped with a club room in which setting-up and gymnastic exercises were regularly taken. Other publicity points were these:

A brass band will play at all games. The team will have two suits for each member — one for practice, the other for games.⁸⁴

In general, however, the status of baseball in Los Angeles at

this time was low, not only because of poor players, but also owing to low calibre management and umpiring. As stated a few years later:

Los Angeles is a good baseball town, but dislikes poor ball clubs.

Between 1887 and 1891, however, a good many fine players got their start in Los Angeles clubs. Phil Knell, the greatest left-handed pitcher in America by 1891 got his start here in 1888. George "Pete" Lohman, a crack catcher, learned his first rudiments in Los Angeles; and other fine players in the early 1890's who hailed from Los Angeles clubs were Harry Raymond, George Decker, Goldie, Jack Fogarty, Sam Dungan, Otto Young, Leland and Holliday.⁸⁵

The year 1892 marked a new era for Los Angeles in the realm of outdoor sports by its entry into the California State Baseball League. On March 26, 1892, the first game of State League baseball was played in Los Angeles, between the San Francisco team, the league Daddies, and Los Angeles, the Babies. The usual buffonery was indulged in about the Daddies spanking the Babies, but later the conditions were reversed by the Babies winning the game. At the end of the first season of 1892, Los Angeles was at the head of the league, winning 101 out of 175 games played. Next came San José with 85 games won out of 171; San Francisco in 172 games won 82; Oakland 79 of 172. The season was of course also profitable financially for the winning Los Angeles team. Of the thirteen regular members of the Los Angeles team, only four were residents of California, the others hailing from Nebraska, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Its captain was Rodney J. Glenalvin of St. Louis, who, besides being an excellent organizer, also had an enviable reputation as spare-time poet.⁸⁶

Football, Cricket and Basketball

Football in Los Angeles before 1900 was by no means the center of attention in the sports world that it became later. Early football was at this time not confined to school and college teams; the first regular football game ever played in the city being between the University of Southern California and the amateur Alliance club. The game took place not in the fall but in the spring, on May 24, 1888, on the University grounds. Professor Merrill of the University was referee, and W. F. Fiske, umpire. The game ended in a tie.⁸⁷

In 1890 a four-club football league was organized in Los Angeles County: Sierra Madre, Pasadena, University, and Los Angeles being represented. All games were to be played under inter-col-

legiate rules. Keller, who gained his football experience with the famous Onions of Oakland (sharp players?), was captain of the Los Angeles team.⁸⁸ The sport, however, remained under a cloud here, because of lack of proper grounds, and conflicting rules, due to the influence of British cricket.

A few facts about Coast football would perhaps illumine the local football picture. Football began to be played on the Coast, first at San Francisco, about 1880, the early clubs organized there being the Wanderers and the Phoenix, the Wanderers principally of English-born residents, all matches being under the Rugby rules. The fall football season of 1892 opened with a game between the Olympics and the University of California eleven; the Olympics, a heavier team, winning 20-10. The University won the return game on November 5, 16-0. The Olympics tied Stanford 14-14. In December, 1892, Stanford and UC met, Stanford coached temporarily by the famous Walter Camp, and UC by T. L. McClung, who, like Camp was a Yale man. Berkeley won by their ground-gaining wedge plays. Fifteen thousand saw the game, the largest crowd of its kind hitherto on the Coast.⁸⁹

Cricket, a characteristically British game, was played in Los Angeles, the first club being organized locally in 1888. Several matches were played, but interest soon died out, owing to lack of suitable grounds. Good players were available, and a match was planned between San Francisco and Los Angeles in the 1892 season.⁹⁰

Basketball seems to have been almost unknown in Los Angeles up to the late 1890's, when there is recorded, in 1898, a game of basketball between the Los Angeles Athletic Club and the YMCA, the "Y" winning by the oddly low score of 3-2.⁹¹

Tennis

In tennis, Los Angeles was behind, yielding the palm to nearby Santa Monica. The first tennis club was organized in Los Angeles in June, 1887. Santa Monica had already in 1885 hosted the Southern California Lawn Tennis Association at its first tournament. Because of its good facilities, these annual tournaments continued to be held there year after year.

The sets were played in the excellent courts of the Casino Company. The program of the third annual tournament, in 1888, is typical. Sets were called promptly at 9:00 a.m., continued to 12:30 p.m., and from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. The official schedule read: Gentlemen's doubles, mixed doubles, gentlemen's doubles, ladies'

singles, gentlemen's handicap doubles, and all-comers' doubles. The events were open only to members of the clubs belonging to the Association, but the all-comers contest was open to anyone who had resided on the Coast for six months. Prizes were offered by the Association and by A. G. Spaulding and Brothers of Chicago. A silver championship cup was to be the trophy of the victor of the all-comers match, donated by gentlemen of Santa Monica and Los Angeles. Spectator fee was 25 cents, and entrants in this year numbered about 25.

Tennis Association officers were: Abbott Kinney, president; G. L. Waring, vice-president; C. W. Saunders, secretary-treasurer. The Control Committee consisted of Abbott Kinney, P. Robertson and T. Rhodes.

As grand finale a ball was to be given at the Casino under the patronage of Mrs. J. P. Jones (wife of the U.S. Senator), Mrs. Arcadia Bandini de Baker and Mrs. Abbott Kinney.

By the beginning of 1890, tennis enthusiasm had mounted in Los Angeles. The *Express* suggests:

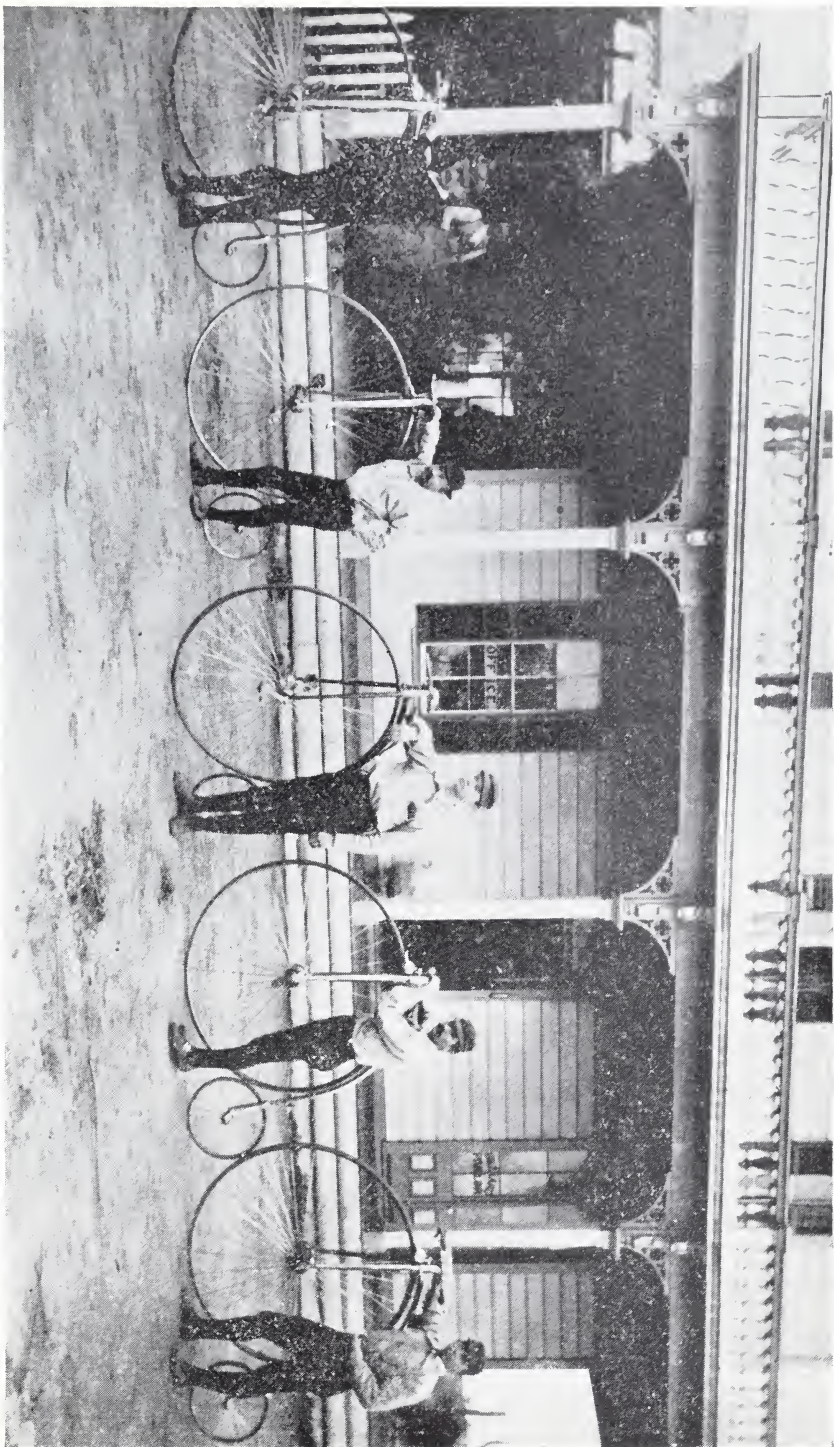
Everyone who has a vacant lot next to his residence should transform it into a tennis court if he would be up with the times. In the vicinity of Grand Avenue and Pico there are a half dozen courts within as many blocks, and every sunny afternoon the balls fly merrily over the nets.

A young men's tennis club, called the Utopia, had been formed; and the young women countered with their own Okai club, with eight of the best players in the city.

Women's participation in tennis brought forth the following rather oblique comment in the *Herald*:

Tennis has never been debased by professionalism, and it is one of the cleanest and most healthful of sports. It does not become any worse a game because it is one which it is possible for women to play. Indeed it rather raises the tone of the sport, and certainly tends to make the players look more frequently to the little courtesies of the game.

By 1891, Los Angeles had gone wild over the sport, there being thirty clubs in the city and county, with scores of good players. The Los Angeles Lawn Tennis Club was the most prominent. Among the best women players were the Misses Gilliland, Tufts, Halsted and Shoemaker; and outstanding men players were Art Burmilly, T. Coulter, Paul Arnold, Harry Germain, Cosby, Cawston, Lester, Chase, Manning, Young, and Woodhouse, also Halsted of Riverside. From this time to the turn of the century, tennis was a major Los Angeles sport.⁹²



Printing plate from the Society's collection from photo loaned by Title Insurance and Trust Co.

SPORTSMEN ON BICYCLES

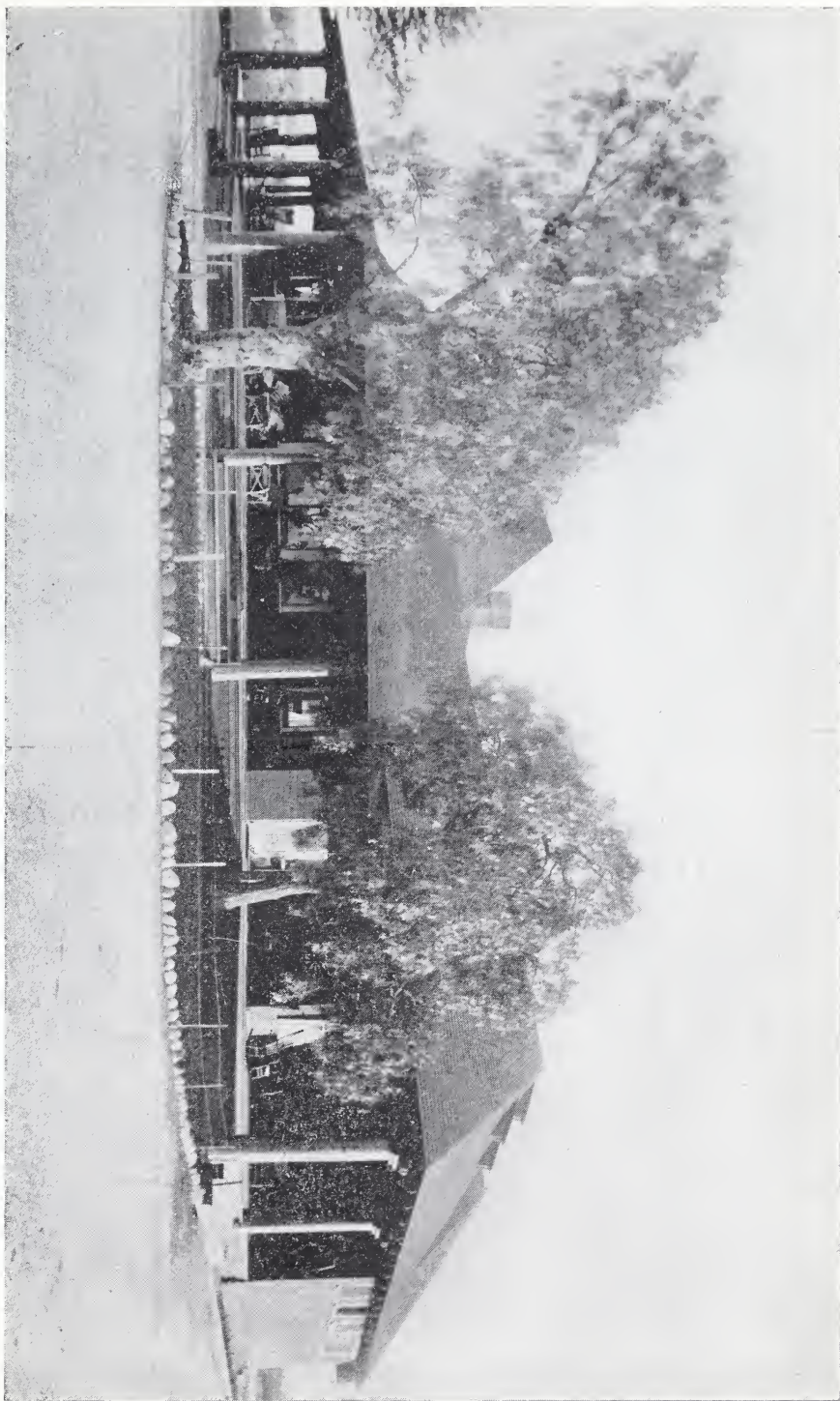
This photograph, taken about 1887, shows a line-up of wheelmen in front of the Agricultural Park Road House.



— Photo courtesy Helms Athletic Foundation

TENNIS CLUB SOCIAL GATHERING

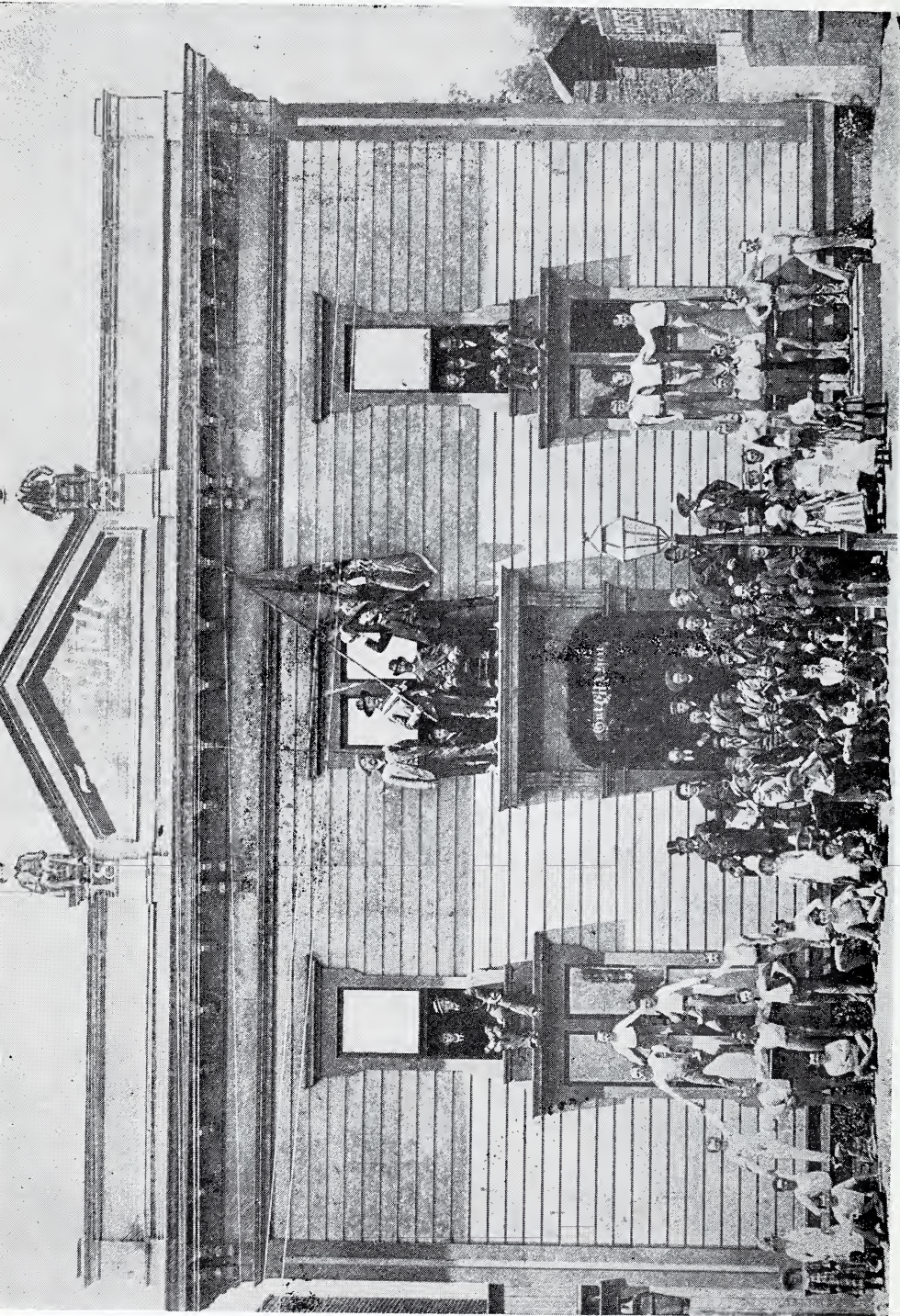
One of the first tennis clubs organized in Southern California was formed by the ladies and gentlemen of San Gabriel. The photograph shows the group meeting at the old Purcell home in San Gabriel. The five children sitting in the left foreground are identified, left to right, as: Geoffrey M. Purcell, Helen A. Purcell, Lancelot M. Purcell, Narah Purcell and Hugh G. Purcell.



LOS ANGELES COUNTRY CLUB

This is the home of the Country Club that was built at Pico and Western.

— Printing plate from the Society's Collection



— Printing plate from Society's Collection

TURNVEREIN GERMANIA

One of Los Angeles' first gymnasiums where young men of good moral character could practice their body-building exercises. Photograph taken about 1875

Golf

The oldest golf course in California and one of the first in the United States, was laid out in March, 1894, at Riverside, by the Riverside Polo and Golf Club. The course consisted of nine holes, named, whimsically, by the custom of the day: The Goal, The Grave, Styx, Paradise, Valley, Sudden Death, Hades, Devil's Own, and Home, ranging in length from 120 yards for the Styx to 425 yards for Paradise. Riverside was then the residence of many Britishers, traditionally fond of outdoor sports, and though it had less than 8,000 population, boasted of no less than three golf clubs — Polo and Golf, Rubidoux, and Pachappa. The Polo and Golf Club in 1900 included C. E. Maud, then president of the Southern California Golf Association, and who had the year before won the Del Monte cup at Monterey.

The Santa Barbara Country Club, organized in 1894, and its golf course, laid out in 1896, was at Montecito. At Santa Monica were, in 1900, two golf courses — one the Ocean Park Links, owned by Dudley and Warner, and the North Side Golf Club. These were not in good condition, but much played. There were courses also at Redondo Beach, owned by the Hotel, and in Coronado and San Diego. One of Southern California's most picturesque and sporty courses was that of the Catalina Golf Club at Avalon, owned by the Banning Company. Pasadena had two golf courses, one owned by the Pasadena Country Club and located three miles from town, and the Hotel Green course, a mile from the hotel.

Throughout Southern California the conventional turfed putting green was almost universally absent. It was tried in San Diego but given up as needing too much water. Typical Southern California "greens" in 1900 were made of soil and sand tightly packed, watered and rolled. The game thus really resembled croquet, with its free-rolling ball.

The Los Angeles Country Club in 1900 was the best equipped club of its kind in Southern California, and made golf its central concern. Its course, at Pico and Western, was one of the very few eighteen-hole courses in the State, with a total length of 5,548 yards, extending over eighty acres of rolling land. It had been laid out in 1899 under the direction of J. F. Sartori, E. B. Tufts and J. E. Crooks, who learned the game on the links at St. Andrews, Scotland. It was planned with the special object of making good golf essential and of penalizing poor play. The difficulties were said to be so numerous as to discourage all not animated by a true love of the game. The descriptive names of its holes were: Escondido, Wind-

ward, Terrace, Turi, Dinky, El Puente, Lookout, Adobe, Midway, Punch Bowl, Long Acre, Round Top, Hillside, Toboggan, Mesa, El Rincon, Pico, Home. There were 80 possible bogey scores.⁹³

The Los Angeles Country Club at the time of its organization in 1897 by Edward Tufts, J. F. Sartori and others, had been named the Los Angeles Golf Club. It was changed to the present name in 1898. Its stated purpose in the articles of incorporation was

... to promote social intercourse among its members and maintain golf and other open air sports.

The club at the beginning rented sixteen acres in the southwestern part of town, on West Pico, and named it the "Windmill Links" from the fact that the clubhouse had been developed out of a remodelled windmill. In 1899 the club moved to Pico and Harvard streets, which grounds were tagged the "Convent Links" because they lay in the vicinity of the Immaculate Heart Convent at 2900 West Pico. Soon afterwards, 107 acres was leased at the northwest corner of Pico and Western, where the first eighteen-hole course west of Chicago was built. It opened in November, 1899. In 1911 the club moved to its present location on both sides of Wilshire Boulevard at 10101 Wilshire Boulevard, west of Beverly Hills.⁹⁴

Hugh May, a retired British military officer and member of the club, played at the first amateur golf championship match of Southern California, losing his match against C. E. Maud of Riverside by only one stroke. In 1900, May won the open championship of the Los Angeles Country Club, against nearly all the best golfers in Southern California. Excellent club players also were Mrs. A. H. Braly and Walter Cosby, both of whom won championships.

There was also a vigorously functioning Southern California Golf Association. In 1900 its president was C. E. Maud; vice-presidents, J. B. Miller and A. S. Auchenloss; secretary, J. F. Sartori. Annual meetings for men's and women's championships were held under its management, won in January of that year by the Los Angeles Country Club.

One rather captious objection to the game was that it was played at this time almost exclusively by the rich. The pro-American republican smiled sardonically when he observed the tartan caddie bags, strange clubs, scarlet jackets, large-patterned knickerbockers, and gay stockings, all redolent of a British upper-class and aristocratic make-up. Caddying also seemed to him undemocratic. Caustic comment was leveled at the golfer's traditional custom of drinking a slug or two of Scotch whiskey at the ninth and eighteenth holes.⁹⁵ Golf has, of course, fortunately survived its criticisms and

has now been for some time an important link in Los Angeles City's recreational program.

Polo and Horsemanship

Polo in Southern California, like tennis, was at the outset and for some time later, centered in Santa Monica. Early in May, 1878, it was reported from the only recently founded beach city that some young men connected with the U.S. Coast Survey stationed there had, with a number of local residents, about a dozen in all, organized a polo club. Grounds for play had been selected on Ocean Avenue in what was known as the Hotel Block. Said the reporter:

We have never witnessed polo played, but are told that it is a kind of "shinny" on horseback.

On a Saturday some two weeks later, the first polo game was played. The match was for the best three games in five. Four Americans — Teale, Perry, Sumner and Jacob — played against four Spanish Californians "from the Canyon," led by Manuel Marcus. The Spaniards won, taking games two, three, and four; and the Americans, games one and five. The winners were said to be "in their native element, displaying some extraordinary horsemanship."⁹⁶

By the early 1890's, it was generally conceded that polo was more popular in Southern California than anywhere else in the West, and also that the Santa Monica club, now known as the Southern California Polo Club of Santa Monica, was easily the best in the West. Most of the club's membership was of old-time players from England; and local ponies of broncho extraction were of unbeatable quality. Matches were being held every summer.⁹⁷

The Santa Monica Polo Club officials in 1890 were: Sen. John P. Jones, president; H. A. Wilson, vice-president; Capt. E. P. Tompkins, secretary; Capt. J. B. Proctor, treasurer. By this time its playing field has been shifted to Eighth Street (now Lincoln) Park, where its twenty-five members worked out regularly twice a week. Principal players in the early 1890's were J. B. Proctor, E. Woodhouse, W. H. Young, J. Machell, Templer Allen, G. L. Waring and M. Bolton. Horses, too, need to be pointed out as individuals in polo: G. L. Waring's best horse was "La Pulza"; W. H. Young's, "Marquis"; J. B. Proctor's, "Rex"; and that of J. Machell, "Tom Tit."

The club was not large, but many of its members played a distinguished game. The grounds had been leased from Jones and Baker; the field was somewhat small, 190 yards long as against the

regulation 250. It was bordered on the west by a dense screen of eucalyptus and pepper trees, to furnish shade and break the sometimes strong wind from the Pacific. The game was, as to spectators, not exactly a popular one, and most of the onlookers were relatives and friends of the club members. An afternoon game meant a kind of gathering of the clans, with "society" out in full force. The ladies took turns in serving lunch to the members and their friends, and usually a delightful afternoon was had, with the rush of the ponies, and the spirited plays evoking much applause from the lookers-on.⁹⁸

By 1906 a Southern California Polo and Pony Racing Association had been formed, that included the clubs of Riverside, Los Angeles, Santa Monica, Santa Barbara, Coronado and San Diego. The Association's first tournament was held in that year, with five entrant teams: Los Angeles, Riverside, Santa Barbara, Santa Monica and a visitor, Burlingame. Four elaborate silver goblets each about one foot high were offered as trophies to the winners. In the tournament, Santa Barbara won over Los Angeles, and over Santa Monica; Burlingame won over Riverside, and in a final game, over Santa Barbara to win the meet.⁹⁹

As early as 1876, Santa Monicans had played a game on horseback reminiscent of the jousting of medieval knights. It was called "riding at the ring" and seems to have been played by the Spanish Californians even in Mexican days. The chief aim was for the horsemen, usually two in number, galloping at full speed, to tilt with the lances that had been secured to their saddles, at three suspended rings which was head high to a horse, along the course about seventy-five feet apart. Passage of the lance through the ring made a score. An interesting contest of this sort took place on a Sunday in August of 1876 between B. F. Reid, champion knight of Santa Monica, and J. J. Carillo of Los Angeles. This trial of skill took place in front of the Santa Monica Hotel. The long double verandas of the hotel were crowded with ladies and gentlemen, and several hundred mounted native Californians ranged themselves in long lines on each side of the track along which the contestants were to ride. Each contestant was to have ten alternate tilts at the rings. The score was for each tilt: Carillo — 3, 3, 3, 1, 3, 2, 2, 2, 3, 2 — total 24; Reid — 2, 3, 3, 0, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3 — total 26. Reid was declared the winner.¹⁰⁰

Another display of riding skill at Santa Monica, this time in what approaches on modern show-style rodeo, took place in March, 1882. An important party of tourists having expressed a wish to see a rodeo, about which they had heard so much, Col. R. S. Baker with

D. Freeman and Don Marco Forster, set about providing them with one. The rodeo display was run off in front of Colonel Baker's residence, a number of famous vaqueros performing as fine feats of horsemanship and skillful handling of the lasso as was possible in these late and degenerate days.¹⁰¹

Yachting

Of interest to well-to-do Los Angeles residents and sportsmen in 1886 was the formation of the Los Angeles Yacht Club, and its purchase of a handsome, clean-sailing yacht, the *Rambler*, for the use of its membership. The yacht was maintained constantly in commission at San Pedro. Its original cost was \$2,500. As regards the club, Ben E. Ward was president; Mr. Montgomery, secretary; and Col. H. H. Boyce, treasurer.

The number of yachts at San Pedro gradually increased in succeeding years. Dan McFarland brought the speedy *Annie* down from San Francisco. Hancock Banning had the *La Paloma* built, and William Lacy, with his sons, built the *Penelope*. The *La Paloma* was a schooner racing yacht with a sixteen-foot beam and she was forty-seven feet overall, built by the Wilmington Development Co., for Sportsman Banning. This yacht was, as late as 1893, considered the fastest on the Coast, beating the *Annie* in a race at San Diego in 1889 and, in so-doing, winning the Pacific Coast meet. Before this defeat the *Annie*, under Commodore Caduc, had been considered the swiftest in Western waters.

The home anchorage of *La Paloma* was shifted to Catalina Island with the formation of the Catalina Yacht Club at Avalon in 1892. This club's fleet, at the island now owned by the Bannings, included some of the fastest yachts on the Coast. Lacy's *Penelope* was a schooner yacht with a twenty-three foot beam and seventy-three feet overall. She was built in San Diego for William Lacy, Sr., and his sons, Dick and William. The *Penelope* was primarily a sailing yacht but, in 1890, she also beat the *Annie*, and later out-ran one of the fastest yachts in San Francisco Bay. It was held to be the best of the sailing schooner class in Southern California waters.

By 1906 the South Coast Yacht Club, organized in 1901, and composed mainly of Los Angeles sportsmen, was the leading club on the Southern Coast. Its anchorage was at Terminal Island, near San Pedro where, in 1906, some forty yachts stood at anchor. H. H. Sinclair of Los Angeles was commodore; Evan E. Evans, vice-commodore; and Eugene Overton, secretary. Sinclair's *Lurline* was the largest schooner yacht on the Coast at this time, of fifty-ton burden.

In 1904 he sailed with his family on a seven months' trip to Hawaii and the South Seas. Other well-known vessels of this club were the *Portola*, *Venus* and the *Mischief*.¹⁰²

Lacrosse and Tug-of-War

Lacrosse, a sport originally American Indian in origin, was played here in the early 1890's. In 1891 Los Angeles had two clubs, one of which was the champion team of Southern California, with the Riverside club next in line. The game had been played in Canada as a White Man's sport since 1850, being quite popular in the 1860's, and was said to have pleased Queen Victoria when introduced in England in 1875.¹⁰³

A rather odd tug-of-war craze hit Los Angeles in 1891, this type of physical contest being at the time popular throughout the United States. It was often a means of blowing off steam between otherwise stand-offish and mutually exclusive groups. At a tug-of-war meet in Los Angeles on December 7, 1891, the Germans pulled the French in twelve minutes, the Americans pulled the Irish in eight and one-half minutes, the Spanish pulled the Los Angeles Police in one hour and twenty-six minutes. Four thousand spectators were on hand to see the contest at the Pavilion. The teams consisted of ten men each, and the side that pulled the other seven feet over center was declared the winner.

The next day, on December 8, the Spanish pulled the Germans in just over two hours, the Americans pulled the Police in thirty-one seconds, the Irish pulled the French in one and one-half minutes. On December 9, the Americans pulled the French in sixteen and one-half seconds, the Irish pulled the Spanish in one minute and forty-seven seconds, the Germans pulled the Police in thirty-seven and one-half minutes. On the final day the Americans pulled the Germans in eighteen and one-half seconds, the Irish pulled the Police in fifty-two seconds, the Spanish pulled the French in ten minutes and eleven seconds. In the final rating, the Americans won first place; the Irish, second; the Spanish, third; the Police, fourth; and the French, fifth, and last.¹⁰⁴

Hunting

Los Angeles in the 1870's was truly a hunters' paradise. In migration season, spring and autumn, great wedges of wild geese flew over the city en route to or from the coastal marshes. Their honk-honking could be plainly heard both day and night.¹⁰⁵ There

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were immense numbers of birds everywhere, some species, at the present day, are practically extinct. A rancho southwest of town, for instance, was practically covered with immense flocks of sandhill cranes, which seemed no more disturbed by the approach of man than would so many barnyard fowls. These were large birds with a wing-spread greater than that of a swan.¹⁰⁶

The virtual disappearance within a few decades of this great multitude of birds was caused partly by loss of feeding grounds by drainage ditches and the breaking up of the primitive sod, partly by the disregard of, or lack of, game laws in those years, with resultant slaughter too shameful to relate. At a routine duck shoot in the winter of 1876, a group of seventeen "sportsmen" from the city between Wednesday and Saturday of one week bagged 1,326 ducks and twenty-eight geese.¹⁰⁷ Wild geese in 1871 were plentiful at city game stalls at five for \$1.00, but sold at a penny apiece in the country.¹⁰⁸

Valley quail were bagged in the foothills at the easy rate of 200 per day, by single shots on the wing. For several years professional market hunters in Southern California had shot and shipped an average of 10,000 quail apiece for the season. Such depletion, with perhaps an even greater number of birds crippled and disabled, eventually reduced their numbers, but even in 1890, seventy-five to one hundred quail could be killed in a few hours, though it was necessary to go farther back in the foothills than in former years. Either in a buggy or on horseback, hunters would ride directly up to a big covey, shoot for a while, rest a while, lunch and smoke, then shoot again. Said a writer of the period:

A large flock properly handled gives two or three men all the shooting that rational creatures should wish.¹⁰⁹

A number of gun clubs for the shooting of migratory birds were organized in Los Angeles between 1886 and 1891: Recreation Gun Club, Los Angeles Wing Shooting Club, Ballona Gun Club, and the Long Beach Gun Club. Annual shoots were held under the management of the State Sportsmen's Association. In 1890, the Colton Club won first prize.¹¹⁰

In the 1870's, wild boars, bred from escaped Spanish hogs, were still being hunted in the mountains.¹¹¹ And it was only in 1872 that a bill was finally introduced into the Legislature making it illegal to trap and sell mocking birds as caged songsters.¹¹²

Hare and hounds and the fox-hunting chase of Merrie England of old were given a protracted try-out at Pasadena during the latter 1870's and the 1880's. In 1876 we read in the *Express*:

Cameron, the market man, has received from his hunters, twelve fine foxes, and Capt. Swales has entered enthusiastically into the idea of getting up a chase. We believe a pack of serviceable hounds can be gotten together in this county, and if the lovers of the national sport of Old England will take an interest in the matter, as no doubt they will, our people will be treated with a genuine fox-hunt.¹¹³

By 1870 hunters and hounds had been traversing the mesas around Pasadena for some time, but the foxes had vanished, and there were only jack-rabbits and coyotes, with very rarely a chance at a wildcat. Early in February, 1880, a number of ladies and gentlemen, on horseback and in carriages, met on the mesa north of town for what they hoped would be an exciting run. Sure enough, a rabbit was soon started, but it headed for the brush instead of the plains. When, however, it reached a burned area, it was turned, and after successfully dodging first one then another of its foes, the unhappy jack was finally caught at the very edge of the brush by Mr. Chapman's blue hound "Topsy." Following lunch, dogs and riders started out in pursuit of another hare, which after an exciting chase was caught by Mr. Bandini's kangaroo hound, "El Chico," Mr. Watts' "Joe" coming in second. The third chase was long and absorbing, showing the best qualities of the various hounds. "El Chico" here also brought the game to earth. There were two other runs, in which the rabbits were more accommodating to the spectators in the carriages, running close by them, then doubling,

...giving all a chance to be in at the death, and see "El Chico" catch his third rabbit.¹¹⁴

The *Express* in June, 1882, remarks:

Hunting on horseback seems to be a favorite sport with the ladies and gentlemen of Pasadena. They had two chases last week, but the amount of game bagged is not stated. The fun, however, is in the chase, and it would be well if the sport were indulged in universally.¹¹⁵

By 1889 the mounted rabbit hunters of Pasadena had formed their Valley Hunt Club, but conditions were far from encouraging. At one regular monthly meet at Monk's Hill, north of Pasadena, with fifty members present, several jack rabbits were run down by two young women, Miss Weber and Miss Grace. But much of the land, even in this high foothill area, was at this period beginning to be planted to orchards and vineyards. Says the reporter,

...spoiling what often promises to be a long and exciting run.

The hunt, perhaps for this reason, seemed lackadaisical, and little more rabbit-starting was done that afternoon. After lunch a

photographer took pictures of the group prettily posed on their horses and in the carriages. From here, the reporter declares, Pasadena appeared a mere speck, the Raymond Hotel alone standing out, a dark and shapeless mass, against the distant hills, while westward in the afternoon sun of this pre-smog era glittered the faraway Pacific. After a time, the party went leisurely back to Pasadena, where they showed themselves, in hunting costume, at the Library Loan and Art Exhibition. Here, once more, they lined up for the photographer. A free pass was granted them through the building.

Two years later the third annual *Tournament of Roses* was held under the auspices of this club. Other than that no more is heard of the Valley Hunt Club for the rest of our period.¹¹⁶

As to thoroughbred and show dogs, the Southern California Kennel Club was established in 1888, with annual bench shows. Two hundred dogs were on exhibition in 1891, with many valuable canines of the best strains recently imported. Los Angeles was already at this time ranked as one of the best dog centers of the West.¹¹⁷

Gymnasiums, Track and Field

The Los Angeles Athletic Club, since its founding in 1880, has been the focus for the physical and social recreation of a considerable number of local citizens. In 1876 an effort to form a local branch of the San Francisco Olympic Club failed. Put on the evening of September 8, 1880, a number of gentlemen gathered, in response to a call circulated by Samuel B. Dewey, in the offices of Judson, Gillette and Gibson. James P. Lankershim, presided, and Samuel B. Dewey was secretary. It was resolved that a club be formed, provided that a membership of thirty could be obtained — a figure which seemed reasonable. A committee on constitution and by-laws was appointed, also a committee to make inquiries about the leasing of a proper space for a gymnasium. Among those forty young men of Los Angeles signing up at this initial meeting were J. P. Spence, C. L. Coulter, W. A. Spalding, J. P. Bassett, Fred Eaton and M. H. Newmark.¹¹⁸

Some ten days later, the club held another meeting at the rooms of Judson, Gillette and Gibson, this time for the election of officers and other business. The attendance was full and enthusiastic. J. B. Lankershim was elected president; F. A. Gibson, vice-president; J. A. Spence, secretary; and H. L. McNeil, treasurer. To the executive committee were named S. B. Dewey, J. Lockwood, H. B. Fox, W. G. Kerckhoff and G. W. Jones. It was determined to hire rooms

in the Stearns Block, at Los Angeles and Arcadia streets, and to provide at once all the equipment of a first-class gym.¹¹⁹

It was November, however, before the new gymnasium was ready for use. Here now were parallel and horizontal bars, a ladder, spring board, swinging rings, Indian clubs, dumb bells and boxing gloves, with other equipment planned for as membership increased. All "respectable young men of the community" were invited to join, the club's aim and purpose being stated as follows:

To afford the young men of Los Angeles, whose duties during the day are such as to give them no opportunity for exercise, the means of improving their physical condition.

Good moral character and recommendation by two members of the club were pre-requisite to membership, application then to be voted on by the club. The admission fee was five dollars, with dues of one dollar per month. Regular public meetings were held on Tuesday and Friday evenings of each week; business meetings were held once a month.

Officers of the club in June, 1881, were E. A. Preuss, president; A. M. Lawrence, vice-president; John Thayer, Jr., secretary; Gus Jerres, treasurer. On the executive committee were Frank A. Gibson, William A. Spalding, J. L. Binford, Thomas Strohm and C. O. Scott.¹²⁰

The Stearns Block rooms, however, were not adapted to gymnasium purposes, and were moreover deemed inaccessible to many members, all of which resulted in a decreasing membership and attendance. In consequence, ex-Governor Downey finally offered to put up a new hall for use of the club, which was dedicated on January 25, 1882. Its construction had occupied the entire fall of 1881. It fronted on New High Street, just off Main, the entrance being just back of that of the City Public Library. The hall was thirty-five feet by seventy-five feet, and ventilation and lighting were excellent. The fitting out of the gym with additional equipment was under the supervision of E. A. Preuss and Thomas Strohm, considered two of the most accomplished gymnasts on the Coast.

Besides the main hall, the lease included several attached rooms. Adjoining the gym were the shower rooms; to the left of the main hall was a billiard room, fifteen by twenty feet, with a new billiard table. Adjoining was a reading room of the same size, with a magazine table, newspaper rack, a handsome writing desk and, along two walls, some game tables with an abundance of chairs. At the entrance to the suite was a small reception room.

Club membership by the beginning of 1882 was one hundred.

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A newly elected executive committee consisted of A. M. Lawrence, H. B. Lathrop, Thomas Strohm, C. T. Paul and W. M. Caswell.¹²¹ By October of that year, 1882, two new rooms, twenty by thirty feet each, had been added to the club suite, in one of which two new billiard tables were placed, together with the one already in use; the other room being used for cards and other games, where, however, said the reporter, "no gambling or drinking will be allowed." Membership now had risen to a total of 190.¹²²

The first regular field sports day in the city was held under Los Angeles Athletic Club auspices on September 9, 1883, at Agricultural Park. Among the events were a one-hundred-yard race, standing broad jump, shot put, one-mile bicycle race, hammer throw, one-hundred and twenty-yard hurdles, one-mile walk, and one-mile run. The hundred-yard dash was won by J. W. Winston in eleven and three-quarter seconds, Fred W. Potts coming in second. The standing broad jump was won by S. B. Dewey (eleven feet). A sixteen-pound shot was heaved twenty-four feet, also by Dewey. Dewey likewise won the mile walk in fifteen and one-half minutes. The mile bicycle race was won by J. Lancaster in three minutes and forty-five and one-quarter seconds, with G. A. Haskell and C. Wedgewood trailing. J. W. Winston, winner of the one-hundred yard dash, also won the two-twenty, likewise the one-twenty-yard hurdles (nine of them) in twenty-one and one-quarter seconds, and the mile run in six minutes, seven and one-quarter seconds. Winston, in his one-man sweep, finally tied with W. DeBuxton in the running high jump at four feet, nine inches. R. G. Weyse threw the eight and one-half pound hammer seventy-four feet. The bicycle slow race was won by B. M. De Long who came in last, with G. A. Haskell just ahead. Thomas Strohm was the referee; the finish judges, H. W. O'Melveny and B. E. Taney.¹²³

At this time Theodore Bessig was appointed physical director of the club, in which capacity he served for twenty-five years, to be succeeded by Al Treloar, who was still partly active in 1949. In 1889 the club moved to the Stowell Block, 226 South Spring Street, where, among other conveniences for the members, were bicycle racks on the ground floor.¹²⁴

Early in 1890, physical culture classes were organized for juniors, the club's motto, "*Health, Recreation, Grace, and Vigor*," being now also applied in a consistent manner to the children of members and to other young people. Youth classes were held on Wednesday afternoons from 4:00 to 5:30, and Saturday mornings from 10:00 to 12:00. Terms were one dollar monthly, members'

children free. Physical training was introduced for the first time into the public schools later in this year of 1890.¹²⁵

By 1891, the Los Angeles Athletic Club was one of the best-equipped of such organizations in the West. Its membership numbered 500, and several promising athletes were in the making, especially in track, with other departments well up to the mark of San Francisco clubs.¹²⁶

The club had its own athletic field by 1893, with a quarter-mile track, and here two field days were held annually, in May and November. The club won the tug-of-war in November, 1892, and beat Stanford at football on Christmas Day. The Los Angeles branch of the League of American Wheelmen had now united with the Los Angeles Athletic Club. On May 30, 1893, the eighth annual field day was held, with medals as winners' trophies in the 100-yard dash; 220, 440, 880 yard, and mile runs; running high, and broad jumps, pole vault and bicycle races. Only recognized amateurs were admitted, entrance fee was one dollar.¹²⁷

The Los Angeles Athletic Club in 1895 leased quarters at 534½ South Spring Street, and while here introduced serious events in boxing and wrestling. In 1901 the club disbanded, and re-organizing in 1905, at the same address. In June, 1912, the LAAC moved to its present site in a twelve-story building at Seventh and Olive Streets.¹²⁸

Many young women of Los Angeles were, during the 1880's and 1890's, active in various sports, notably bicycling, tennis and golf. On November 27, 1891, they even organized their own athletic club. Its first meeting was held at the Turnverein gym on January 4, 1892, with Professor Rohde as instructor. The membership was at the outset restricted to twenty-five, with meetings twice a week. Varied types of athletics were available: Marching, club swinging, fencing, dumb-bells, wands, bars, rings, ladder, jumping, swimming, rowing and riding. Mary Hunt was elected president; Janet Bristol, vice-president; Olive May Percival, secretary; and Helen Meade, treasurer.¹²⁹

Intercollegiate field sports had their first organized appearance in Southern California at a meet on April 15, 1893. During the previous autumn, delegates from Pomona, Chaffey, Occidental and USC had formed the Southern California Intercollegiate Athletic Association, or ICAA. Officers elected were R. S. Day of Pomona, president; Mr. Reinhart of Chaffey, vice-president; Ben Gillette of Occidental, secretary-treasurer; and L. R. Garrett of USC, business manager. Each institution held team tryouts, prior to the meet. At

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this first annual Southern California field day, Pomona won first place, USC second. The next year and subsequently, the meet was held on February 22. Each year until 1898 Pomona won first place, except in 1894 when there was a tie with Occidental.

Records to 1898 were:

	TIME
50-Yard Dash	5 3/5"
100-Yard Dash	10 3/5"
200-Yard Dash	23 4/5"
400-Yard Dash	53 1/5"
1-Mile Run	4' - 51 1/2"
1-Mile Bicycle Race	2' - 15 1/2"
120-Yard Hurdles	17"
	DISTANCE
Shot Put	36' - 7"
16-Pound Hammer Throw	111' - 4"
Pole Vault	10' - 2"
High Jump	5' - 9"

Elmer E. Elliott, '97, USC, was, before he retired, probably the foremost college athlete in Southern California. His quarter-mile record of fifty-three and one-fifth seconds was in 1898 still unbroken. L. M. Tolman, '97, was an all-round athlete who shared in nearly all Pomona's victories. While not phenomenal in any one respect, he had scarcely an equal as sprinter, jumper or weight thrower.

In 1898 the ICAA's best sprinter was H. L. Avery of Pomona, '01. Chaffey College had W. J. Cutter — a sprinter, jumper, vaulter, and weight-thrower. Cutter held the record for the pole vault with an unofficial ten feet, ten inches.¹³⁰

Swimming

Swimming pools were scarce during this period and were considered rather expensive. In 1888 a pool was advertised in the *Herald* as "The Los Angeles Natatorium, A Swimming Bath," located on Fort Street (Broadway) between Second and Third, adjoining the City Hall. Prospective bathers were assured that there was constant change of water in the thirty by eighty-four foot "basin." Admission was thirty-five cents, children, twenty-five cents; with plain hot and cold baths, twenty-five cents. The pool and baths were open from 7:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. Ladies were admitted exclusively on Wednesday and Saturday mornings. The proprietors were Wiswell and Betts.¹³¹

In 1895 a letter published in the *Herald* called attention to the fact that many laborers and low-paid white collar workers, whose

families were obliged to subsist on from one to two dollars per day, not to mention the current large number of unemployed, found it impossible to pay either the entrance fees to the pool or transportation to the beaches. Free pools, bath houses and laundries were called for in behalf of the numerous lower classes of the city, the need for sanitation being cited as well as the larger issue of humanitarianism.¹³²

The beaches, especially the one at Santa Monica, for those who could get there in days of horse and buggy transportation, were extremely popular in summer, then as now. In the early 1870's, before the time of the railroad spur, the sixteen-mile trip westward to the sparkling Pacific was rough, sometimes even adventuresome. At this time there were faint wagon tracks extending in the general direction of the beach, but for the unwary these often ended up at some farm or even in a foothill canyon. The editor of the *Star* in June, 1870,¹³³ with some friends set out in a buckboard for a day beside the waves, but before he had proceeded five miles, already found himself wandering about the fields of several farmers in vain quest of the faded-out road. Farther along, he was forced to ask guidance at a sheep corral, and six miles from the beach was misdirected by the Mexican occupant of a tiny hut up into Sepulveda Canyon, where grizzlies were still occasionally rampant. Though the party had set out at dawn, they arrived at their destination long after midday.

The currently steep outward slope of the ocean bottom in the Bay area was apparently, during this period, a mild and gentle outward dip, very well adapted to bathing. Sidney B. Reeve, a civil engineer, in his reminiscences of early Los Angeles says:

Years ago the Japanese current did not dredge deeply along this coast, which caused the water at low tide to be very shallow. About a mile out from shore, some one had placed a large post or pile upright into the ocean floor. On one occasion when the tide was very low we waded out to it, and nailed up strips of wood like a ladder, so that we could get on top of it. The water was at that point so shallow it did not reach even half-way between our knees and waist. Today (1920) the water out there must now be 100 feet deep or deeper.

In explanation, it is supposed that perhaps in those decades more silt was carried out by the Santa Monica Canyon River and other streams, due to close cropping by sheep and other agricultural operations in the area.

The undertow at Santa Monica then as now, however, was from time to time dangerous to inexperienced or rash swimmers. Among the well-known institutions of Santa Monica in the early 1880's was

Beach Guard Pedro García, boss fisherman in season, and champion swimmer. In summer Pedro was regularly employed by the bath-houses to be in wait to rescue anyone in need. He was credited with saving hundreds of lives. At times when García was at a distance or not at once available, ordinary bathers would assist those in trouble.¹³⁴

Public Parks

The park system of Los Angeles today is well on a level with the best of comparable cities. Its evolution, however, was slow, and up to 1900 scarcely more than the outlines of its present development were evident. During the first two American decades up to about 1870 the Plaza on Main Street was the town's only outdoor recreation center. In 1859 a picket fence enclosure and walks were constructed, and trees and shrubs planted, but neglect soon brought these improvements to naught. The central point of the Plaza up to the late 1860's was unesthetically occupied by the city water reservoir, when an ornamental fountain was installed in its place.

In the 1870's, present Pershing Square, then known to many as Fifth Street Park, came to be the rendezvous of nursemaids and their charges, of small boys intent upon baseball, and of assorted malcontents and idlers. However, only in the 1880's did the park become more than a weed-infested, scantily shaded vacant block. It had been a part of the original pueblo land grant, and was in 1866 set aside by the City Council for public use. In 1870 the area was partly fenced in against wandering cattle and horses. The public subscribed about six hundred dollars for this project. In 1872, the Council completed the fencing job, and planted trees. "Roundhouse George" Lehman himself planted many trees and carefully watered them until they were independently able to survive. A number of years later, lawns were planted. The first formal plan of the park called for graveled walks, running diagonally across the park, with a bandstand at their intersection in the center. The bandstand was supplanted by a fountain around 1900. The gravel walks were maintained until the 1920's, when the park was re-constructed — the gravel walks supplanted by concrete, the land filled in here and there, many trees cut down, and an ornamental low wall constructed around the whole area.¹³⁵

In the latter 1890's, the Fifth Street Park (also known as Central Park, Public Square, St. Vincent's Park, and La Plaza Abaja) was heavily patronized every day of the week, with most of the

characteristic features of contemporary Pershing Square. A reporter in 1896 describes its appearance as follows:

Central's seats are numerous but usually fully occupied, by business men, by retired persons, also by loafers and assorted "characters." Among the park's features are little groups of men discussing questions of the day, abstruse questions of theology, and general suggestions for the economic millenium. The peripatetic philosopher is found here in all his glory — a corner seat on one of the benches is reserved for him; he has established almost a regular school of disciples. So he puffs his pipe, lets fall words of wisdom, which are anxiously awaited, only rarely to be combatted by some intrepid newcomer, and generally enjoys his ease and glory. Central Park is also the mecca for nursemaids and sometimes their young men, here they at least enjoy the dime novel concealed in the baby's buggy. The park is not large enough for a children's playground, and there are "Keep Off The Grass" signs. The bandstand, however, does often afford the arena for a romp. On the rare occasions when a band plays here, the park is positively crowded.¹³⁶

Westlake, now MacArthur Park, was acquired in 1886 from George Smith and George S. Patton, Sr., in exchange for other city lands. In 1887 Mayor William Workman received and accepted a matching gift of five hundred dollars from citizens to convert the site into a park. At this time Westlake Park was a thirty-two acre irregular and barren depression, dotted with numerous alkali hummocks, and including a neglected pond into which drained all the surface water from the surrounding hills. This body of water had been formed by a dam thrown up across a gully at what is now Seventh Street. The pond was inadequately drained; in summer a green scum formed on its surface, and unpleasant odors emanated from it.

By 1890, however, the pond had been enlarged to lake size, and a forty-foot driveway built around it. There had been pepper trees planted, with benches auspiciously placed under their thin shade. At a temporary boathouse were moored twenty-eight boats, which were available for rental at twenty-five cents per hour. One boat was always retained at the landing in case of accident. Some of these craft had been donated to the city by generous individuals; one of the first of such benefactors being E. A. Forrester of Pearl Street. Westlake Park being serviced by two street car lines, Sunday and holiday crowds soon swarmed there, and the City Council was formally requested to double Westlake's size by extension to Ninth Street. It was planned to likewise double the size of the lake, with Seventh Street crossing it on a sturdy bridge. Bonds for this purpose in the sum of \$25,000 were voted upon in 1895, but tragically enough, defeated, and the golden opportunity lost, perhaps forever.

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A bandstand had been erected by 1896, with well-attended Sunday concerts. Thin alkali soil still prevented proper growth of plants even up to 1900. Frank Fuller was its popular caretaker in the middle '90's.¹³⁷

In 1896, Mrs. Clara R. Shatto donated to the city a thirty-five-acre tract several blocks west of Westlake, to be used for park purposes. This came to be known as Sunset Park, now Lafayette. The Wilshire family, headed by H. Gaylord Wilshire, president of the Westlake Improvement Association, donated land for a boulevard to connect Westlake and Sunset Parks, and likewise had the road graded and paved. Up to 1900 the Wilshires had expended a total of \$30,000 upon this then beautiful carriage drive. But the Sunset Park project ran into opposition from local oil men, who feared subsequent passage of a strict anti-drilling ordinance. In consequence Sunset Park was still mainly unimproved up to 1899, most of it being sown to barley.¹³⁸

At Mission Road and Alhambra Avenue lay, in 1890, what was called East Los Angeles, later Eastlake, (now Lincoln) Park. It comprised some fifty-three acres, with an eight-acre lake, and lawns and trees. The major portion had been acquired from John S. Griffin in 1874 for \$5,000. Here were located the city park department's nurseries and green-houses, covering about two and one-half acres. In 1896 the single-track electric street car line brought to Eastside Park from 1,500 to 2,000 visitors each pleasant Sunday.¹³⁹ The Los Angeles Zoo was located here from 1885 until its removal to Griffith Park in 1914.

On the East Side, beyond the Los Angeles River, were also in the 1890's two other parks: Prospect Park in Brooklyn Heights, and Hollenbeck Park in Boyle Heights. Prospect was laid out in the form of a heart, covering about two and one-half acres. Water lilies were its specialty. Hollenbeck, between Fourth and Sixth Streets, on Cummings, had been the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Hollenbeck in 1892, and contained thirty-two acres. In 1896, however, it was still undeveloped.¹⁴⁰

Echo Park, on Glendale Boulevard at Sunset, in its major portion was acquired in 1891 as a donation from a Mr. Kelley, adjoining parcels being added from 1899 to 1907. This park contains the largest artificial lake in the city.

Sycamore Grove in Highland Park has since early pueblo days been visited by picnicking parties from the city, but only in 1905-1907 was this fifteen-acre tract, with its magnificent trees, acquired by the city. Part was donated, and part purchased for \$22,500.

Other early parks in the city are South Park and St. James. South Park, located at 49th and San Pedro Streets, consists of nineteen acres, and was purchased from A. and H. Boettcher in 1899 for \$10,000. St. James Park is a minuscule one-acre grassy court, near Twenty-third and Figueroa, donated in 1891 by George W. King.¹⁴¹

Elysian Park was set aside as a park on April 5, 1886, under Mayor Henry T. Hazard, being part of the original four square leagues of pueblo lands. Its area was about six hundred and forty acres, and it was considered by an observer in 1895 as perhaps the finest natural city park ground in America:

It has all the natural advantages of hill and valley, a view of the different valleys surrounding it and of the distant ocean. Required is only the skill of the landscape gardener to make it one of the handsomest places in California.

Nevertheless, a \$100,000 bond issue in 1895 for its improvement was defeated, and though in 1896 its road was a favorite drive, scarcely anything of horticultural interest struck the eye except the 50,000 sapling eucalyptus trees, and some colorful flower beds bordering the valley part of the road.¹⁴² A. F. Schiller was manager of Elysian Park in the middle 1890's. In 1898, Charles A. Beers was commissioned to run a four-horse coach over the park road for the benefit of citizens and tourists, beginning at Fremont Gate. Several burros were available for the use of young riders, and there was a soda fountain and popcorn stand.¹⁴³ Even today Elysian Park is somewhat of a stepchild of the city system, its scenic hills and interspersed lawns reminding the visitor more of a latter-day and somewhat inhospitable Sherwood Forest than of a great park located near the center of a populous city.

Central attraction among Los Angeles parks since the latter 1890's has been expansive 3,000-acre Griffith Park. Once a part of the Los Feliz Rancho, it was in 1898 presented as a princely gift to the city of Los Angeles by its owner, Griffith J. Griffith. It comprises a picturesque mountainous chaparral area topped by 1,500-foot Mt. Hollywood and watered on its eastern side by the Los Angeles River. At the time of the presentation, its value was estimated at over \$300,000. It included two and one-half miles of frostless foothills, where the Ostrich Farm had been located, and a beautiful little valley known as the Press Colony site. With the gift of the land was included a water plant, complete with tunnels and piping, erected by Griffith at a cost of \$10,000. Considering its size alone, 3,000 acres, Griffith Park is one of the most impressive recreational areas in any major American city today. With its present Fern Dell, its network of trails, the astronomical observatory, Greek

Theatre, and Zoo, Griffith Park may well be considered a credit to the city, and a living monument to Griffith, the public spirited citizen.

The formal presentation of Griffith Park to the city took place on March 5, 1898. A special session of the Council was called for 3:00 o'clock p.m. to receive and accept the deed. This document had been handsomely engrossed on a large sheet of vellum, and signed by Griffith and his wife, also by City Attorney Dunn and City Engineer Dockweiler.

Long before the appointed hour, a crowd began assembling, and by 2:45 p.m., the throng extended out into the hall. Shortly after the hour, the side door of the council chamber opened and Griffith stepped briskly in, carrying a huge roll of vellum, tied with an immense bow of blue satin ribbon — the deed to Griffith Park. Following Griffith came Senator Stephen M. White, Mayor Snyder, President of Council Silver, the Council members, Judge McKinley, and several other city officials.

Senator White made the introductory speech, followed by Judge McKinley and Mayor Snyder. President Silver spoke in acceptance. Mr. Griffith in response to repeated calls said:

I can assure you that I am not a speaker, as you will probably be convinced before I am through. I had contemplated for many years the action which has been consummated here today. For sixteen years after I first saw the Los Feliz Rancho, and after I purchased it, after visiting all the large cities of the world and viewing their parks and pleasure grounds, I saw that there was no section for land so desirable and so necessary to the city of Los Angeles for park purposes as what is now Griffith Park.

At that time I could not afford, in my then circumstances, to make it a gift to the city, but I resolved that as soon as my worldly affairs had so shaped themselves, it should be devoted to the future pleasure of this city. It happens now that my future is fairly well provided for, and that I can, with due regard for my little family and their necessities, see my way clear and can afford to give it without hampering my future movements, and accordingly I have done so. Gentlemen, I thank you.

With a diffident bow, Griffith retired to his seat.¹⁴⁴

In order, as he put it, that Griffith Park should always be accessible to the poor as well as the rich, Griffith made a provision in the deed to the effect that any railway or similar transportation system extending to or through the park was never to charge more than a five-cent fare to its boundary.¹⁴⁵ A curious researcher might reasonably inquire if this provision or its cost-of-living equivalent is still in force. Or perhaps there are no more poor persons in Los Angeles!

Several days after the deed transfer, the City Council received the following communication from Mr. Griffith:

As the territory comprised within the boundaries of Griffith Park has been passed from my jurisdiction, and the great live oaks and other forest growths are subject to depredations by irresponsible parties, I would respectfully suggest that it be placed under the same regulations as other city parks, for protection against vandalism.

In a visit to the park yesterday, I noticed that several magnificent oaks, representing the growth of a century or more, had recently been burned, and I learned from another source that parties have been cutting wood in one of the canyons where they were concealed from observation. If a mounted officer were appointed to patrol the park, these depredations would be prevented, and valuable property which cannot be replaced would be preserved.

I heard many shots fired yesterday, but could not see the gunners. I submit that these hunters should not be permitted to invade the park and depopulate it of its beautiful songsters and other natural denizens. Among the latter are several deer which are so tame that they have recently been seen drinking from the same trough as the dairy cows. Among the birds are thousands of golden oriole, meadow lark, California linnet, mocking bird, black-bird, quail, sandhill crane, and wild duck. These if unmolested in their accustomed haunts, will constitute a great charm for future visitors at the park, and I am sure that every lover of nature will echo my wish that they should be permitted to consider the park their rightful home.

The communication was referred to the Park Commission for action.¹⁴⁶

Fiestas and Parades

The New Year's Day *Tournament of Roses* in nearby Pasadena has attained world-wide fame as an event of unique value. It had its origin in 1889 as a modest outdoor flower picnic given by the Valley Hunt Club. The yelping pack of greyhounds belonging to members of the club, in the beginning was more the center of attention than were the few private carriages prettily decorated with locally grown flowers. Charles Frederick Holder, naturalist and writer, was president of the club in those days, and it was he who suggested the holding of the outdoor festival as a typical California New Year's Day entertainment. Mr. Holder was a semi-professional Southern California booster, and the contrast between the out-of-door sports and roses of a local New Year's Day and the frigid icicles of the East was pointed up in his subsequent writings. It was Holder who named the event the "Tournament of Roses." The suggestion was a popular one; the name struck the general fancy, and the Tourna-

ment at once took its place as the distinctive annual holiday of the year.¹⁴⁷

Typical of early Tournaments was the third, in 1891. It was held in Sportsmen's Park, Pasadena, under auspices of the Valley Hunt Club. There was still little accent on the parade, which consisted only of decorated private carriages en route to the events at the Park. There was, however, a full and exciting roster of events: a polo game between two Santa Monica teams, old Spanish Californian vaquero feats, hurdle races, a tourney at rings, bicycle race, and a tug-of-war. Music was furnished by the Monrovia Cornet Band.¹⁴⁸

After a few years, the Valley Hunt Club relinquished control, and for a time the Pasadena Board of Trade sponsored the increasingly popular festivity. Shortly after the turn of the century, management was finally entrusted to a group of public-spirited citizens, the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association.

The year 1907 brought the eighteenth of the series, when 80,000 people witnessed a magnificent floral parade two miles long, and 20,000 viewed the sports at Tournament Park where a revival of the ancient Roman chariot races was the principal feature. The Tournament consisted of three parts: the floral parade in the forenoon, Roman chariot races and outdoor sports in the afternoon, and a tournament ball in the evening. The line of march for the parade extended from the Orange Grove on the west to Tournament Park on the east, a distance of between three and four miles, along Colorado Boulevard. It was recalled by spectators that during the whole eighteen years of its existence, the festival had never been blocked or seriously hampered by bad weather.

Queen of the Tournament parade was Mrs. Elmer Woodbury. A few early autos were in line of procession, but the floats were mainly horse-drawn, some even by burros. *The Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe* was the float of Pasadena shoe dealers, an immense shoe decorated with white marguerites, red geraniums, and smilax, and full of noisy, happy children. The real estate dealers of the city showed a dual scene — an Eastern snowstorm with all its accompanying discomforts, set over against a Pasadena winter garden with ripening fruits and fragrant flowers, among which played white-robed women and bare-footed children. The druggists presented *Cinderella's Coach* of palm bark and papyrus, herbs and ferns, in color tones of cream, brown and yellow. A prairie schooner, covered with blossoms and draw by four mules, was driven by a pioneer who had crossed the plains in 1845, with his wife knitting by his side. Venice of America, the little seaside town south of Santa

Monica, sponsored by Abbott Kinney, sent a genuine Venetian gondola on wheels, drawn by two great camels; with both gondola and camels canopied and blanketed with rosebuds, white marguerites, and red holly berries.

In the afternoon were held the Roman chariot races, preceded by broncho-busting, relay races, the riders representing the leading hotels of the city and of Long Beach, with tent-pegging and other sports by the Gymkhana Club of expert horseman, and with a final burlesque chariot race between fours of meek and lowly burros, in which the drivers goaded on their steeds by the use of stage thunder and the like.

Then came the real chariot races, with wooden chariots and the drivers' flowing and multi-colored robes. Four heats were run, two fours contesting in each heat. One of the four-horse teams unfortunately spun off into a runaway, being captured only after a hard run by trained vaqueros. The races were otherwise close. The first Tournament chariot races had been run in 1904, and were increasingly popular. First to fourth prizes in 1907 were \$750, \$500, \$300, and \$200, respectively.¹⁴⁹

In the later 1890's, another publicly sponsored annual festival aroused much interest, aided in further advertising California's fabulous climate, and brought in quantities of hard cash as spent at large by visitors, a fact much appreciated by local merchants who were being hard-pressed by nation-wide financial depression and unemployment. This was the series of annual fiestas held regularly from 1894 to 1897, and sporadically thereafter. During 1893 Max Meyberg suggested holding a fiesta to improve business, then very poor. The idea caught on, and Dr. Harry E. Brook suggested the name "*La Fiesta de Los Angeles*." Max Meyberg was appointed general director, with Frederick A. Wood and Adolph Petsch his chief assistants, and some thirty-five or forty well-known citizens serving as the executive committee that handled the multitudinous details attendant upon such an undertaking.

The official opening of the fiesta was on April 10, 1894. The first, *Historical*, day was marked by a grand parade in which the historical past of Southern California was represented by numerous floats, outstanding among which was the Chinese entry, with its exotic incense, native costumes, and pig-tails or queues. On the second day there was a parade of local industries, and at night a carnival, which was illuminated by Chinese lanterns, by flares of red and brown fire, and by an array of four hundred electric bulbs strung along Main Street. On the third, *Children's* day, a parade of school children and high school students marched to Central Park

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where a series of events was centered about the bandstand. The succeeding day was *Military-Floral Day*, patterned after Santa Barbara's *Feast of the Roses*, and at night a masked ball at Hazard's Pavilion. The last day of the fiesta, Saturday, was climaxed by All Fools' Night with confetti and masking on the streets, when all unmasked ladies could be kissed. On this final evening, however, the rougher element in attendance, in certain instances, seemed to have been in control, for reports came in of many ladies and others having been nearly choked by handfuls of flour thrown promiscuously by hoodlums.¹⁵⁰

The 1895 fiesta was held from April 15 to 20. Police were on hand to restrain hoodlumism such as the flour throwing of the previous year. Numerous visitors came from San Francisco and from the East. A wild controversy arose among Los Angeles citizens as to the proper pronunciation of the word "fiesta," the following all having their voluble supporters: fyesty, fester, fee-es-ta, fee-estay, fi-eestor, feestay, fiestor, fi-ees-tor. Mrs. Modini-Wood (formerly Mamie Perry, the soprano) was duly elected queen of the fiesta, her reviewing stand being at Central Park. The first day's parade was again mostly historical, with major applause for the huge metal-sealed Chinese dragon brought here for the purpose from San Francisco. It was 800 feet long, and required 150 men to manipulate it (they walked *within*). Among the main attractions of Fiesta Week were horse racing at Agricultural Park, the dog show of the Southern California Kennel Club, a performance of the play "*The Girl I Left Behind Me*," and a huge toboggan slide on Broadway between First and Second. There were Children's Day, Military-National Day, Floral Day, and a concluding All Fools' Night. The fiesta brought 40,000 visitors to the city, who spent an estimated \$500,000, and in addition there was the nation-wide advertising for the spirit and enterprise of Los Angeles.

In 1896, Mrs. Mark Lewis reigned as queen, and on the last day six-year-old Elizabeth Wood, daughter of Mrs. Modini-Wood was Floral Day Queen.

By 1897 much opposition to fiestas was vocalized, among negative points emphasized were the high cost to the city, from \$20,000 to \$30,000; that the fiesta interrupted school work, with teachers' salaries cut for the period; and finally and especially, the bacchanalian tendencies of All Fools' Night.

So no one was really surprised when in 1898, with the current Spanish-American War excitement, the fiesta was called off, and held only intermittently thereafter, from 1900 to a final showing in 1931.¹⁵¹

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"TWO-BITS" BORN IN LOS ANGELES?

Submitted by MARGARET ROMER

Do you know how the American twenty-five cents piece came to be called "two bits?"


When the first Americans came to Southern California in the early 1800's, they found the *real* to be the monetary unit in use here. The *real* was one-eighth of a Spanish dollar. It was worth about twelve and one-half cents in American money. Being a small amount, the Americans came to call it a "bit." Hence, our quarter was worth "two bits."

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Report on
RANCHO EL ENCINO
for
STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
Division of Beaches and Parks

By Donald C. Cutter

Professor of History, University of Southern California

HE HISTORY OF INDIVIDUAL RANCHES in California has been confined in the most part to a study of the more prominent examples of these remains of the Hispanic periods in the state. Some ranches have been studied in detail, others in part; but such studies have most frequently been on the M.A. thesis level, and have seldom been determined suitable for publication. Even Rancho El Encino has had its M.A. student, for in 1948 Bruce R. Carpenter submitted a thesis to the Geography Department of U.C.L.A. entitled "Rancho Encino: Its Historical Geography."

In addition, several local residents of Los Angeles and persons attached to the *El Encino Historical Monument* have taken an interest in collecting materials concerning the rancho. All of these sources have been made available for this report and have been helpful. Since it was not the intent of previous researchers to assess the relative historical importance of the site, they had less obligation to be critical in their determination of authenticity. Apart from the students, there have been some local volunteers who have had considerable interest, but whose objectivity has been overbalanced by their enthusiasm for development of the project. These people have been generous with advice, and doubtless will be abundant in their criticism of this historical report.

El Encino and the Sacred Expedition

A certain portion of the historic value of Rancho El Encino depends upon the possibility of definitely associating the site of its thermal spring with the early period of Spanish discovery and oc-

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cupation of California. Specifically, the point most in question is whether or not Captain Gaspar de Portolá and his detachment of the Sacred Expedition enhanced the possible interpretative value by having camped at El Encino in 1769.

Concerning the Portolá visit, there can be no doubt from the several journals of the Sacred Expedition of 1769 but that the group of Spanish pioneers passed through San Fernando Valley. According to Bolton, the Portolá party entered the valley by having passed through Sepulveda Canyon en route northward to the discovery of Monterey. Father Francisco Palóu's contemporary account for early August, 1769, indicates that upon descending the mountains they saw

... a very pleasant and spacious valley. We descended to it and stopped close to the watering place which was a very large pool. Near it we found a large village of heathen very friendly and docile: they offered their seeds in baskets and many other things made of rushes. There were so many that if more of them had come with arms it would have caused us some suspicion, for we counted more than two hundred men, women, and children. Each of them brought some food with which to regale us, and we reciprocated with beads and ribbons. The journey covered three leagues and we gave to this plain the name of Valley of Santa Catalina de Bononia de Los Encinos (San Fernando Valley. Camp was near Encino.) It is nearly three leagues wide and more than eight long. It has on its hills and in its valleys many live oaks and walnuts, though small.¹

It can thus be seen that Bolton's identification of the camp site area is "near Encino," and that the term Valley of Santa Catalina de Bononia de Los Encinos was of generic rather than of specific application. In no way then does the term "encino" or even its somewhat close equivalent "roble" have any applicability to the later term "Encino" which was used at a later time to designate the more specific portion of the valley which is still so called.

In Father Juan Crespi's account of the Portolá Expedition the term is likewise applied generically and reduced to Valle de Santa de Bononia.² A third journalist, Engineer Miguel Costansó, describes the valley as three leagues in width and more than eight in length, and having the name of Santa Catalina or the Valle de los Encinos.³

Having travelled north, discovered San Francisco Bay and visited Monterey, the Portolá group returned south to San Diego via San Fernando Valley. As a part of this journey the group sighted the "Valley of Santa Catarina (*sic*)."

... we descended to it, and traveling to the southeast, arrived, now late, at Los Robles, where we camped on the 7th of August. The march covered six and a half leagues.

Tuesday, January 16. From this place, without having to leave the valley, we went on to the southeast and instead of crossing the mountains which encircle it to the east by the same road as the other time, we cut across them by the southeast without losing ground.⁴

In this account it is evident that some location in the generalized area of Rancho El Encino had acquired a specific name in that of "Los Robles." There is nothing to give rise to any picture of Portolá camping for the night by the thermal springs on the present Beaches and Parks site. It should be noted that the aboriginal valley was possessed of a number of springs of roughly corresponding size, any one of which might have been visited by the early explorers.

Pre-Mission Period

The next journalist of a party traversing the area of San Fernando Valley was Father Pedro Font with the second Anza Expedition. In a "Diary of an Expedition to Monterey by way of Colorado River, 1775-1776," the Franciscan priest writes:

Thursday, February 22. We set out from the Puertozuelo at eight o'clock in the morning, and at half past three in the afternoon halted at the place called Agua Escondida . . . A little after leaving the camp site we entered a very spacious valley called Santa Isabel in the middle of which is a place called Los Nogales. There is a small spring of water, like a little lake, which rises in the middle of the plain and near which there are some walnut trees.⁵

Santa Isabel is a term used here to embrace the entire valley, and the area of the general southern edge received the name "Los Nogales," or the walnuts. This site Bolton identifies as "near Encino," but the description of the small spring of water rising in the middle of the plain hardly accords with the site under consideration in this study.

Anza's other journals of his first and second trips from Sonora to California are not as specific in their determination of locations as was the diary of his priestly associate. In short, there is no evidence of pertinence here, except to fortify the assertion that the term "Encino" had not yet taken on the specific meaning that it was later to assume.

At some unspecified time, but apparently earlier than 1789, Don Pedro Fages, as Governor of California, made a provisional grant of land in San Fernando Valley to Francisco Reyes. This rancho, or grazing permit, which ever it was, is a good illustration of the temporary nature of early Spanish land titles. Reyes appar-

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ently did not live permanently at the site of his rancho, but rather served as alcalde in Los Angeles.

Reyes, is, however, known to have built a house on the property and to have maintained a group of Indian employees that made this site the headquarters for general ranching operations on Reyes' behalf. Reyes tenure as owner of Rancho El Encino was not to be very lengthy, for upon request of the Franciscan priests and their assertion that the Indians of the proposed mission of San Fernando would need the Reyes' property, the Alcalde's ownership ceased.

It has been felt by some that the building frequently designated as the blacksmith shop on the present Encino site bears some relationship to the original Reyes holdings. This assertion, according to its warmest advocates, would pass off the blacksmith shop as the original Reyes habitation in the valley. This is invalid on all counts. The blacksmith shop was probably built about 1890, not 1790 according to an archaeological study by Dr. William J. Wallace; and Reyes' Rancho Encino was located near the other edge of the valley of San Fernando from the present Encino. Indeed, Reyes' habitation was taken over by the Franciscans and became the first building of Mission San Fernando pending construction of more suitable accommodations. Robinson, in his *Land in California*, clarifies the point. In mentioning a number of ranchos that reverted to government because of abandonment, he notes Portezuelo and

... the Encino (or Reyes) Rancho, relinquished by Francisco Reyes to the missionary fathers who founded San Fernando Rey Mission in 1797, and not to be confused with the Encino of the Mexican Period; ...⁶

To pursue the Reyes matter a bit farther in an effort to eliminate it as a consideration, the visit to San Fernando Valley Father Vicente Santa María made in 1795 should be brought to bear. In a trip seeking appropriate sites for mission expansion, Fr. Santa María wrote "Registro q. hizo de los Parages entre Sn. Gabriel y Sn. Buenaventura." The exploratory party travelled along the Camino Real via Calabasas and into the Valley of Encino. Proceeding in a northeasterly direction they went to visit the rancho that Los Angeles Alcalde Francisco Reyes had in the Valley, which rancho was found two leagues (five or six miles) off the Camino Real. Reyes rancho was described as being in front of, or opposite, an oak grove.

We arrived there at nine in the morning. In the afternoon, the Ensign, soldier José Antonio Lugo, the Alcalde Reyes (who had reached his rancho on the same morning a little after us), and I set out to investigate. We found the place quite suitable for a mission, because it has much water, much humid land, and also

limestone; for we came across a party of gentiles just finishing an oven for burning lime which they had heaped up.

Stone, pine timber and pastures for the cattle were to be found close by:

In this place we came to a rancheria nearby to the little house that Reyes owned, which had many people and they are the ones that care for the fields of corn, beans, and watermelons belonging to said Reyes...

In addition to his own livestock, Reyes was apparently providing pasture for the cattle of other people, including Cornelio Avila. But there appears to have been no protest on the part of Reyes concerning the appropriation of his holdings.

For the... mission between San Buenaventura and San Gabriel, additional exploration revealed no better location than that of Reyes' rancho in Encino Valley, called by the natives Achois Comihavit. A quarrel between Reyes and the friars respecting the ownership of the land would be an appropriate introduction to the narrative of this foundation; but no such controversy is recorded, though the ranchero's house was appropriated as a dwelling for the missionaries.⁸

Mission Period

If, indeed, there were any hard feelings between the missionaries and Reyes, they were unusually well concealed for on the very day of the founding of Mission San Fernando on the native site of Achois Comihavit on September 8, 1797, Francisco Reyes acted as god father (*padrino*) in one of the first Indian baptisms. "The god father was Francisco Reyes, the same person who had established himself in this place."

Under the theory and practice of missionization as applied to California, it was anticipated that the missions have coterminous boundaries, the lands of one mission abutting on those of the next. Likewise, under the theory of missionization, the land was owned by the Indians and was being held in trust for them by the priests. The only lands that were subject to disposal were those unencumbered by Indian or other land title (*baldíos*). In view of the numbers of Indians at San Fernando, and due to their needs of herds, crops, and land on which to maintain a pastoral economy, it was not possible that private holdings would be permitted in the vicinity of Mission San Fernando. As a result, the granting of land in San Fernando Valley awaited secularization of the missions in the mid-1830's, and the area under consideration was not claimed until a decade later. In the interval between establishment of San Fer-

nando Mission and its eventual secularization, the Encino area was doubtless used for agricultural purposes of a pastoral nature in the mission economy. But the idea that the mission fathers used the area as either a *visita* (temporary chapel for occasional services) or as headquarters for an outlying rancho of the main mission rests on no foundation in the documentation of the period. It scarcely seems possible that the area was completely neglected, given the water resources available; but its useage as an organized unit is doubtful. Thus, almost up until the granting of the Rancho El Encino, near the close of the Mexican Period in California, there is little evidence that the site under consideration played any significant role in California history.

If any historical significance attaches to the area it must be based on merit accruing to it most on the basis of its value to the history of American California, rather than to that of the Spanish or Mexican Periods. Perhaps in evaluating its Hispanic period significance, it would be well to note that it lay close to El Camino Real, and thus the property which was to become Rancho El Encino lay athwart the north-south artery of California communication. In all fairness, it is logical to suppose that travellers would stop for the benefit of the waters of the area. An inspection of early maps give little indication of acknowledged importance associated with the area before 1845, nor is there any evidence cartographically for the area having been named at an early time.

The late Mexican period grant to the land of El Encino, dated July 18, 1845, was issued under the authority of Pío Pico, last Mexican Governor of California. The grantees were Román, Francisco, and Roque, the first two being ex-Mission San Fernando Indians and the latter having been attached to Santa Barbara Mission. Juan Sepúlveda, second alcalde of Los Angeles, was charged with putting the recipients into formal possession of their land. It was not unknown to make grants to local natives, though the incidence of this is not great in the records of land disposition. In general, grants to Indians were considerably less sizeable than those to Mexicans of Hispanic cultural background, and the grant to the three Indians of the lands of El Encino was no exception to this general rule. It embraced one league of land, or 4,460.73 acres.

On the basis of testimony before the United States Commission to Settle Private Land Claims in California, we can reconstruct some of the earliest activity on the property. Apparently the earliest known occupant of the property was an Indian, Tiburcio, who settled there about 1840. Saturnino Reyes, testifying for the new claimant to El Encino, felt that the Mission San Fernando had given

the land to Tiburcio, who cultivated the area and grazed some forty to fifty head of cattle thereon. Grantees Francisco and Roque married daughters of the original occupant, Tiburcio, who died about 1845. The connection of the third grantee, Román, is not clear; but all three grantees lived on the land with Tiburcio before the latter's death.

Pico's grant to the Indian trio reads as follows:

Whereas the natives, Román, Francisco, and Roque, . . . have petitioned for their personal benefit and that of their families for the property right to land which they have occupied for some time in the place called Encino by virtue of a grant made by my predecessor as a decree stamped on a petition of the interested parties indicates, and which they have presented to this government, exercising the authority conferred upon me, I have, in the name of the Mexican nation, conceded by a decree of this day to grant them the property right to one league of grazing land. . .⁹

The earlier grant or notation is unobtainable, and perhaps was lost at an early date. Suffice it to say, title was issued, based on the situation of 1845, which title was presented to the U.S. Land Commission and subsequently verified.

De La Osa

Rancho El Encino was not destined to remain long in Indian hands after the grant was officially made. October 30, 1849, (José) Vicente de los Reyes de la Osa made the first of several purchases from the Indian owners of the property, which purchases by 1857 would make him sole owner of the rancho. In 1849, for one hundred pesos and "in payment of many obligations" De la Osa bought a share of the land from the Indian grantees. Meanwhile, Roque had gone off to hunt for gold in the placers and had been reported as dead. Roque's wife, Agueda (spelled also Aguida), and his son, Francisco, age 7, were still living on the rancho at the time of presentation of the claim to the Commission.

Original grantee Francisco had likewise died, as had his wife, Paula; but their daughter, Rita, was still living on the Encino Rancho in 1852. In the protracted negotiations before a final fee simple patent was issued to the property in 1873, there was a considerable volume of minor transactions. On April 5, 1851, Vicente de la Osa made a second purchase from Román for one hundred ten pesos. Rita was forced by circumstances to convey a share of Encino to De la Osa in 1855 for \$150.00. Finally, on December 19, 1857, Román, one of the original grantees, was forced to convey the final

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portion of Rancho El Encino to Vicente de la Osa because of delinquent taxes. Osa at this time paid \$9.33 for 312 acres of land.

Specific data on legal title to the land is as follows:

October 8, 1852 — petition for El Encino presented before U.S. Land Commission.

March 20, 1855 — decree of confirmation issued.

October 10, 1855 — appeal filed by United States.

September, 1868 — Plat of Rancho El Encino made under instructions of the U.S. Surveyor General.

January 8, 1873 — patent of confirmation issued.

The first permanent structure to be built on Rancho El Encino was as a result of De la Osa's interest in the property, first acquired in 1849 or perhaps, unofficially, as early as 1848. At any rate, the rancho which under the Indian owners had been supporting forty to fifty head of cattle, was to undergo a transformation in the years to follow. Potential of the land under a pastoral economy was thought to be about five hundred head, but the lack of restraint of livestock, and the lack of need for observance of property lines up until the present century, made it possible to graze many more cattle or sheep. This was done by using the nearby canyons and hillsides of the Santa Monica Mountains which abutted upon the lands of El Encino.

As headquarters for his interests of a pastoral nature, De la Osa commenced construction of the adobe building which today forms the heart of the state monument. Built initially of adobe and tile, with perhaps some shingle and with a porch floor of *ladrillo*, the adobe was finished by about 1851, having been several years in the building. The materials for the floor of the adobe are not definitely established in the historical record, but they were doubtless of packed earth like that of other contemporary buildings of the area.

As a personality, Vicente de la Osa presents a possible point of interpretation. An extant drawing gives him an imposing appearance, and doubtless one beyond his normal station in life. The spelling of De la Osa's name, itself, seems not to be fully established; but in a culture where education was not the normal thing for children of ordinary citizens, it is not hard to believe that confusion in the spelling of the *ranchero's* name should result.

Thus, De la Osa took on a somewhat Italian twist in orthography, resulting in the very non-Spanish spelling which comes out De la Ossa, and now graces the plaques of Rancho El Encino. To say that "Ossa" is incorrect is not quite accurate, for it is certain that Vicente answered by that spelling as easily as he answered by

the other. It would have been very difficult for him to have distinguished any "real difference" between the two, even if he had been an educated man. Nevertheless, the correct form of the Spanish name (and since no Italian forebears appear) is De la Osa.

Vicente de la Osa, one of the two really important figures in the history of Rancho El Encino, was otherwise undistinguished in California history. He was born in San Diego Presidio of parents connected with the military of the province in the year 1808, his father being *cabo distinguido* (distinguished corporal) Pablo de la Osa and his mother María Rita Ruiz.¹⁰ At San Gabriel Mission on June 19, 1832, Vicente married María Rita Guillén, the 15-year-old daughter of Miguel Antonio Guillén and Eulalia Pérez. Vicente's bride had been born in Los Angeles on May 21, 1817, her mother having spent some time as housekeeper (*ama de llaves*) of the Mission at which the young couple were wed. Before becoming a ranchero, Vicente de la Osa was listed in the Los Angeles census as "tavern keeper," a not usually distinguished occupation of the day. In addition to this occupation, Vicente could lay claim to being "padre de familia," for a sizeable progeny was being reared. Antonia Manuela, Susana, Antonio María, Fabricio, Constanacia were born in succession between 1833 and the end of De la Osa's residence in the Pueblo de los Angeles. Born at Rancho El Encino were José Vicente, Pablo Patricio, Juan, María Inés, David del Carmen, Leonor del Rosario, Hermenegilda, Carlos Alejandrino, Florencia, and perhaps several others.

After establishment of De la Osa and his family on the Rancho El Encino, the adobe became a stopping place on the well-travelled route north from Los Angeles. The area was visited by hundreds of travellers, some of whom have left behind brief accounts of their impressions of the establishment. J. D. Whitney in his *Geological Survey of California* gives a description of Encino Spring:

A warm spring occurs on the south side of the plain, at the base of Santa Monica Mountains, on the Encino Ranch. The water had, in February, 1861, a temperature of 83°, and a slightly alkaline taste, and appeared to contain carbonate of soda and the sulphates of soda and magnesia, in so considerable a quantity as to be unfit for irrigation.¹¹

There is evidence to indicate that prosperity did not crown the efforts of De la Osa as a ranchero. The records of the Los Angeles County Tax Assessor indicate that De la Osa was taxed in 1853 for ownership of 2,400 acres, with assessed valuation of the land being fifty cents per acre or \$1,200, improvements on the property were assessed at \$500.00 and personal property of the owner was valued

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at \$2,010. A high point in assessed valuation was reached in the year 1854 at \$4,440 in total assessed valuation and dropped subsequently.¹²

After Vicente de la Osa's death, his widow Rita in 1862 paid taxes on 4,460 acres of land (the entire grant now being in the hands of the De la Osa's), with the valuation set at 22.4 cents per acre. This seemingly was the result of a drought of that year. Improvements were calculated for tax purposes at \$1,800, including \$500 to represent the value of some 2,500 vines. In addition, Rita Guillén de la Osa was assessed \$256.50 for personal property including the following:

House and furniture	\$25.00
2 gentle California horses	30.00
4 wild horses	24.00
2 young oxen	12.00
100 California sheep	75.00
1 goat50
1 wagon	30.00
1 carriage	50.00

It should be noted that these assessed valuations were not nearly as far out of line as their modern counterparts, for, indeed, they were reasonably near the actual selling price of most of these items. The tax rate was relatively low, coupled with a \$1,000 widow's deduction, and Rita de la Osa's total county and state tax for the year was calculated at \$41.13.

Another evidence of the fact that the lean years were upon De la Osa and others in the 1850's is related in Cleland's book:

The failure of the paisanos to contend successfully with debts contracted at the prevailing interest, or to adapt themselves to other conditions imposed by the new economic order compelled them, one by one, to surrender their vast estates to alien hands and pass, almost unnoticed and forgotten into the dim twilight of their once-romantic day. In a simple advertisement from a newspaper of the time shows how difficult it was for the old Californian to conform to the necessities of the new day. The notice was inserted by Vicente de la Osa, a well-known ranchero of the time. Its implications are apparent.

"I have established at my Rancho known by the name of *The Encino*, situated at the distance of 21 miles from the city, on the road to Santa Barbara, a place for affording accommodations to the people traveling on this road. They will find at all times food for themselves, and for their horses, beds at night, etc. I hope those wishing to call at our place will not forget to bring with them what is necessary to defray their expenses."¹³

The size of the De la Osa adobe during the early period has been a subject of some concern. Reminiscences indicate that a second large adobe building, of perhaps as many as fourteen rooms

existed. If such were the case, the structure must have been a free-standing building. Archaeological investigations carried out by Dr. William J. Wallace gave no evidence whatever of any appended buildings.

This discrepancy can be explained satisfactorily by the additional evidence that even the existing De la Osa adobe seems not to have had any real foundation, but was buttressed at a later time by rough limestone slabs set in mortar of gypsum. Thus a building might have existed and disappeared without much visible trace remaining, even under the probing of the archaeologist.

Sale of the Property

The death of Vicente de la Osa in 1862 apparently brought his estate into a rapid state of insolvency. Five years later his widow was forced by court order to sell the property. The sale price was \$3,500, a figure slightly in excess of the assessed valuation of the holdings. The purchaser of the property was the sheriff and tax collector of Los Angeles, James Paul Thompson, who happened to be Rita de la Osa's son-in-law. Though there may be nothing to it, there is the lingering doubt of some sort of chicanery in this transaction. Thompson was married to Manuelita, one of the daughters of De la Osa's clan.

Thus one of the none too subtle pressures working toward the beakdown of the large scale landholding legacy of the Hispanic period sounded the death knell to one more grant, at least as far as Hispanic ownership was concerned. Taxation, as was so frequently the case in American California, eliminated the De la Osa family from among the landed gentry of the Golden State.

Garnier Era

Two years later, on March 24, 1869, James P. Thompson conveyed the entire rancho to Eugene Garnier for a consideration of \$9,000. Garnier was a French Basque sheepman, who with his brothers had considerable minor livestock. El Encino, and some of the other portions of San Fernando Valley were used by Garnier and his brothers for extensive grazing operations.¹⁴

If Rancho El Encino had any golden age, it was during the ownership of Eugene Garnier. The sheepman was possessed of more resources which he could bring to bear on the economy of the rancho and its prosperity grew apace. The assessor saw a much more valuable property when he assessed the acreage at \$1.72 per

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acre for the 2,500 acres on which Garnier paid taxes. Improvements, including the Garnier building, a home in the style of southern France which was constructed as a replica of the home of Eugene's birth, were calculated for tax purposes at \$10,000. But it was in the matter of personal property that Garnier's assets were most apparent. Total in this category was \$29,061, as follows: two wagons — \$300; harness — \$50; six half-breed horses — \$420; eighteen mares — \$216; twenty-five rams — \$250; two rams — \$200; 6,000 "improved" sheep — \$18,000; Poultry — \$5; firearms — \$50; five dogs — \$50; and money — \$1,000.

A tax which for Rita de la Osa had been a little over \$41 had jumped to \$823.86 in 1872. Eugene Garnier was doing all he could to improve the property. He spent considerable sums of money on the physical betterment of the property. He is responsible for the damming up of the thermal spring, and the creation thereby of a pool. At the edge of the pool a bathhouse was constructed. Many of the existing plants in the area were the result of Garnier's interest.

Additional improvements made during this time seem to include fencing around the buildings, a wooden porch addition to the adobe, and probably a carriage house. Most important was the Garnier building which it is said was constructed to compensate for the dismantling of the fourteen-room adobe, purportedly during the De la Osa period.

Garnier was reputedly interested in having visitors to his rancho, provided they paid for the type of services they could receive. As a result of repeated evidence of its potential success, Garnier constructed a tavern on the opposite side of El Camino Real, at a short distance from the adobe and his stone house. There he took in any visitors that might chance to pass by. In the year of 1874 Benjamin F. Porter stayed all night as the guest of General Andrés Pico who was then living at Mission San Fernando. Next morning Porter drove with the General and Charles Maclay to the Encino Rancho for breakfast, only a distance of some fifteen miles.

This was another large ranch on the west side of the Valley and owned by the Garnier brothers, two Frenchmen. The food at this ranch was famous, so the General always made it a part of his entertainment to drive his guests there for a meal...¹⁵

Descriptions of the rancho during the Garnier period can be found in the newspaper and other sources of the day. An Austrian writer in *Eine Blume aus dem Goldenen lande*," observed:

Garnier raises sheep on a large scale. In the past year (1877) he spent \$18,000 for French Merinos and \$700 for a single ram. At the State Fair of 1867 he bought four French Merino rams for

\$1,600 and four Spanish rams for \$800. Mr. Garnier keeps 20 men busy on this ranch.

During the season each man shears an average of 35 sheep a day, although some of them shear 50 sheep per day. He has the reputation of producing the best wool in the country. There is a two story boarding and lodging house for the help. There is also a well which furnishes water for the live stock.¹⁶

Heart and soul of the property was the spring in which Eugene Garnier took a great interest. Limestone rock was taken from the ranch and was used to wall in the pool and to construct the spring house. To the latter came many people to use the hot water in an effort to cure their aches and pains, both by means of drinking the water and by taking of mineral baths. According to members of the Gless family, later owners of the rancho, the blacksmith shop was built in that period. Archaeological evidence submitted by Dr. Wallace in his report does not bear out this testimony; but there is a possibility that Professor Wallace's findings are based on one of the several known alterations of the building.¹⁷ The same limestone slabs which were added to the adobe to buttress its walls against an outward sag seem to be associated with the lowest areas excavated in the blacksmith shop. One source indicates that the building was used at a later time as a bakery by subsequent owners (the Amestoys) and that loaves of bread as large as hams were produced in the Dutch oven.

Oxarart

The ups and downs of the wool market eventually ruined Eugene Garnier, or at least cost him his El Encino holdings. Another factor in the decline of his rancho was drought. In financial difficulty, Garnier borrowed a large sum of money from another Basque, Gaston Oxarart, who obtained a mortgage on the rancho. Eugene Garnier was unable to pay off this indebtedness and a sheriff's auction of the Encino property was ordered in May, 1878. The purchaser was Oxarart, who bought the property for \$29,332.69, whereas the original loan had been \$25,000. This would seem to indicate a cash payment of slightly in excess of \$4,300. Garnier thereupon moved to Los Angeles.

The eight years of Gaston Oxarart's ownership, from 1878 to his death in 1886 are not well known. It appears that he maintained the sheep herding economy and perhaps introduced some grain to the property. Reputed to be very much of a recluse and anti-social, Oxarart's holdings are perhaps best appraised through the Assessment Book of Los Angeles County. In 1885, the Basque's

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4,460 acres of El Encino were valued at \$26,660, or \$5.97 an acre. But by State Board of Equalization intervention the land value was set at \$49,920. Improvements were assessed at \$5,750. Total personal property was estimated at \$500, including: furniture — \$20; farm utensils — \$20; wagons — \$100; harness — \$10; two mules — \$100. Taxes paid were \$923.53.

End of an Era

Gaston Oxarart held the Encino property until his death in 1886, at which time the entire property was left to his nephew, Simon Gless. Gless married Juanita Amestoy and the Amestoy family was soon to be associated with the rancho. In fact, the Encino rancho was soon to be called the Amestoy Ranch. Gless received title to the property from the estate of Oxarart, such title being issued June 1, 1889; but within six months Gless conveyed the property to his father-in-law, Domingo Amestoy, for a consideration of \$125,000. This sale marked the last time that the rancho as a whole changed hands. Under the Amestoys it was operated by Domingo's son, Juan, and devoted in great measure to wheat farming. It was soon to suffer dismemberment, with various tracts being parcelled out. It is not historically significant after it fell into the hands of Domingo Amestoy and passed to his heirs. The interest stemming from this period is only of a strictly local significance, and even so can not be considered to possess any great interpretive value. The major physical changes of the period are worth noting. The two outbuildings standing behind the Garnier house, and used for milk and meat storage, were constructed during the Amestoy era. It appears that the butteressing of the adobe was done during this period, and it is even possible that the so-called blacksmith shop dates from the era.

Suffice it to say that time has done some damage to the old adobe, but the "holding operations" of the State of California and the interest of local citizens have prevented any great deterioration.

NOTES


1. Herbert E. Bolton (ed.), *Palóu's Historical Memoir of New California*, Vol. II, pp. 137-38.
2. Bolton, *Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer*, p. 152.
3. "Diary of Miguel Costansó," in *Academy of Pacific Coast History*, Vol. II, pp. 183-85.
4. Bolton, *Palóu's Historical Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 255. See also: F. J. Taggart, "The Official Account of the Portolá Expedition" in *Academy of Pacific Coast History*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 49: "We proceeded for seven hours on a bad road and descended to the Llano del Encino to which we had been looking forward."
5. Bolton (ed.), *Anza's California Expedition*, Vol. IV.
6. W. W. Robinson, p. 55.

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7. Reyes Rancho seems to have also been called by the name of "Rancho de San José" in Santa María's Registro de parages, MS.
8. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California*, Vol. I.
9. Transcript of the Proceedings in Case No. 379, Vicente de la Osa, *et. al.* vs. the United States, Ms, in the United States District Court, Post Office Building, San Francisco. The case carried an alternate designation of Case No. 392, Southern District.
10. Another source gives De la Osa's birth date as "about 1807" and the place as Los Angeles or San Diego — *Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY, Vol. XLI, No. 4, December, 1959, p. 348.
11. Vol. I, pp. 119-20.
12. Based on records available for the years 1853, 1854, 1857 and 1862. Reproduced in Carpenter, thesis.
13. The advertisement appeared in *Southern Vineyardist*, Nov. 19, 1859 and in the *Los Angeles Star* on January 29, 1860.
14. Deed Book 12, p. 421, L. A. Hall of Records.
15. As quoted in Frank M. Keffer, *San Fernando Valley*, p. 10.
16. Quoted in "In Pursuit of Vanished Days" in *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. XIV, Pt. II. A similar description, with some variation in details, is found in Ben C. Truman, *Semi Tropical California*, p. 193.
17. There are in existence several pictures of the blacksmith shop in which it has a sharply pitched roof, and others in which it has its present low-pitched roof. It is possible that the means of dating (*i.e.*, type of nails found in the earthen floor) could apply to one of the major alterations, thereby throwing the dating off somewhat.

REAL PATRONATO DE INDIAS

By The Reverend Francis J. Weber

N THE HISTORY of Spanish America, and indeed in parts of our own country, no one feature is of greater interest, and perhaps of greater importance than the *Real Patronato de Indias*. Certainly none has been more influential in forming the pattern of ecclesiastical affairs in the republics of Latin America.

The word *Patronato* means patronage which may be described as the "right" (*jus*) granted by competent ecclesiastical authority to a personage empowering him to take over the obligations of providing for the administration and maintenance of a religious benefice. This right was essentially exercised in the appointment or presentation of those in sacred orders who served the benefice. Since the patron was nearly always a layman, legal definition of his privileges was necessary, since he did not exercise it by virtue of an innate hierarchial character or office.

In principle, the concession of the right of patronage arose from the desire of the church to publicly recognize the generosity of a benefactor and it was originally intended to be an expression of gratitude. A concession of this nature was, of course, regulated by ecclesiastical law and, in time, even by civil law in certain countries. In fact, it was rooted in the canonical practice of the church, in medieval custom, and in Germanic law. As the centuries passed, it became more common and for this reason is found in the Crusades and in other happenings of the Middle Ages. Donations and material support were held to be of the same general beneficiary character as defense of the church's interests, and so should be, to some extent at least, similarly rewarded.

The exact meaning of the word *Jus* has not always been clear. It was often interpreted, by regalists, as the equivalent of "right," when "concession" or "privilege" would express its significance more correctly. This fact is well illustrated by the endless controversies attending the claims of the Seventeenth Century Gallicanism. At any rate, by that time the word *Jus* was often asserted to be any privilege sanctioned by law, so that "right" does not accurately translate it.

The word "benefice" may be defined as any ecclesiastical office

which afforded a living to its occupant, and at the same time, placed upon him the duty of the care of souls.

The *Real Patronato de Indias* was the exercise of the power of patronage on the part of the Kings of Spain in the ecclesiastical affairs of the New World, of the Philippines and other Spanish possessions in the Far East. It was the last of several concessions made in the final years of the Moorish Wars and early years of American discovery. Its immediate model was the patronage over the Church of Granada, granted to Ferdinand V and Isabella by Pope Innocent VIII in 1483. When King Ferdinand sought the same privileges for America, these were granted by Pope Julius II in the Bull *Universalis Ecclesiae* dated July 28, 1508.

It should be noted that these privileges were given as a personal favor to the sovereigns who had overthrown Moslem power in Spain, promoted salutary reforms and undertaken to promote the cause of religion in the New World. When Queen Isabella died in 1506, King Ferdinand became the beneficiary of the Pope's benevolence. The Holy Father had no intention whatsoever of creating patronage which would inhere in the Spanish Crown as the so-called *Regalistas* afterwards maintained. Indeed, they went a step further and held that the *Patronato* was a normal and natural attribute of sovereignty, which they maintained, was formally recognized in the Bull *Universalis Ecclesiae*, a view which is historically indefensible.

In any event, the *Patronato* was subsequently confirmed by the Popes to Ferdinand's successors because of their interest in the evangelization of America, and as a reward for their defense of the Holy See against the "reformers" of the Sixteenth Century.

Using the word "right" in its proper sense, the *Patronato* imposed definite duties as well as rights. These latter may be summarized: *first*, that no Cathedral, collegiate or prelatial churches were to be founded without formally expressed royal consent; *second*, that Bishops and other prelates, who were by custom nominated in Consistory, were not to be named by the Pope in this manner until their names were presented by the King; *third*, that nominations to lesser ecclesiastical dignities and benefices were to be made by royal presentation to the Ordinaries concerned. Thus the King could and did directly nominate the holders of ecclesiastical positions of all kinds, from Archbishops to sacristans.

In addition to these "rights" there were duties also. A very large one was the erection, furnishing and maintenance of churches. A second duty was the selection and support of missionaries. There were others, but these two were the most significant.

It must be pointed out that these duties were not neglected, however great the royal insistence upon their privileges. Philip II, for example, sent to the Indies 2,682 religious and 376 clerics. Nor was the King negligent in providing material support to the churches and missions. Hence it must be conceded that the *Patronato* played a large part in the prompt and successful organization of ecclesiastical life in the New World. Cathedrals, churches, schools and even universities came into existence in a relatively short time. By the middle of the Sixteenth Century, only sixty years after the discovery of America, all these were well organized and gave substance to the establishment of the viceroyalties and other civil divisions of the Americas.

On the other hand, it is equally undeniable, that the union of Church and State under this system was entirely too close. The civil officers were not always men of judgement and singleness of purpose and the military system often left very much to be desired. It was not a good thing to have ecclesiastical dignities dependent upon either civil or military rule. Also the ecclesiastical appointments were nearly always Spaniards and it was some time before Spanish-Americans attained any recognition. Unfortunately no encouragement was given to the formation of a native clergy. There was always a tendency on the part of the government to interfere in the works of the church especially in the days of the Franciscan Missions.

In short, the system, whatever its advantageous merits may have been, threatened to enslave the church and in the end it actually did so in many of the provinces of the Americas.

The answer to how this happened must be sought in the vicissitudes of Spanish political life at home. Before the death of Philip II in 1598, the decline of Spanish influence in Europe was well under way. Under Philip II and Philip IV its tempo was accelerated and under Charles II involvement in all kinds of troubles brought matters to a crisis. This incompetent King reigned during the ecclesiastical and political troubles which beset France under Louis XIV. Without a direct heir, he was persuaded in the last years of his life, to settle the Spanish succession upon Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV and of María Luisa, daughter of Philip IV. When Charles died, on November 1, 1700, the successor-designate became King Philip V, first of the Spanish Bourbons, thus bringing to an end the rule of the House of Hapsburg in Spain.

With the change of dynasty, the undesirable characteristics of the *Patronato* increased. The evils of Gallican ideas came to the front, and the exercise of the royal power in ecclesiastical affairs

soon became burdensome. The reign of Philip V was a long one, lasting forty-six years. Then came Ferdinand VI who, in turn, was succeeded by Charles III who occupied the Throne until 1788, the very eve of the French Revolution. Charles has been termed one of the "enlightened despots" of the Eighteenth Century. His ability and good intentions are evident in his efforts to reform the top-heavy character of colonial administration. Unfortunately this move came too late. On the religious side, he had the ideas characteristic of benevolent despotism. It was in his time that the Society of Jesus was suppressed in the Spanish realm. It was also during his rule that the Franciscan missions in California were first established, by the aid of the Pious Fund and not at all by the generosity of the royal treasury.

In those days the effects of the *Patronato* were certainly harmful. The writings of the French *philosophes* were widely read in Spain and the example of the absolutism of Louis XIV had borne fruit. The new king, Charles IV was not the man to cope with the difficulties of his time, and in another two decades insurrectionary outbreaks in the Americas grew to such proportions that a bare fifteen years later, Spain's vast empire melted away. Simón Bolívar drove the Spaniards from Caracas in 1813; Mexican independence was a fact twelve years later.

The English colonies along the Atlantic Seaboard had meanwhile been set up as a Federal Republic. But, whereas these colonies had grown up in an atmosphere of self-government, the erstwhile Spanish dominions had no such experience. Hence, from the very beginning, the new Latin American states had to wrestle with unstable governments which succeeded one another in rapid fashion. There was little if any political stability. Yet upon one thing most of the leaders agreed: they had succeeded to the *Real Patronato de Indias* as an integral part of the transfer of sovereignty from the Crown of Spain to the new republican order in the Americas.

For example, the California *Junta de Fomento* (1825-27) proposed a plan "for the better government of the Californias" which was submitted to Juan Francisco Azcarate, President of the United Mexican States, on August 31, 1827. It provided for two lieutenant-governors, one for each of the Californias, and according to Article Seven, these were to exercise the powers of the *Patronato*. Yet, the general provision on Mexico at the time called for the nomination of ecclesiastical officials by the president of the republic upon the nomination of the territorial governor. This is a definite example of how the new government supposed itself to have inherited, as a matter of right, the privileges of the *Patronato Real*.

Real Patronato de Indias

So it was in other parts of the Americas, and so has it been since. There were, of course, men of affairs who did not support the theory that the *Patronato* was inherited by the rising republics. At Caracas, in 1811, a commission appointed by the constitutional convention or assembly, declared just the opposite. At Angostura in 1819, this view was again asserted and in 1821 at Cucuta, emphasis was placed on the "personal" character of the concession to the *Reyes Católicos*. This last convention insisted upon the establishment of direct relations with the Holy See.

This complex question can be summarized as follows: *Regalismo* had grown up in the days of the Austrian dynasty in Spain. Then, in the Eighteenth Century, there was a juncture of this dangerous Caesaropapism with the Gallican Theories of the relations of Church and State which had become acute in France under Louis XIV and which were bought into Spain by the Bourbons. These latter regarded the *Patronato*, not as a personal privilege, but as an inherent attribute of their sovereignty.

The church was thus virtually absorbed in, and became a part of, the machinery of government. In one form or another, and in varying degrees, this heresy has persisted ever since and has colored and vexed the relations of Church and State down to our own day.

Fortunately in recent years, there has been some improvement. This is evidenced by the creation of new metropolitan and episcopal Sees, and by a more vigorous catholic life in several countries.

The more dangerous theories of the *Patronato* have been modified by *concordats* between several of the Latin American Republics and the Holy See. With due recognition to the few benefits of the *Patronato*, it was always, but more especially after 1700, a grave source of potential and often active danger to the liberty of the church.



Additional Notes on the
1844 PADRON DE LOS ANGELES

By Thomas Workman Temple, II



FEEL THAT I should continue with these notes and round out the review of the senior citizens of El Pueblo de Los Angeles as of 1844, who followed the Avilas of 1793.

Inadvertently, I omitted *Doña Juana Ontiveros* (739)* then in her eighty-fourth year. She had witnessed the growth of the pueblo from the early 1800's and had outlived her two husbands, Don José Miguel Olivares and Don Juan Olivas, both soldiers of the Royal Presidios of Santa Barbara and San Diego, respectively. Her father, Don José Ontiveros y Niebla, born at El Pueblo de San Pedro de Chametla, had enlisted for California service on August 1, 1780, before Ensign Don José Argüello, then aiding Captain Rivera in the Sinaloa recruit. As a young girl of 13, Doña Juana (de Dios) and her 9-year-old brother, Juan Patricio Ontiveros, had accompanied their parents on the 1871 Expedition escorting the pueblo founders.

Don Mariano Domínguez (739), native of La Villa de Sinaloa, whence came the other Domínguez "fundadores" to Alta California, (very likely all related) first appears in the Mission Records in 1800. In November of 1801 he had married at the Presidial Chapel of San Diego, Doña Venancia Sotelo (739). She was a daughter of the 1774 recruit of Captain Rivera's, and replacement for Fages' Catalan Volunteers, Don Francisco Sotelo, and of Doña Gabriela Silvas (739) already mentioned in our prior notes. Don Mariano's daughters all married well. They were Trinidad, Felipa, María Antonia and Francisca, and their respective husbands: Julián Manríquez y Alanis (770), Bernardo Yorba y Grijalva (771), Vicente Moraga y Alvarado (739) and Raymundo Yorba y Alvarado (771).

His sons: Jesús, married María Andrea Avila y Yorba; José married María Antonia Peralta y López (779); and Roberto married Doña Vicenta Sánchez y Guevara, widow of Don Roberto Elwell,

* All numerals in parenthesis refer to *Archives Reference Page* as listed in THE LOS ANGELES PADRON OF 1844, which was published in *The Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY, Vol. XLII, No. 4 — dated December, 1960.

Additional Notes on the 1844 Padrón de los Angeles

who with my grand-uncle, Don Juan Temple, settled at the pueblo in 1827.

Don Mariano Domínguez, "Dominguito" as he was called for his short stature, was murdered at the Pauma Massacre of December, 1846, shortly after the Battle of San Pascual in San Diego County. There were ten other hapless victims, relatives and friends of the Serrano family, the grantee of the Rancho de Pauma, just two short years before.

Don Guillermo Cota (757), I also inadvertently omitted from my previous notes as one of the senior citizens of the pueblo. When Don Guillermo was a stripling *muchacho* of 13, his father, Don Roque Jacinto de Cota had been present at the very founding ceremonies of September 4, 1781. Along with his brother, Antonio Cota de León, and Francisco Salvador de Lugo under Corporal José Vicente Feliz, they had served as the *escolta*, soldier escort for the *Pobladores* from Mission San Gabriel Arcángel to the site. They stayed on to help Feliz guide the first feeble steps of El Pueblo along its rocky road to greatness.

Like his sister María Luisa Cota de López (755), Don Guillermo had accompanied his parents to San Gabriel from the Royal Presidio of Loreto, Antigua California, in 1778. He had also outlived his two spouses: Doña María Manuela de Jesús Lisalde, (the very first Spanish child baptized at the Mission, on May 29, 1777), daughter of two members of Captain Anza's 1776 Expedition, Don Pedro Antonio Lizalde y Borguez and Doña María Tomasa López de Neria. Both were from La Villa de Sinaloa, that colonial fountain-head in New Spain of Alta California bloodlines. His second wife, had also been christened at the Mission. She was María Manuela Antonia Pérez Nieto, (named for her paternal grandmother, Doña Manuela Pérez) and daughter of the largest landholder of colonial times, Don José Manuel Pérez Nieto, and Doña María Theresa Murillo, his Baja California wife.

Don Guillermo had served with honor as *comisionado* of the Pueblo in 1810 and 1817, while *sargento* of the Royal Presidio of Santa Barbara, and again in 1823 and 1825. During the Mexican period he also served as *alcalde* in 1827 and 1829.

In 1804, as an heir of Don Manuel Nieto, Doña Manuela Nieto de Cota, had inherited the Rancho Los Cerritos, part of the great Nieto grant of 1784. Her provisional title to the 27,000-acre portion, was confirmed in 1834 and her will was witnessed three years later. On August 2, 1837, in a letter in the form of an inventory (after making her will), she leaves the princely Los Cerritos to her first-born, José María Cota. Don Guillermo as executor, was to see

that the remaining four sons and the four yet unmarried daughters, would retain an interest in the property until their respective marriages. The oldest daughters: María Engracia Cota, Manuel Domínguez' wife, and María de Jesús Cota, spouse of Pedro Domínguez, had already been well provided for in her will, and each was left five cows with their increase, in this document. Don Guillermo Cota assumed control of Los Cerritos, placing his son-in-law, Pedro Domínguez in charge of it on January 12, 1841, to the exclusion of his wife's heirs, *i.e.* they could have nothing to do with the property without his express permission, nor could they go upon the rancho without written consent.

It was under this state of affairs very likely, that Grand-Uncle Don Juan Temple purchased Los Cerritos in December of 1843, assuming the ancestral brand of the rancho. Once and for all, I would like to clarify my Grand-Aunt "Tía" Rafaela Cota de Temple's exact relationship with Don Guillermo Cota and his children, "the heirs of Doña Manuela Nieto de Cota," among whom Tía Rafaela has been most inaccurately and insistantly included.

First of all, the "fundador" ancestor of the California Cota's was Don Andrés de Cota, of El Fuerte, Sinaloa, Mexico. He and his son Pablo Antonio Cota, were members of the 1769 Expedition of Portolá and Serra to Alta California. Two other sons, Antonio and Roque Jacinto de Cota, followed north from Loreto, Baja California, in 1774 and 1778, respectively. Thus, Pablo Antonio (Tía Rafaela's grandfather) and Roque Jacinto (grandfather of Don Guillermo's children, were full brothers. Francisco Cota (Tía Rafaela's father) was first cousin of Don Guillermo, the father of Manuela Nieto's children, *e.g.*, María Engracia Cota de Domínguez, and her four brothers and six sisters. Thus Tía Rafaela was a second cousin of "the heirs of Doña Manuela Nieto de Cota," from whom, along with Don Guillermo, her "Bostonés" husband bought the Los Cerritos. Not that "Tío" Juan Temple was above "marrying the boss's daughter" — but his acquisition of the choice grant was a stroke of pure Yankee business sense!

The Lorenzanas

The 1844 Padron of the Pueblo lists two of the Lorenzana orphans, Vicente (734) and Valeriana (735), and a word about their coming to Alta California is in order here. In 1799-1800, a plan was formulated by Viceroy Branciforte to send to Alta California, youngsters of Spaniards, mestizo and Indian ancestry from the orphanages of the Kingdom of New Spain. The express purpose was "para el fo-

Additional Notes on the 1844 Padrón de los Angeles

mento de las artes, agricultura, y población,” *i.e.*, for the improvement of the cultural arts, agriculture, and shall we say “the breed”; in this 30-year-old province, crying for such new blood to invigorate its growing body.

The Royal Orphanage at Puebla was to furnish 20 carefully screened boys and girls for the venture. The youngsters however, got wind of the plan, jumped over the walls of the orphanage and haven’t been heard from since. The remaining orphans at Puebla, were either too young or not otherwise qualified, to come to the rescue of California, ripe for improvement, after the mysterious disappearance of the so carefully screened “elect.”

The Orphanage at Mexico City, founded by the famed Archbishop Lorenzana, one of the signatories to Visitador General Gálvez’ Plan of 1767 for *Provincias Internas*, was next called upon to furnish ten boys and ten girls for the project. They were carefully chosen, and although, (according to a charming letter written by the oldest of the girls) their preference was “to enter the religious life rather than lose their souls in the wilds of California,” the forlorn group was unceremoniously snatched off to distant San Blas in special wagons under the watchful eyes of their chaperones, with a special military escort.

There followed an interminable wait at the port for a ship. During this time, the *Dueña* (lady chaperone) quite fed up with the mischievous machinations of her charges, including her daughter, Apolinaria Lorenzana, reluctantly agreed to continue the journey, only after a considerable increase in her wages and rations. And speaking of the latter, the youngsters ate off the fat of the land at the expense of the King. Judging from the lengthy lists of victuals and desserts, eagerly presented by the San Blas merchants, they were thankful for the windfall of hungry and restless juveniles who feasted on such delicacies as shrimp, squabs, roast lamb and good flour tortillas.

Finally the good ship *La Concepción*, with a novel cargo of boisterous children, warped out of the port, bound for far-off Monterey. At the provincial capital in 1800, the Lorenzana orphans, none the worst for wear, were distributed amongst the more prosperous “gente de razón”; “como perritos entre las familias” (like puppies amongst the families) as Apolinaria Lorenzana, who became the most noted of the arrivals, says in her memoirs. The sponsors or foster-parents became responsible for the education and upbringing of their wards, up to the time of their majority or marriage.

As already mentioned, in our 1844 enumeration at the Pueblo de Los Angeles, we find two of the Lorenzana orphans, Vicente

(734) and Valeriana (735), already over forty years in the province, with children and grandchildren. Vicente Lorenzana had been entrusted to the veteran of 1769, Don Mariano de la Luz Verdugo, and had married a relative of his foster-father, María Ana Verdugo y Buelna in 1821 at Mission San Gabriel. In 1845 as a widower, he next married María del Pilar Tapia, a granddaughter of Don Mariano de la Luz, thus remaining in the family.

Doña Valeriana Lorenzana (735), born an "Española" in Mexico City, was raised in the household of Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, until 1807, when she married at San Diego's Presidial Chapel, Desiderio Ybarra y Velásquez. As lieutenant and keeper of company accounts at that Royal Presidio, Don José witnessed his ward's marriage along with Ensign Don Ygnacio Martínez, also a native of the Metropolis of New Spain. My "compadre," Clarence Palomares Vejar e Ybarra Lorenzana de Alvarado, is of the fifth generation from Doña Valeriana Lorenzana, who as a "muchacha" of 13, left her foundling home to establish her own hearth stones to found her own family in the "wilds" of Alta California, 161 years ago as I write these notes.

Other Lorenzana descendants were living in the pueblo in 1844. In 1809 at Mission Santa Barbara, Joaquín Botiller y Cota had married Tadea Lorenzana of "La Casa de Cuna de México" — as the foundling hospice was called. She and Jacinto Lorenzana had been entrusted to Don Ygnacio Rodríguez of Santa Barbara in the distribution of 1800. The foster-parents' own daughter, María del Carmen Rodríguez, had married Jacinto in 1810.

Doña Tadea Lorenzana's daughter, Rita Botiller (742) had married Domingo Reyes y Machado in 1831 and as a widow, next married Macedonio Aguilar y Machado, five years later. Guadalupe Reyes y Botiller, married Ramón Figueroa, and it was at their home in the 1930's, that Doña Ana Begué Alanis Olivera y Reyes de Packman, our Secretary Emeritus, long held forth with true California hospitality and charm amid an atmosphere redolent of the gracious customs of a vanished day. She is almost my "pariente," for she and Tía Rafaela Cota y Olivera de Temple had an ancestor in common; none other than Captain Don José Raymundo Carrillo's own aunt, Doña María Micaela Carrillo, wife of Don Martín Olivera, the "fundador" of that family in both of the Californias.

Vicente Botiller (750), son of Doña Tadea Lorenzana, in 1837 had married Juana Reyes y Machado, sister of his brother-in-law, Domingo Reyes y Machado. There were a "baker's dozen" — thirteen — children born of this marriage, ten of them surviving Don Vicente's death in 1863 and heirs to a handsome estate in

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pueblo property. Among those today who carry on the Spanish bloodline of Doña Tadea Lorenzana and her Botiller children is Clemente Botiller-Olivera Gagliano of Los Angeles, an eager student of pueblo days and its involved land transactions, many of them dealing with his own family.

Another son of Doña Tadea Lorenzana de Botiller's, who does not appear in the 1844 Padron, and was the first husband of Doña María de Jesús Yorba y Domínguez, was Anastacio Botiller y Lorenzana. This union readily brings to mind la Señora de Don Arnulfo Domínguez, Doña Clara Botiller y Yorba de Domínguez of Anaheim. Like the dwindling number of outstanding representatives of the grace and charm of our colonial past, she too, has passed on to her children and grandchildren, the rich and cherished customs and traditions that form a proud heritage from the days of the Lorenzanas and our first families, to whom they became allied.

Thus the Lorenzana foundlings of 1800 are well represented to this day. They have more than justified Viceroy Branciforte's fondest dreams of 1799 "para el fomento de las artes, agricultura, y Población de la California." This is evidenced by the lasting contributions to the folklore, traditions, and collecting and preserving of copies of colonial records by such of the Lorenzana descendants that come to mind: Clarence Palomares, his niece, Hilda Ramírez y Palomares de Jara, Clemente Gagliano, and Arnold Domínguez y Botiller.

The saga of the Lorenzana foundling "fundadores," merits more than this passing note and I hope to report it in detail soon, for a whole volume of documents in the Archivo General de Indias is devoted to their recruitment, supply, maintenance, travel and final report of Comandante Don José Raymundo Carrillo in 1803, listing their distribution and place of residence at that time.

The Guiardo-Botellos of Guaymas and Los Alamos, Sonora

While Gabriela and I were in Alamos, Sonora, last November searching the Parroquial Archives, I came upon the marriage of the ancestors of the Alta California Guirados, who figure prominently in the annals of the pueblo. The marriage as of March 31, 1788, was one of the first performed at El Real de los Alamos, by Father Juan Nicolás Quirós y Mora, then assistant to the Pastor, Juan Villa Sánchez. The brother of Father Juan Nicolás, Don Pedro Quirós y Mora and his wife, Doña Ana María Verdugo y Chaves were Gabriela's

ancestors, residents from 1788 of Los Alamos, from their native Culiacan, Sinaloa. Father Juan Nicolás became in turn the Parish Priest and Bishop in 1835, of the ancient mining town founded in 1685 and what is today the delight of every lover of colonial Spanish architecture.

Don José Guirado was a native of Los Reynos de Castilla, from La Villa de Molina, in the Bishopric of Cartagena de Levante, Spain, the son of Don Pedro Guirado and Doña Juana Cano. His bride was the same Doña María Isabel Botello who, as a widow, brought her family to El Pueblo in 1832, accompanying Don Santiago Johnson, her son-in-law, from Guaymas, Sonora. Doña Isabel was born and raised in Los Alamos, the daughter of Don Vicente Botello, also from Los Reynos de Castilla in Spain, and of Doña Juana Isabel Siqueyros, from Los Alamos. Their padrinos or sponsors were: Don Vicente Ostalot and his wife, Doña Ana Leonor de Uberichaga. Witnesses to their marriage and nuptial blessing on March 31, 1788, were Don Raymundo Gil Samaniego, Don Manuel de Anguis, Don Máximo Escutia and Don Juan Francisco Padilla.

(To be continued)

LAS FAMILIAS de CALIFORNIA

(The Families of California)

Conducted by MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

Genealogical Queries and Answers

14. I am seeking information on my great grandfather, José Arrelano, who was born in Los Angeles and married María Josefa Sánchez. Who were his parents and exactly when was he born?

Answer: The San Gabriel Mission baptismal records disclose the following:

"September 9, 1792, baptism of *José Regino Arellano*, son of Manuel Ramírez Arellano and María Agueda López de Haro, of Los Angeles. María Verdugo and wife Gregoria Espinosa, sponsors."

This baptism can be accepted as that of your great grandfather as you say he married María Josefa Sánchez and the Santa Barbara 1834 Padron lists the following information:

José Arellanes, married, age 43, born at San Gabriel.

Josefa Sánchez, his wife, age 41, born at Santa Barbara.

Children: Rafaela, single, age 21, born at Santa Barbara.

José Antonio, age 19, born at Santa Barbara.

Teresa, age 18, born at Santa Barbara.

Valencia (Valentín, baptized at Santa Ines, January 11, 1819), age 16, born at Santa Barbara.

José de los Angeles, age 12, born at Santa Barbara.

Francisco de Paula (baptized at La Purisima, April 2, 1826), age 9, born at Santa Barbara.

María Antonia, age 6, born at Santa Barbara.

Luis, age 5, born at Santa Barbara.

Ramona (Ramona Isabel, baptized at La Purisima, November 5, 1830), age 4, born at Santa Barbara.

Antonio María, age 2, born at Santa Barbara.

The middle name of "Regino" in the baptismal record can be confusing along with the variations in the spelling of Arrellano but I am sure this is your José A. of whom you are a direct descendant as the ages, dates and places compare.

The Santa Barbara Padron for December 31, 1837, is further proof of this as it states:

José Regino Arrellanes-López de Haro married to Josefa Sánchez-Montiel, 10 children.

The parents of José Arellano were listed in the Los Angeles 1790 Padron that was published in the June, 1959, issue of the *Historical Society of Southern California* QUARTERLY, but his mother's name was printed incorrectly and should have read "María Agreda López de Haro, age 20."

Valentín Arrelanes, your grandfather, appears in the 1850 Federal Census in Santa Barbara:

Valentín Arrelanes, age 30, male, white, laborer, born in California.
Guadalupe (Cota), age 19, female, white, housewife, born in California.

Trinidad Arrellanes, age 3, female, white, born in California.
Alejandro Arrellanes, age 1, male, born in California.

There is an entry of a "María Mónica Josefa Sánchez" baptized at Santa Barbara on May 4, 1797, the daughter of Tadeo Sánchez and Petra Montiel. This no doubt, is the baptismal date and parentage of Josefa Sánchez, wife of José Arrellanes (Arellano).

15. I would like to hear from all Sanfords who came from, or whose parents came from, Nova Scotia. They would be descendants of John Sanford born about 1600 in England who came to Boston in November of 1631. Three of his great grandchildren went to Nova Scotia in May, 1760. I know of many in California but cannot find the descendants of the following:

George Sanford, born in 1830, married to María Ann (his third cousin) and came to California about 1855;

Benjamin Sanford, born in 1828 at Camp Sabinato, Texas, was in the Mexican War in 1846 and then came to California;

Harriett Sanford, born in 1824, married Lindley Moore Dodge of Nova Scotia and had a son named Howard who married and fathered three sons. Howard Dodge died in 1932, probably in Stockton.

Genealogical Notes

Los Angeles in 1816

From the Bancroft Library

Translated and Edited by MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHPROP

(This 1816 list is important, as H. H. Bancroft states, although it is not entirely satisfactory. The dates of entry into Los Angeles can be misleading. In the attempt to make it more valuable, I have added the names of the wives of those who were "casado" — married. Since there are ninety-four entries, this list will be printed in two parts. My thanks to William Mason of the Los Angeles County Museum for his assistance.)

A list showing the original settlers, retired soldiers and inhabitants, giving their date of entry into this town, land they have been given, the length of time it has been in their possession and at what each one is generally employed.

Las Familias de California

1. Manuel Camero, married (wife Tomasa García), entered August, 1781. He was given two fields and he has given them back being unable to manage them.

2. José María Navarro, single, entered as a settler along with his father in 1787. He was given the same land as of his father which he has given to others for the same reason (as Camero above).

3. Basilio Rosas, now deceased, entered August, 1871. He was given two fields of land which he left to his wife, Manuela Hernández and which he cultivated until he died; she ceded them to Bartolo Tapia, who has the same ones to this day.

4. Guillermo Soto, married (wife Juana María Pérez Nieto), entered in the year 1789. He was given land and he cultivated it for some time. He has been here for three years because his other land was taken away from him. He has a garden.

5. Joaquín Higuera, married (wife María Teresa Cota), entered in the year 1791. He was given land which he cultivated until his death and today his sons cultivate it.

6. Mariano Verdugo, married (wife Gregoria Espinosa), entered in 1787. He was given a "sitio" (piece of land) at the "paraje de caguengua" which he held until the year 1810. Now he only owns a garden here.

7. Bartolo Tapia, married (wife María Villalobo), entered in the year 1791. He was given two fields of land which he still owns and he has two gardens. He has a "sitio" on which he maintains his livestock.

8. Francisco Reyes, married (wife María Luisa del Carmen Domínguez), entered in the year 1787. He was given land which he cultivated until his death; now his sons own it along with a garden.

9. Felipe Talamantes, married (wife Ildefonsa Avila), entered in 1794. He was not given land but has sown in the land belonging to the pueblo.

10. Mateo Rubio, retired, married (wife María Vicenta), entered in 1794. He was given land but he has not cultivated it because of its small size.

11. Francisco Feliz, married (wife María Josefa Cota), entered in the year 1791. He was given the "sitio" of his deceased father in the town land itself where he supports himself to this day.

12. Juan de Dios Ballesteros, married (wife Teresa Sepúlveda), entered in the year 1796. He has not been given land but he has sown in the land of the town and has two gardens.

13. Casimiro Varelas, married (wife Ana Pinto), entered in 1790. He was given land which he cultivated until his death and afterward his sons cultivated it. They also have a garden.

14. Bruno García, retired, married (wife María Ignacia Cota), entered in 1796. He has not been given land because of his ill health.

15. Ramón Buelna, married (wife Petra Mejías), entered in 1793. He has not been given land but sows in the town land.

16. Pedro Alvares, married (wife María Lorenzana García), entered in 1799. He was given land that he cultivated for many years and now he has supported himself through the ranchos and the missions.

17. Pedro Valenzuela, widower (of María Dolores Parra), entered in 1798. He was not given land as he supports himself with other work.

18. Pedro Lisalde, retired, married (wife María Encarnación Pérez), entered in the year 1808. He was not given land; he has sown in the land of the pueblo and has a garden.

19. Ignacio Lugo, retired, married (probably Gertrudis Limon), entered in 1800. He was not given land.

20. Manuel Valenzuela, retired, married (wife María Josefa Alvina Alvarez), entered in the year 1800. He was given land and he left it. He has supported himself at the nearby ranchos.

21. Juan Olivas, retired, married (wife Juana Ontiveros), entered in the year 1800. He was given land and he cultivated it until he died.

22. Manuel Machado, retired, married (wife María del Carmen Valenzuela), entered in the year 1800. He was given land and he cultivated it until he died and now his sons cultivate it. They have a garden.

23. Eugenio Valdez, retired, married (wife Sebastiana Quintero), entered in the year 1800. He was given land that he has cultivated and he has a garden.

24. Fructuoso Ruiz, married (wife María Dolores Lugo), entered in 1799. He was given land and he cultivates it.

25. José Polanco, retired, married (wife María Norberta de León), entered in the year 1804. He was given land he has cultivated and he has a garden.

26. Pedro Pollorena, married (wife María Rosalía Ochoa), entered in 1805. He was given no land. He has a garden and has supported himself with his plow mules.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST, 1540-1861. VOLUME III, *From the Mexican War to the Boundary Surveys, 1846-1854*, by Carl I. Wheat. (San Francisco, The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1959.) Pp. xxxi, 349; maps, \$60.00.

This is the third of a projected five-volume history of the cartographic presentation of the American West from the Entrada to the Civil War. (The first two volumes were reviewed in the September, 1959 issue of the *QUARTERLY*.) As in the earlier works, Dr. Wheat is attempting to collate and analyze the information shown on the significant maps concerning his defined area (west of the 100th Meridian) and how developing knowledge came into being either through technical survey, reconnaissance, hearsay, or even sheer imagination to fill in the "white spaces" of the unknown lands. The volumes are the result of tremendous scholarly research for it has been necessary not only to have read descriptions of the maps — and practically all of the maps Wheat discusses have been studied by others — but it has been necessary to see and evaluate either the original or a reproduction. The overworked word *monumental* can really be applied to the project and the Institute of Historical Cartography has done a comparable job in publishing a beautiful book. Map reproduction is in general good although, as noted in the previous review, a reading glass is a valuable tool in studying the maps because of excessive reduction in some of them; and there are a few instances where the halftone reproduction seems to have lost detail which a line cut might have saved.

The period covered in this volume is from the "Mexican War" (Chapter XXI), although this volume is not paginated sequentially to Volume II, through the settlement of the "Boundary Problems" (Chapter XXX) and issuance of the official report of the Boundary Commission which included Emory's maps dated 1857. These maps are included because they were merely the final expression of the boundary's location already delimited by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase. Although it is the southern border of the United States which opens and closes this volume the central part of the country — the emigrant routes — basically receives the largest amount of space. The title of Chapter XXIV, "Gold and the Torrent," can refer to either the number of people who travelled the trails and cutoffs or to the number of maps

which were issued to satisfy the hunger for knowledge about these newly acquired parts of the United States and the routes to the gold regions. Most of these popular maps were drawn with skimpy data. The work of Frémont (and the cartographer of his earlier expeditions, Preuss) probably receives more space in the book than any other person but there is careful attention paid to De Smet, Jefferson, and the variety of others who traversed and mapped the region during these years and left a record detailing the journey.

The constantly expanding amount of data led the more responsible publishers, such as Mitchell, Colton, and Disturnell to repeatedly revise their product but the insatiable appetite of the public for maps did not restrict the less responsible publishers from filling the "white spaces" with mis-information. And, of course, the maps which accompanied the early "Railroad Projects" (Chapter XXIX) were similarly based largely on extrapolations of often unsubstantiated enthusiasms. The *Bibliocartography* which is the most valuable part of the book extends from page 249 to page 338 and describes 324 maps (Numbers 504 through 827). Of these eighty-two are reproduced, all of them in black and white except the Frontespiece, the 1854 Mitchell map of Western United States which shows counties in four colors.

Wherewithall this is a tremendous work and a valuable research tool it is also a frustrating presentation. Standards used to select the maps which are reproduced are nowhere given (not even in Volume I) and it is therefore quite puzzling to read on page 139 that the 1850 Ferry is "...in general good..." and it could be presumed that the 1851 Italian edition which "includes lengthy notes not found in the French edition" was at least as good; but on page 150 it is stated, concerning the Italian edition, that "This map, it must be said, does not further knowledge of the West." Not only is there no cross reference between the discussions but there is no indication in the text that *both* maps are reproduced. In fact, in only one place in the text is there reference to a reproduced map (Manly's sketch of the Death Valley route which Wheat says he just can't resist reproducing) nor does he

Book Reviews

indicate why any map was or wasn't selected. It is both annoying and frustrating to read about a Colton map (on page 46) that was the progenitor of numerous maps and was re-issued almost every year with changes in the West showing new elements (nine Colton's are listed in the *Bibliocartography*) yet we do not find it or any other Colton reproduced whereas an Ensigns and Thayer of 1849 (page 75) which "shows much the same provenance" as a Colton is reproduced! There are many similar situations. Furthermore, the reviewer has the feeling that much of the text is a patch work quilt of notes almost casually tied together rather than

the development of a careful sequential pattern and that editing was a bit too hastily done. Nevertheless, these are detracting elements, if not downright deficiencies. I hope that he will take the time to eliminate them in the future volumes. It would help, too, if each volume could stand alone with all necessary references and definitions without the necessity of checking back into the other volumes. When I took courses in cartography I was taught that a map should stand alone with all necessary data needed to interpret it within its borders. Should this not be true concerning a book about maps. — *John W. Reith.*

WILLIAM ANDREW SPAULDING — LOS ANGELES NEWSPAPERMAN, *an Autobiographical Account*, edited and with an *Introduction* by Robert V. Hine. (The Huntington Library, San Marino, 1961.) Pp. xx, 156; *Illustrations* and *End Paper map*. \$5.00.

This book reproduces the third part of William Andrew Spaulding's autobiography. The first and second parts dealt with Spaulding's early years, and the fourth part with his retirement years. The third section covers his Los Angeles newspaper career, 1874-1900.

Spaulding's work with the Los Angeles newspapers includes his various positions on the *Herald* and *Express*; then he relates his services on the *Los Angeles Times* from 1885 to 1893; while the third section represents "his finest newspaper hour from 1897 to 1900" when he was editor and manager of "his first love, the *Los Angeles Herald*." Many historical data of interest are recorded in this work, for the author arrived in Los Angeles the year that "the first horsecar was drawn down Main Street"; moreover, his newspaper career in this city "approximated the span of the horsecar in Los Angeles." When he visited San Diego in 1874, "a place of two or three thousand inhabitants," he found that he would have to wait a week to get steamer passage back to Los Angeles, although he canvassed "the proposition of buying ponies, and making our way overland to Los Angeles."

An interesting chapter (IX) is devoted

to the coming in 1882 of "Harrison Gray Otis from Santa Barbara" and to the establishing of "Col. Otis as editor and manager of the *Times*." Spaulding became telegraph editor and general assistant on the *Times* in 1885, and often "was drafted to hold copy for the Colonel as he read proof on legal advertisements, commercial matter, and all that required especial care." While Spaulding believed that "the monopoly of a union was as evil as the monopoly of capital," he lacked enthusiasm for "tariffs or protection of business from governmental regulation," according to Editor Hine of this volume. Spaulding records the coming of Harry Chandler in 1885 as a country lad and as part owner of the *Times* newspaper routes.

Throughout this autobiographical account, Spaulding stands out as an individual of strength of character, a man with ideas and initiative, and as a person who contributed a great deal to the history of Los Angeles during its long drawn out adolescent years. In the main, he took a stand for liberalism in politics and economics. This autobiography is interestingly written and makes a substantial contribution to the history of Southern California. — *Emory S. Bogardus.*

FROM ST. LOUIS TO SUTTER'S FORT, 1846, by Heinrich Lienhard. *Translated and Edited* by Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.) Pp. xix, 201. \$3.95.

This book is another in the University of Oklahoma Press's notable "*American Exploration and Travel Series*," volumes which are usually attractively priced and printed. Numerous diaries, including one edited by this reviewer, have appeared since the series was launched in 1939.

The present account, originally in German, has been translated and edited by a well-established two-some in the field of western history, the Guddes. Their prefatory statements and notes could, however, be fuller; the latter in particular are skimpy in number and in content.

Similarly, despite a colorful book jacket, the binding of this volume is relatively drab and unattractive.

With these criticisms out of the way, what of the quality of Lienhard's original narrative? He belonged to an overland trail party that called itself "The Five German Boys." Lienhard, actually a Swiss, kept a diary which he later reworked. Only some of his account, that concerned with his pioneer activities in the American West, is reproduced in this book. The California part of Lienhard's narrative was published in Marguerite Eyer Wilbur's *A PIONEER AT SUTTER'S FORT* (Los Angeles, 1941). Frankly, this reviewer learned incomparably more about Lienhard's background and general significance from Mrs. Wilbur's *Introduction* to her book than from the *Introduction* to this volume. Lienhard, an overly moral, even self-righteous chronicler, frequently was shocked by conditions out west. At times his diary is tedious. He had migrated to America in 1843, after his mother's death. Spending some time as a farm laborer in Illinois, he journeyed to California by way of St. Louis.

As part of the great western migration of 1846, his party traveled by steamer to Independence, Missouri, then moved overland along the Platte River to Forts Laramie and Bridger, on to the Great Salt Lake, via Hastings Cutoff, to the Humboldt River, and across the Sierra crest into Bear Valley and Sutter's Fort. The California account included in this version fills only about twenty-five printed pages. But it is informative and worthwhile. There is probably no better account of an overland party approaching the Sierra over the dusty sand dunes of the Humboldt basin, a valley filled with thieving Shoshone Indians and ravenous

wolves that fed on the carcasses of immigrant oxen. The tensions that became so normal a part of the relationships between overlancers developed on this trek. Lienhard felt a special antipathy toward a hapless companion, Jakob Ripstein, whose foolhardiness several times imperiled the progress of their party.

After traversing the Sierra, Lienhard's group experienced that unique feeling of relief recorded by most persons who had completed the overland journey. As he put it, "We stopped our wagons for a moment to gaze leisurely at this typical California landscape. Then we gave three lusty hurrahs and sang '*Hail Columbia, happy land.*'" Lienhard and his companions arrived in the vicinity of Sutter's Fort at about the time Frémont was reorganizing his "California Battalion" for action in the American conquest of California. Lienhard enlisted in that group, came to know Sutter, Theodor Cordua and other prominent foreigners in the province, and later, in June, 1849, even returned to Switzerland and escorted Sutter's wife and children to California from their native land. After 1856 Lienhard took his own new family to Nauvoo, Illinois, the former Mormon settlement that became a Utopian colony of the French Icarians. He died in Illinois in 1903 and the Bancroft Library acquired his diary in 1949.

This account once more emphasizes the basic importance of the diary as a form of historical writing. Even when reedited and touched up by the original writer in later years, as was Lienhard's account, the value of such primary sources in reconstructing events "*wie es eigentlich gewesen war*," to quote the German historian von Ranke, remains paramount. — *Andrew F. Rolle.*

LOS ANGELES FROM MISSION TO A MODERN CITY, by Remi Nadeau. (Longmen's Green and Company, 1960).

The book, *LOS ANGELES FROM MISSION TO A MODERN CITY*, by Remi Nadeau is the story of the pains, passions, pride, etc., of "Nuestra Señora" from Padre to Poulson.

It is not primarily a historian's book, but it is historically valuable. This is particularly true as to the life history of "Our Lady" before Aimee arrived — or was it disappeared? Chapter by chapter, the author gives us word pictures of the founders, the Gringoes, the Dons, the Boosters, Uncle Collis Huntington, etc. We travel through (many of us in a nostalgic daze) Southern California climate, oil, early movies, religious novelties, real estate booms, etc., to the present day. There are memories for those of us who

have lived here since the turn of the century and who have listened to those who have gone before. We thank him for his research, for his collection of word pictures and the illustrations in his book.

The book is not only of interest and of historical value, there is benefit in it for the investor and for those interested in the future of the city. At times "the story is the thing" in this book. But hasn't our city always been colorful? Have we not had more than our share of colorful characters from De Neve through Carrillo, Chapman, Wiggins, McPherson, Julian, Shaw, etc.?

If you have not read it, you have missed something! — *McIntyre Faries.*

Book Reviews

JOURNAL OF JOSE LONGINOS MARTINEZ, 1791-1792, *Translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson for the Santa Barbara Historical Society.* (John Howell, Books, San Francisco, 1961.) *Preface to the Second Edition; Introduction; Bibliography; Identification of the Trees of San Blas* (by H. S. Reed); Appendix; maps. Pp. xviii, 114. \$12.50.

In 1791 little was known about the Californias, so the Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) sent José Longinos Martínez on an expedition to cover the entire coastline from the tip of old California to Monterey and make a report on the country, its people, its fauna and flora, and its water and mineral resources.

Whatever Longinos' reputation for his sourpickle disposition, it must be conceded he was intelligent, and he made a thorough report on his findings. Being a Spanish surgeon by profession and a naturalist by inclination, he was well qualified for his commission.

The book, *THE JOURNAL OF JOSE LONGINOS MARTINEZ*, is the second translation by Lesley Byrd Simpson. His first was done some twenty years ago. With the advantage of twenty years more experience, Mr. Simpson made a completely new translation of *Longinos' Journal* for the *Santa Barbara Historical Society*, and did it exceedingly well.

The journey is chronicled in three different parts: Mexico City to San Blas, the trek through Baja California, and the peregrination through New California from San Diego to Monterey. Some side trips were also made, the most significant one being to San Felipe on the Gulf of California just below the mouth of the Colorado River.

In a section of the book separate from the report on the country, is a complete itinerary of the entire journey. It consists of a list of the places visited by Longinos' relatively small party, day by day, including side trips, and the distances between the places. The latter information was not always correct. Additional material is given in the *Appendix*. There are three excellent maps, one for each section of the journey.

Referring to Longinos' report itself, the honest reviewer must make some unpleasant comments as well as pleasant ones. In spots, the *Journal* is exceedingly

dull reading. It is useful principally as a work of reference. Again, in spots, it is quite readable but there is hardly a smile or a tear in the entire book.

The descriptions of the various Indian tribes included their customs and ways of life, their houses or shelters, and their clothing, or lack of it. However, the author's approach to the Indians was unsympathetic — probably influenced by his negative disposition. He emphasized the worst traits of the natives, with little mention of anything good about them. He frequently said his party was "unmolested," yet he admits the natives were not usually warlike. He expressed the belief that if an effort were made to be friendly with them, the whole country could be dominated by an invader with a very small military force.

Longinos' study of the fauna and flora of the country was remarkably painstaking and thorough. Likewise his report on springs and streams. In the category of mineral resources, he said the mountains throughout the country were crisscrossed with veins of gold, silver, and other precious metals and continued, "The mineral kingdom of New California would be very profitable if the mountains could be cleared of the many gentiles who take refuge in them and make traveling dangerous."

He also reported semi-precious stones like onyx, agate, garnets, and others. He describes the numerous oil seepages in New California and gave quite a detailed description of La Brea Pits.

There can be little doubt that Longinos' report was extremely useful to the people of his time. It is also a valuable historical document throwing light on the region in the last decade of the eighteenth century, particularly on Indian lore — made available to us by the careful translation by Lesley Byrd Simpson. — *Margaret Romer.*

Activities of the Society

APRIL MEETING

Peter J. Pitchess, Sheriff of Los Angeles County, was the guest speaker at our April meeting. His topic, "Law Enforcement in Los Angeles," covered law enforcement from the days of the Pueblo to the present.

Sheriff Pitchess gave a vivid picture of the difficulties encountered by the early law enforcement officers in the development of an orderly society in Los Angeles. The problems faced today with the population explosion that has rocketed in this area, causing our crime statistics to rise. As California grows, the challenge of sound government and sound law enforcement becomes increasingly apparent.

Mrs. Peter J. Pitchess and Mrs. Vera H. Dunning presided at the urns during the social hour.

MAY MEETING

The May meeting featured slide collections of two Society members.

Mr. Frank B. Putnam, Society treasurer and program chairman, spoke on "Cross and Sword." His pictorial story depicted the early-day life at the forts and churches in Arizona, New Mexico and Texas.

Mr. J. Thomas Owen's topic, "A Night at the Theater," was a dazzling evening of theater buildings. Long to be remembered were the beautiful color views of the Los Angeles and United Artists theaters, also included were views of the Merced, the Mason, Carthay Circle, and other theaters — in all about ninety years of theaters in Los Angeles.

At the coffee urns during the social hour were Mrs. Preston H. Ackerman and Mrs. H. George McMannus.

Activities of the Society

THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE,
JUNE 10, 1961

The thirty-third annual Society pilgrimage called Fiesta on Wheels, took members and guests of the Society to San Diego where buses were waiting to take the group on a full-day of exploring historic spots in the area.

The itinerary included Mission San Diego de Alcalá, founded by Father Junípero Serra, July 16, 1679; picnic lunch at Lindo Lake Park, Lakeside; tour of Junípero Serra Museum, home of the San Diego Historical Society; tour of Old Town where all had ample time to visit the many historic buildings and landmarks.

The round trip, by a special Santa Fé train, was enjoyed by all.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MRS. MARCO R. NEWMARK, *Curator*

MRS. VERA H. DUNNING — Lace tablecloth for use at social hour after the regular meetings.

JUSTIN G. TURNER — *Historical Society of Southern California* ANNUALS for the years 1886, 1887, 1888-1889.

MRS. EMMA HARRIS PERRY — Book: "THE GILA TRAIL," *The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush* by Benjamin Butler Harris.

GUY E. MARION — C. A. Cutter's Two-figure Author Table, 1911, for library use.

MISS RUTH PICO — Two large portraits of Sheriff Martin Aguirre; framed certificate of Martin Aguirre's appointment as warden at San Quentin Penitentiary, July 1, 1899; framed Resolution from employees at the State Prison at San Quentin upon the retirement of Warden Aguirre, September 1, 1903.

New Members

The Officers and Board of Directors of the *Historical Society of Southern California* take pleasure in welcoming the following new members who have recently joined the Society.

ANNUAL

E. N. Bailey
Joseph R. Blackstock
Arthur G. Bowman
Charles E. Fulkerson
Melvin E. Gainder
P. A. Horton
Mrs. Gertrude C. Hunt
Charles H. Jacobsen
Mrs. S. A. Leshin
Mrs. D. A. Loomis
Mrs. Oliver S. Loud
Clyde L. Simpson

INSTITUTIONAL

Arizona State University
University of British Columbia
University of Utah

Historical Society of Southern California

PUBLICATIONS

IN-PRINT ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Vol. Part	Member Price	Non-Member Price
II 1 1891	\$4.00	\$5.00
III 4 1896	3.50	4.50
IV 1 1897	3.50	4.50
IV 2 1898	3.50	4.50
IV 3 1899	3.50	4.50
V 1 1900	3.50	4.50
V 2 1901	3.50	4.50
V 3 1902	3.50	4.50
VI 1 1903	3.50	4.50
VI 2 1904	3.50	4.50
VI 3 1905	3.50	4.50
VII 2-3 1907-1908	4.00	5.00
VIII 1-2 1909-1910	4.00	5.00
VIII 3 1911	3.50	4.00
IX 1-2 1912-1913	4.00	5.00
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XIV* 1 1928	3.50	4.50
XIV 2 1929	3.50	4.50
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XV 1 1931	6.50	7.50
XVI 1 1934	3.50	4.50

*Originally marked XIX in error.

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Year	Vol. Part	Year	Vol. Part
1884	I 1	1893	III 1
1886	I 2	1894	III 2
1887	I 3	1895	III 3
1888-1889	I 4	1906	VII 1
1890	I 5	1932	XV 2-3
1891	I 6	1933	XV 4

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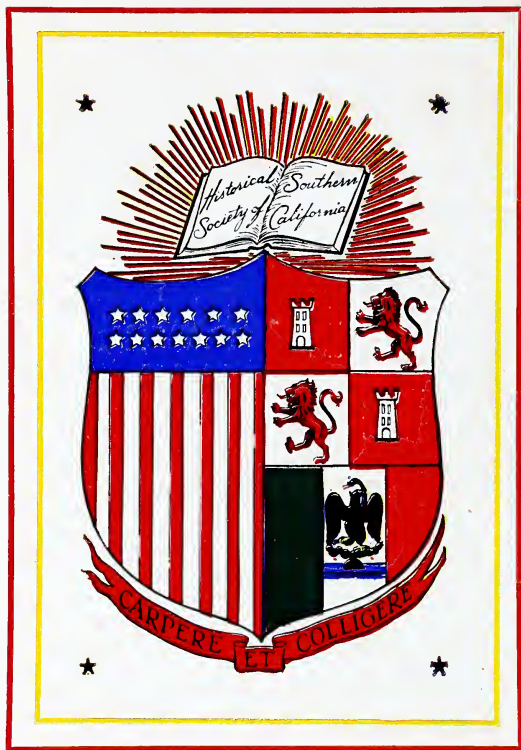
Year	Vol.	No.	Year	Vol.	No.
1935	XVII	1	1948	XXX	2
1935	XVII	2	1949	XXXI	1-2
1935	XVII	3	1949	XXXI	4
1935	XVII	4	1950	XXXII	1
1936	XVIII	1	1950	XXXII	2
1936	XVIII	2	1950	XXXII	4
1936	XVIII	3-4	1951	XXXIII	1
1937	XIX	1	1951	XXXIII	2
1937	XIX	2	1951	XXXIII	3
1940	XXII	1	1952	XXXIV	1
1940	XXII	2	1952	XXXIV	2
1940	XXII	3	1952	XXXIV	4
1941	XXIII	1	1953	XXXV	4
1941	XXIII	2	1955	XXXVII	2
1941	XXIII	3-4	1956	XXXVIII	1
1945	XXVII	4	1957	XXXIX	1
1946	XXVIII	2	1957	XXXIX	2
1946	XXVIII	3	1957	XXXIX	3
1947	XXIX	1	1959	XLI	1
1948	XXX	1			

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XIX	3-4 Sept.-Dec., 1937	\$4.00	\$5.00
XX	1 March, 1938	2.50	4.00
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XXX	4 December, 1948	2.50	4.00
XXXI	3 September, 1949	2.50	4.00
XXXII	3 September, 1950	2.50	4.00
XXXIII	4 December, 1951	2.50	4.00
XXXIV	3 September, 1952	2.50	4.00
XXXV	1 March, 1953	2.50	4.00
XXXV	2 June, 1953	2.50	4.00
XXXV	3 September, 1953	2.50	4.00
XXXVI	1 March, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVI	2 June, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVI	3 September, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVI	4 December, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVII	1 March, 1955	2.50	4.00
XXXVII	3 September, 1955	2.50	4.00
XXXVII	4 December, 1955	2.50	4.00
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XXXVIII	4 December, 1956	2.50	4.00
XXXIX	4 December, 1957	2.50	4.00
XL	1 March, 1958	2.50	4.00
XL	2 June, 1958	2.50	4.00
XL	3 September, 1958	2.50	4.00
XL	4 December, 1958	2.50	4.00
XLI	2 June, 1959	2.50	4.00
XLI	3 September, 1959	2.50	4.00
XLI	4 December, 1959	2.50	4.00
XLII	1 March, 1960	2.50	4.00
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XLII	3 September, 1960	2.50	4.00
XLII	4 December, 1960	2.50	4.00

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California





THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
QUARTERLY



THOMAS STARR KING

*The great California patriotic orator who led the fight
to keep California in the Union during the Civil War.*

See THOMAS STARR KING and the SECESSION MOVEMENT

— page 245.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed an unbroken record of continuous activity and growth. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December. Our other publications include a complete BIBLIOGRAPHY and a complete TOPICAL INDEX of all our published works through 1957.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. All persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history of the West.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

The Society is a public non-profit corporation. Its principal sources of revenue are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.

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<i>Individual Life Member</i>	\$300.00	<i>Sustaining Member</i>	\$25.00
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Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to the Editor. Other correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARGARET J. CASSIDY, *Executive Secretary*

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY

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September, 1961

NUMBER 3

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The Historical Society of Southern California

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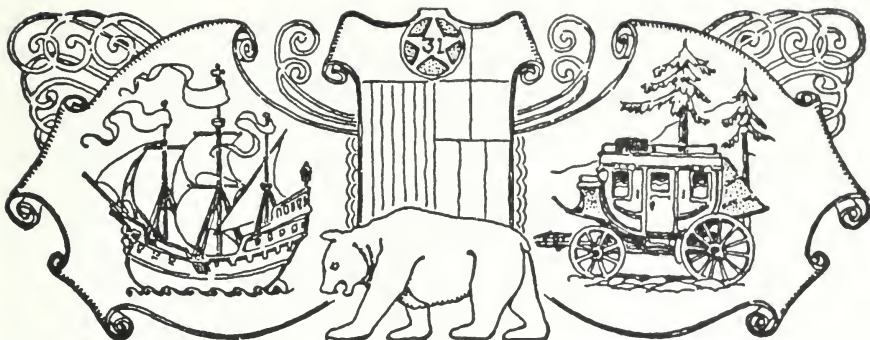
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY, SEPTEMBER, 1961

THOMAS STARR KING *and the* SECESSION MOVEMENT

By Ann Casey

Introduction

... in 1864, at the suggestion of Senator Morrill of Vermont, the old House of Representatives was set apart as National Statuary Hall to which each state was invited to send the statues of two of its most distinguished citizens. The President was authorized to invite the State to provide and furnish statues in marble or bronze, not to exceed two in number, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown because of distinguished civil or military service, such as each State shall determine to be worthy of this national commemoration.¹

T TOOK CALIFORNIA sixty-seven years to make its choice and dedicate its statues, but on March 1, 1931, the commission was fulfilled with the unveiling of two bronze figures — one, Father Junípero Serra — the other, Thomas Starr King.

Father Serra's place in California history is a foregone conclu-

sion for it was this Franciscan pioneer who first broke ground in these uncharted parts during the eighteenth century, thus laying the foundation for future growth and development. That he wisely chose the sites of his missions is evidenced in California's cities of today. Furthermore, he introduced the use of irrigation, a most important contribution to these arid regions. Without doubt, the system of mission life which he started in 1769 helped to prepare the way for this territory's eventual transition from a wilderness to the thirty-first state of a vigorously growing nation.

But what of the other man? What part did he play in California's history that he should be so honored? Just as Father Serra served in the initial preparations for California's later statehood, Thomas Starr King helped to preserve that statehood and to give strength to the Union to which it belonged.

Bishop Shahan of the Catholic University of America said of him in the invocation at the dedicatory exercises:

To Thee also, O Lord, are known the splendid civic merits of Thomas Starr King, foremost of the sons of California in the service of our glorious American Union during dark days of war and its many afflictions and sufferings. To his faith in the Union, his incomparable eloquence, his ingenious activity, and his farseeing charity California offers her tribute of gratitude. . . .²

George Wharton James, who has made a study of the heroes of California, refers to Thomas Starr King as the foremost citizen of California during the Civil War, but like most Californians of then and now, he was not native born. The Reverend Mr. King, a Unitarian clergyman, came here in his thirty-fifth year in answer to a call from San Francisco parishioners. Little did he dream when he left his Boston home and headed west by ship and the Isthmus of Panama that his activities would extend so far beyond his ministerial duties. They were killing activities for his frail body and he died before his fortieth birthday, but he was destined to live through the crucial years of 1860 to early 1864 in a state that was rife with secessionist sentiment and thus leave his mark on California history.

One wonders what might have happened if the fantastic plans and fanatic feelings of the Southern sympathizers had come to fruition. If they had achieved their plan to take California from the Union, the results of the war might have been decidedly different, for California's importance to the Union was greater than one might gauge, and the danger of her secession more imminent than one might realize. The mineral wealth of the state gave economic stability to the Union. What if this gold from "the bullion safe of the Republic"³ had gone to the Confederacy? A French

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scholar, M. Alexander Buchner, is quoted in the *Overland Monthly* of May, 1869, as saying,

It is the gold of California which struck the fatal blow to the institution of slavery in the United States.⁴

And Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt speculates:

It California's official attitude was truly a major factor in preserving the Union, would not a contrary attitude have been a powerful factor for victory for the Confederacy, with profound changes resulting in the entire course of American history, including the institution of slavery and the very nature of the government itself?⁵

Was the situation ominous? Apparently it was. Incidents small and great show the intensity of feelings. Harris Newmark recorded in his memoirs that the Fourth of July was not celebrated in Los Angeles in 1863, nor again in 1864, because:

... sectional feeling had grown so bitter on account of the war...⁶


A small incident perhaps, but indicative of the times was the fact that the Bella Union, the principal hotel in town, proudly displayed a picture of General Beauregard on one occasion. This was met with much acclaim!

Southern California was a turbulent center for the secession movement, with vigorous activity in Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and El Monte. And Visalia, in the San Joaquin Valley, is not to be overlooked as "another town where secession spirit ran rampant."⁷ There, it was an everyday occurrence for the people in the streets to cheer Jefferson Davis. But these sentiments were not limited to the southern area exclusively for there was an influential faction in San Francisco who favored the Confederacy and there even were those who were hopeful of capturing the Port of San Francisco for the Southern cause. Thus from San Diego to the northern border, trouble brewed, conspiracies were hatched, and disturbances of varying degrees took place.

The whole air, indeed, during the four years of war, was full of plots of southern adherents to overthrow or injure Union influence. Many of these were too fantastic ever to succeed, but the isolation of the state and the indifference of the public mind made the situation one of real danger, even as late as 1864.⁸

Therefore, with these things in mind, and emphasized by the fact that 1961 is the year of the centennial of the start of the Civil War, it is the purpose of this paper to take a closer look at the prevailing conditions in our state, so far removed from the historic battlefields, but yet of vital importance to the maintenance of the Union; and, at "the man who saved California to the Union."

Conditions in California

UBERT HOWE BANCROFT, California's voluminous historian, picturesquely refers to the state just prior to the Civil War as "still the elf-child of the Union, never regularly baptized into the family of states. . . ." This "unpurified" child had been the scene of shady politics ever since her obstreperous entrance into the Union in 1850 when she had stood at the door, ready-made constitution in hand, refusing to pass through the customary territorial portals. Her admittance had thrown the scales out of balance in respect to the "free-state-slave-state" ranks, thus causing considerable agitation nationally. Her own political waters were no less placid.

In the decade of statehood which preceded the war, the Democratic party was predominant, with a strong southern flavoring. There was a large southern population which was not easily turned from old ideas and traditions. Slavery still seemed favorable to them, though the practical-minded were ready to admit that the institution was not economically feasible in California. However, these astute southerners had managed to place themselves in positions of power in the machine-controlled party. Civic responsibility to the populace was nonexistent, the prevailing thought among the politicians being "personal gain," and the chief activity was the struggle among themselves for party supremacy.

Two of the most conspicuous men in this party strife were William Gwin and David Broderick. Gwin was one of the Southerners who had carefully laid his plans to secure political power in these new parts.

"... when the gold rush started, he set out for California, resolved to assume the leadership of politics in the new state and secure a seat in the United States Senate."¹⁰

This, he did.

Broderick was a New Yorker who had been schooled in Tammany Hall politics. He was just as determined to acquire political ascendancy as was Gwin, hence the battle was on — with no holds barred. Gwin, quite naturally, had the support of his fellow southerners who were referred to as the Chivalry Wing of the party, or the "Chivs." Broderick gained the backing of the western Democrats who were of northern birth. At first glance, one might believe this to be a conflict predicated upon principles but actually, it was nothing more than man's contention for power. Thus it was that

... the struggle for supremacy among these self constituted leaders

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furnished the chief element of excitement in state politics until the Civil War, and culminated in the bitter feud between Broderick and Gwin which disrupted the Democratic party and prepared the way for Republican control.¹¹

During this decade there was another situation which embroiled the state and particularly enraged the southern counties. This was a geographical question. The southern half of the state was sparsely populated, the principal interests being agriculture and cattle raising, with uncontrolled lawlessness thrown in for good measure. The people of this region thought they were being unfairly taxed in proportion to the more heavily populated north, and also that their representation was less than it should be. The towns were few at this time, San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara being the remains of the old Spanish settlements whereas the new American element was represented by El Monte, San Bernardino, and Anaheim.

El Monte was the first of these American settlements to be established in Southern California. It was founded in 1851 by Texans and the settlers were commonly called the "Monte Boys." They were boisterous southern Democrats who were not to be taken lightly. They tilled their land well and knew the ways of a good stockman but they also liked their liquor and thought the gun a good way to settle differences of opinion.

In 1850, prior to the coming of this group, Los Angeles had sent a petition to Congress asking to have the southern counties taken out of the state and declared a separate territory to be known as Central California. The next year, greater effort was made to effect this bisection of the state, and so it went through the years of the "fifties." Finally, in 1859, the State Legislature approved a bill which provided for the withdrawal of the counties of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Bernardino. They were to become a separate political entity, bearing the name of Territory of the Colorado. The measure was ratified by the voters of the counties and the birth of the new territory seemed to be an accomplished fact. But fate was not to decree it, for the controversy over the slavery issue had so engulfed the Federal Congress that the discontent of five counties in California did not seem to be a matter of much import.

Indeed, it was the fate of the nation which became the engrossing issue! And so it was that

... the presidential campaign of 1860 was of more than ordinary significance in the political history of California; it was as vigorous as it was memorable.¹²

Among the supporters for Breckenridge was John B. Weller who had been governor in 1858 and 1859. He stated in a campaign speech:

I do not know whether Lincoln will be elected or not, but I do know that, if he is elected and if he attempts to carry out his doctrines, the South will surely withdraw from the Union. And I should consider them less than men if they did not.¹³

The incumbent governor, John G. Downey, claimed to be a Union man but statements were made by him revealing that he was not without some sympathies for the southern cause. And so it went that Breckenridge, the champion of southern rights, had his supporters, and Douglas, the adversary of slavery, had his. But a third group of Democrats withdrew their support completely, joining the ranks of the newly-formed Republican organization. This splintering was the death blow to the long reign of the party. If the Democrats had been united, they could have carried the state by an overwhelming majority; as it was a Republican vote of 39,000 gave the four electoral votes to Lincoln.

With the approach of the Civil War, a critical situation arose in California. The isolated position of the state, and the lack of close political or economic ties to bind it to the rest of the nation, created a feeling of indifference among most of the northern sympathizers regarding the outcome of the great contest in which the national government was involved. A numerous foreign element in the population further accentuated this attitude of aloofness.¹⁴

Thus, with the outbreak of the war, feelings were mixed and of varying intensity. The southerner knew what he wanted and a large number of Confederate sympathizers left to join the forces. In turn, some 15,000 men showed their preference for the Union cause by voluntary enlistment. However, not many of the latter were to see active service. Of the remaining California citizenry, the Union sympathizers constituted a majority, but generally speaking, they were rather apathetic toward the whole affair.

A much more vociferous group was one which included former Governor Weller and other high officials. It was their contention that California should secede, not to join the Confederacy, but to form an independent Pacific Republic. This, he said, would free the people for making a choice between North and South and might indeed prove to be the greatest republic of all. The leading advocate of this proposed action was Congressman John C. Burch.

This idea was actually nothing new for in the past:

Whenever the Californians felt that they deserved better mail service, more protection against the Indians, a transcontinental railroad, or additional ports of entry, their dissatisfaction with Washington was apt to inspire visions of a Pacific Republic.¹⁵

And so the pros and cons were weighed once again. It was felt that California's gold and the energy and venturesome nature of her people were certainly conducive to this undertaking. As a further inducement, the advocates pictured the North and the South in contention for their trade. But on the debit side, it was recognized that the population was small, and not much support could be counted upon by the neighboring states: the greater part of California trade had been with the northern states so perhaps there would not be a great commercial rivalry after all. And it should be recalled that the federal government had spent considerable sums of money for California's benefit.

During this period, a brilliant scientist, William H. Brewer, was traveling up and down California as part of a team (headed by Professor Josiah Whitney) which was making an official geological survey of the state. This young botanist was a keen observer, equally gifted with powers of expression. He wrote a series of remarkably descriptive letters which were later gathered into a journal. He writes of the proposed Pacific Republic on April 28, 1861:

Without protection, without mails, what would California be? A "Republic of the Pacific" is the sheerest nonsense. A republic of only about 900,000 inhabitants, less than a million, spread over a territory much larger than the original thirteen states, scattered hostile Indians and worse Mormons on their borders — what would either sustain or protect such a country? And the people feel it.¹⁶

Other letters, penned in the following months, tell of conditions as they existed throughout the rest of 1861.

Mountain View

Sunday, September 1, 1861

One event of the week must not be forgotten — a grand barbecue of the Breckenridge Democrats (Secession), in a grove about a mile from camp. The Breckenridge party is quite large in this state and is much feared. Some of its men are open and avowed Secessionists, but the majority call themselves Union men, Peace men, most bitterly opposed to the Administration and opposed to any war policy — in fact, are for letting all secede who wish to. They are making great exertions just now, and hope to carry the state at the election next Wednesday. If they do I fear this state will be plunged into the same condition that Missouri is in. There are more secessionists in this state than you in the East believe, and many of them are desperadoes ready for anything in the shape of a row.¹⁷

Near Mission San José

Sunday, September 8, 1861

It was election day, and much excitement existed at the several polls passed. This place is Secession.



— Photo from Commemorative Book of Unveiling

JUNIPERO SERRA STATUE

One of the two statues presented by the people of California to National Statuary Hall, United States Capitol, at the unveiling ceremonies on March 1, 1931. This statue is the work of Sculptor Ettore Cadorin.

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— Photo from Commemorative Book of Unveiling

THOMAS STARR KING STATUE

The Presentation and Unveiling Ceremonies in Statuary Hall were presided over by Miss Grace S. Stoermer, who represented the Native Daughters of the Golden West, as Past Grand President. Sculptor for this statue was Haig Patigian.

There was more excitement in this state than there has been since the days of the Vigilance Committee. But the state has gone overwhelmingly Republican. There was much fear on the subject, from the fact that the Secessionists were united while the Union men were divided into Republicans and Douglas Democrats. But California is still for the Union, one and undivided.¹⁸

Clayton, at the foot of Mount Diablo
October 4, 1861

I must fear trouble in this state. I know that the state as a state is loyal — it had shown it at the last election, it has shown it at the recruiting offices. But we have a large desperado population, most of whom belong to the Secessionists — men ready for anything, who care nothing for the cause of either North or South in the abstract, but who would inaugurate war for the sake of its spoils. Then there are others of southern birth and southern sympathies to lead them. A large Mexican population, but semicivilized at best, and who, as a class, hate the Americans with an inveterate hatred, is being incited by the Secessionists, especially in the southern part of the state. Already, over a large region life is very insecure, unarmed men stand no chance, robberies are daily committed by armed bodies calling themselves Secessionists. This does not extend here. It is mostly in San Diego, San Bernardino, and Los Angeles Counties — an immense region, sparsely peopled, and containing much desert. It is the worst in San Bernardino, and while I hope for the best, there is just cause of apprehension for a terrible state of affairs yet in this state.¹⁹

Indeed, the picture looked dark with the lukewarm Union backers doing little to support the cause while persons of stronger sentiments were making vigorous efforts on behalf of the Confederacy. Fortunately for the state, there was one more group which must be mentioned to round out properly the picture of "conditions in California." This was a group of ardent crusaders who constituted the militant wing of the Republican party. Some noted Californians were in this assemblage, among them Leland Stanford. And the leader of the group, who traveled the length and breadth of the state, from Dead Wood to Rough and Ready, Scott's Bar, Mugginsville, and Oro Fino — eloquently pleading the Union cause — was Thomas Starr King.

Activities of the Secessionists



ALL OUTWARD APPEARANCES Edmund Randolph, a leading attorney of the state, was a Union man. When he had stood before the California Legislature as a candidate for the United States Senate, he emphasized his scorn for those who would attempt to overthrow the lawful government. He declared

that he had no mercy for anti-Union trouble-makers. Without question, they should be shot as alien enemies. But Edmund Randolph was born in Virginia and in reality, he had the sentiments of a Virginian. He was, in fact, a member of a powerful movement that had every intent to subvert the federal government for he was a secessionist.

The secret group to which he belonged was made up of prominent and wealthy San Franciscans of southern background. The time was early 1861. The shot at Fort Sumter had not yet been fired but war was imminent and this cabal was readying a coup of the first magnitude. The plan was to capture the city and port of San Francisco, including Mare Island and Benicia Arsenal. At the same time, the state government at Sacramento was to be taken.

The members felt confident of success. Each one was to be responsible for recruiting one hundred men and thus form a company. These companies were to be located at strategic points and await the designated time of attack. The recruits would be military adventurers who were sympathetic to the southern cause. But the circumstance most in their favor, so they thought, was that the Commander of the Department of the Pacific was General Albert Sidney Johnston, Kentucky born and bred. The only fact they had not taken into account was that General Johnston was an honorable man and, though he was later to die at the Battle of Shiloh while leading Confederate forces, he would not betray his oath to the Federal Government as long as he was commissioned in the United States Army.

The details of this abortive plan have been distorted and the taint of treason has fallen upon the General but official records and letters show that he had no part in the scheme. To the contrary, he had advance information of the plot and took every precaution to stop it. Thirty-thousand surplus muskets were moved from Benicia to Alcatraz and a shift in officer personnel was effected whereby all key posts were held by men of northern inclination. When Randolph learned of Johnston's actions, and that he would not co-operate with the conspirators, he got his revenge by spreading the lie that the General intended to capture California for the Confederacy. The word was relayed to Washington and plans were made to relieve the southerner of his command.

On March 22 General Sumner was given secret orders to sail incognito for San Francisco. He embarked from New York, passing through the Golden Gate on April 24. But General Johnston,

unaware of his stealthy dismissal, had already tendered his resignation via Pony Express on April 10, 1861. On April 14 he had written to his brother-in-law, Dr. J. S. Griffin, of Pasadena:

I have forwarded my resignation to the President. I have served faithfully up to the present moment, and will continue to do so until relieved. Until then I will do nothing inconsistent with my obligation to the Government, as an officer. I have consulted with my wife. It brings me face to face with poverty. There is no dishonor in this; but to serve without the proper motive, there would be.²⁰

The new commander, friend and admirer of Johnston, reported to the Adjutant-General in Washington on April 28:

I have the honor to report that I arrived here on the 24th inst., and on the 25th relieved General Johnston, in command of this Department. It gives me pleasure to state that the command was turned over to me in good order. General Johnston had forwarded his resignation before I arrived, but he continued to hold the command, and was carrying out the orders of the Government. My departure from New York was not known until the night before my arrival.²¹

Thus an early Union tragedy was averted on the California scene, but the secession sentiment still prevailed and General Sumner felt it, for on that same day, and to the same person, he wrote:

I have no doubt that there is some deep scheming to draw California into the secessionist movement. The troops now here will hold their position on all government property, but if there should be a general uprising of the people it would be impossible to put it down.²²

Indeed, the southern frenzy seemed to be spread far and wide throughout the state. Harris Newmark recalled:

When the Civil War began, California and the neighboring territory showed such pronounced Southern sympathies that the National Government kept both under close surveillance, for a time stationing Major, afterward General, James Henry Carleton . . . in 1862 sent across the Colorado River when the Government drove out the Texans . . . with a force at Camp Latham, near Ballona, and dispatching another force to Drum Barracks, near Wilmington. The Government also established a thorough system of espionage over the entire Southwest.²³

In Santa Barbara it was reported that the native population was going secessionist to the last man.

San Bernardino and El Monte were regarded by the authorities as the two dangerous spots. Troops were kept at San Bernardino

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until the end of the war and were stationed at El Monte intermittently.²⁴

After a few months in California, General Sumner wrote, on September 30, to Colonel Wright, the commander at Camp Drum:

The secession party in the state numbers about 32,000 and they are very restless and zealous, which gives them great influence. They are congregating in the southern part of the state, and it is there they expect to continue their operations against the government. . . . Put a stop to all demonstrations in favor of the rebel government, or against our own. You will establish a strong camp at Warner's Ranch and take measures to make Fort Yuma perfectly secure.²⁵

General Sumner was aware that behind some of the overt demonstrations were certain well-organized groups which were fanatic in their devotion to the southern cause. Union agents were able to join some of these and thus supply detailed reports of their activities.

Many people vowed their loyalty to the federal government but secretly entered into disloyal activities. Two secret organizations, The Knights of the Golden Circle and the Knights of the Columbia Star, were established early. The Golden Circle, for example, had been originally conceived by Dr. George Bickley six years before the war. It was taken up by certain pro-slavery men who were growing uneasy. By the time guns were barking, the organization had a membership of 50,000, mostly in Texas. From there it spread rapidly east, into the north, and west to the Pacific Coast. The number of incognitos in California was unknown, but it was an active and numerous circle of chevaliers in this invisible "empire" that appealed to the zest of adventure as well as to the patriotic zeal.²⁶

In August, 1861, a copy of the pledge and constitution of the Knights of the Golden Circle was put into Sumner's hands. It reads:

Whereas, a crisis has arrived in our political affairs which demands the closest scrutiny and strictest vigilance of every true patriot as an American citizen; and *whereas*, we view with regret and heartfelt sorrow the existence of a civil war now waged by one portion of the American people against one another; and, *whereas*, we also believe that this war has been called into requisition by the present executive of the United States without the guarantee of the constitution and without the consent of either branch of the American Congress in their legislative capacity, and believing this is an unjust, unholy, iniquitous war; therefore be it

Resolved, that we, as a portion of the citizens of the United States, will support the constitution as it now stands, together with the amendments thereunto appended, and that we will strictly adhere to the decisions of the United States supreme court made under said constitution where a difference of opinion has hereto-

fore or may hereafter occur between the citizens of one state and those of another, or between the state and the federal government, foreign citizens, subjects, etc. Second, be it further

Resolved, that, in our opinion, the president has violated the most sacred palladium of American liberty by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and thus depriving an American citizen of having the cause of his imprisonment inquired into by the proper tribunal. Third, be it further

Resolved, that we are in favor of sustaining the southern states of the American Confederacy in all of their constitutional rights; that we believe an unconstitutional war is now being waged against them to subject them to a taxation enormous and unequal and to deprive them in the end of their species of property called slaves. Fourth, and be it lastly

Resolved, that we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our property, and our sacred honor to sustain our brethren of the southern states in the just defense of their constitutional rights, whether invaded by the present executive or by a foreign foe.

OBLIGATION

I, (.....), here in the presence of these witnesses, before Almighty God promise and swear that I will not divulge or reveal any of the secrets of this institution to anyone except I know him to be a brother (or to instruct candidates). I furthermore swear that I will obey the proper authorities when ordered to do so, and that I will assist a brother of this institution in his rights, individually or constitutionally, when required of me by him, if need be with my life. All this I solemnly swear to obey under penalty of being shot.²⁷

The more pointed oath declares:

Whoever dares our cause reveal,
Shall test the strength of knightly steel;
And when the torture proves too dull,
We'll scrape the brains from out his skull
And place a lamp within the shell
To light his soul from here to hell.²⁸

"Secesh" newspapers were a reflection of the times and they felt no compunction in expressing their views. This was particularly evident in such communities as Visalia

... and other cities of the San Joaquin, at Sonoma, and in the Santa Clara Valley.... In certain of these communities the newspapers boldly championed the southern cause...²⁹

On Thanksgiving Day, 1862, the *Visalia Equal Rights Expositor* published this version of a prayer which bites with ridicule:

O Lord we thank thee for letting the rebels wallop us at the battle of Pittsburg Landing — for letting them smite us hip and

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thigh, even unto the destruction of 9,600 of our good loyal soldiers, and 463 of our officers; and for giving speed to their legs through the awful swamps of Chicahominy; and, O Lord, most especially do we thank thee for the licking they gave us at Bull Run the second, and assisting our flight from the fatal field; and, O Lord, never while we live will we forget Antietam, where we had 200,000 and they only 70,000 — if they, O Lord, had a happened to a had as many men as we, we'd a been a done gone in — and that friendly creek between us, the mountains that kept our men from running...³⁰

It is not surprising that at a later date, General Sumner felt compelled to exclude this paper from the mails, along with the *Stockton Democrat*, the *Stockton Argus*, the *Tulare Post*, and the *San José Tribune*.

By 1863 William Brewer, who had been roaming California for three years, was a little more confident of Union support in the state but he was still aware of the difficulties which it faced. On July 26 he wrote:

Secession would be a yet greater folly than with the southern states. With an immense territory, with a population with less than a million — one-half of which is in a district embracing only one-tenth of the state, the remainder scattered over a territory of over 160,000 square miles, with over 600 miles of seacoast — she would be as an infant; a tenth-rate power could annoy her and crush her resources. Yet, there are many Secessionists — enough to fill the minds of loyal citizens with just cause for anxiety. These may be divided into three classes: the first, small yet formidable, of desperadoes, who have nothing but their worthless lives to lose, and might gain something by robbery in case of an outbreak; second, a class of southern descent, whose sympathies are with the South, who do not wish to see civil war, yet who would glory in the fall of the Republic.

The third, and last, is the largest, and comprises a considerable party, mostly the Breckenridge part of the Democratic party, who at present control and really represent the Democratic party in this state. These call themselves Union men, but deny that the Government has any power to put down rebellion constitutionally, that in fact, the United States was always a “confederacy,” but never a nation. Some of them are active Secessionists, but most are only talking men, who wield some power. Judge Terry, who killed Broderick, you remember, and is now at Richmond, is an example of this class, and many other men who once held office. Were they in power now it is not probable that they would commence active hostility against the Union, but they would throw every means in their power against the General Government.³¹

All this recital of secessionist activities is not meant to convey that California was completely disloyal. To the contrary, there were demonstrations of Union support as well which will be dis-

cussed later, but certain historians have likened California to a border state and thus it was evident that problems should arise from this situation. If feelings ran high for the Southern cause, they could only be countered by equally intense emotions. There was such a man who possessed this fervency of spirit which was based upon his love of country and his undaunted patriotism. He was Thomas Starr King.

Thomas Starr King and His Counter-Action

Alas for the perishableness of eloquence! It is the only thing in the higher walks of human creativeness that passes away. The statue lives after the sculptor dies, as sublime as when his chisel left it. St. Peter's is a perpetual memorial and utterance of the great mind of Angelo. The Iliad is as fresh today as twenty-five centuries ago. The picture may grow richer with years. But great oratory, the most delightful and marvelous of the expressions for mortal power, passes and dies with the occasion.³²



SO SPOKE THOMAS STARR KING OF DANIEL WEBSTER — and so we of today might speak of Starr King. If indeed he was “the man who saved California to the Union,” oratory was the means which he used, and since “oratory dies with the occasion,” perhaps that is why King is California's all but “forgotten hero.”

On April 28, 1860, Thomas Starr King first set foot on California soil. He had found the passage into the bay through the Golden Gate, with rocks on the one side and a steep mountain on the other, most interesting. He was charmed by the wild flowers carpeting the mountain top. He thought their colors as striking as the October shades of New England. But the city of San Francisco, sprawling over a few sand hills, seemed a strange place to him and he was not sure just how he was going to like it. However, this was going to be his home for awhile. Perhaps after several years, when his church was well established, he and Julia and their small daughter, Edith, could return to the more civilized East. In the meantime, life should be easier and he should get a much needed rest.

The California offer was not the only one he had had to consider. Chicago had wanted him. A \$5,000 salary and a new church were the inducements there. Cincinnati had also been anxious to have him. It had been a difficult decision but he had been preaching and lecturing for eleven years in the East; in the West, he could bring out all the old sermons again for they would be fresh to the new listeners. And he would not need to augment his meager salary

Thomas Starr King and the Secession Movement

by traveling the lecture circuit as he had been doing these many years. Thus he had written a friend on the day after Christmas 1859:

When under pressure, I feel the claims of Cincinnati; when alone, so that the attractions of the two posts play unobstructed, I find San Francisco the stronger body. Drs. Putnam, Peabody, Heywood, Hill, Livermore, the brethren in Cincinnati, and lastly and strongest, you, have endorsed the call from the Queen City with very urgent and wise appeals. If I still feel in the core of the heart an impulse to the more distant region, must I not take it as the Providential intimation? . . . I think I shall send in my resignation next week to the society here. It will tear my inward cords as nothing in life yet. But I do think we are unfaithful in huddling so closely around the cozy stove of civilization in this blessed city, and I am ready to go out into the cold and see if I am good for anything. I grieve intensely over the probable disappointment of the Cincinnati brethren. Pecuniarily I think their call is better than San Francisco; and they offer to let me go to Europe, too, which I must now postpone indefinitely. But I do not feel strong enough for the work they need, and I cannot but feel that San Francisco is the more crying call.³³

Starr King could have had no idea just what that "more crying call" would be but the busy years of his young life had been giving preparation to the heights to which he would attain before his brief life span was finished.

New York City was the birth place; December 17, 1824, the date of birth for this eldest son of a Universalist minister.

The father was a man of high character, good abilities as a preacher and fine social qualities. From him "Starr" inherited his sunny disposition, keen sense of humor and companionable nature. His intellectual gifts seemed to have descended to him chiefly through his mother, a woman of character and intelligence, who early noted and sedulously fostered the studious bent of her talented son.³⁴

Six years of his boyhood were spent in the seaport town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. When he was eleven years old, the family moved to Charleston, Massachusetts, and it was there that he spent the rest of his formative years. His father died when the young Thomas was fifteen thus putting upon him the responsibilities of providing for his mother and five younger brothers and sisters. He had been a capable student, acquiring a good knowledge of Latin and French, and was a likely prospect for higher education but this unhappy turn of events seemed to put an end to all thoughts of future scholarship and a possible professional life. Instead he became a store clerk.

But his mother, well aware of her son's abilities, coupled with her own love for the best in literature, encouraged his continued study. Together they read the masterpieces. Dante was perused as were the plays of Shakespeare, Plutarch's *Lives*, Grote's *History of Greece*, and Bullfinch's *Mythology*. When he was eighteen, he was able to move up the employment ladder both in status and salary. He became a bookkeeper in the Charleston Navy Yard and with a bit more leisure time, he could spend added hours on his studies. He found great satisfaction in the study of the German language and literature and delighted in talking of Goethe and Schiller and other German poets. The study of philosophy engrossed him as he made the acquaintance of Socrates and Plato.

Teaching in the Bunker Hill Grammar School became his next profession in 1840, and in 1842, he was made principal of the West Grammar School at Medford, Massachusetts. During this period he was preparing himself for the ministry through self-directed study. In 1846 he was ordained.

During the rest of his years in the East, he filled two pulpits; the first two years in Charlestown; the remainder, in the Hollis Street Church in Boston. In these years he achieved a certain degree of fame not only among the members of his own denomination, but further afield through his travels along the Lyceum circuit which flourished from 1840 to 1860.

Large numbers of lecture courses, extending even to the small cities and towns, were liberally patronized and generously supported. In many communities this was the one diversion and the one extravagance. To fill the new demand an extraordinary group of public speakers appeared.³⁵

Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry Ward Beecher, Edward Everett among others were included in this group.

That he was always wanted with such rivals as those is proof enough of King's power with the people, of his fame as an orator, even before his greater development and his more wonderful achievements in California. His lecture circuit extended from Boston to Chicago. His principal subjects were "Goethe," "Socrates," "Substance and Show," a lecture which ranks next to Wendell Phillips' "Lost Arts" in popularity. Notwithstanding the academic titles King gave his lectures they seemed to have been popular with all classes. "Grand, inspiring, instructive lectures," said the learned. "Thems... ideas," said unlettered men of sound sense. It was thought to be a remarkable triumph of platform eloquence that King could make such themes fascinating to Massachusetts farmers and Cape Cod fishermen. In fine phrase it was said of him that he lectured upon such themes as Plato and Socrates "with a premature-

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ness of scholarship, a delicacy of discernment, a sweet innocent combination of confidence and diffidence, which were inexpressibly charming.³⁶

Thus it seems evident that he had the power to reach people of all shades of thought and all degrees of learning. This was to be the weapon in his fight for the maintenance of the statehood of California.

The year of King's arrival in California was, of course, the eventful election year of 1860. His fame had preceded his arrival and many were looking forward to seeing the extraordinary young man — and many were disappointed. This "giant" of an orator turned out to be a man of slight stature, not too impressive looking at first glance; but the people went to hear him out of curiosity, only to come away convinced of his greatness. Jessie Benton Frémont was one such person. She was to become a staunch friend. King told her that though he weighed only 120 pounds — when he was mad, he weighed a ton. Jessie Frémont wanted him

... to weigh a ton. She wanted him to get mad at the secessionists bent on destroying the Union and strengthening slavery.³⁷

The rest that he had hoped to get did not seem to be forthcoming and one week after his arrival, he was on the lecture platform again. The editor of the *Daily Alta California* commented:

Among the multitude of rising intellects — writers, preachers, lecturers and reformers — at the East, few have acquired so great a reputation, at so early an age as Starr King. Those who wish to hear a live thinker discuss living and vital topics, in a fresh, original, and sometimes startling manner, will do well to attend this course.³⁸

The alert pro-Southern *Alameda Gazette* recognized a potential enemy, labeling him an ambitious youngster of dangerous rantings.

King was able to indulge his love of nature that first summer by spending a July holiday in Yosemite but when he returned to San Francisco, the election excitement was on and he had a job to do. None of the expounders of his greatness claim that this is the point where he "saved California" for the obvious fact is that Lincoln carried California only because the Democrats were divided — but he was active in the campaign. He dug out an old ten-year discourse on "Patriotism" which he revived and delivered to his congregation.

Patriotism is unselfish devotion to the idea of a nation, its heaven-inspired soul, its representative office and mission. And anything lower than this form of it here, any interpretation of it equivalent to a defense of every act of every administration, even

when that act does violence to the spirit of our history and the providential pointings of our call, is a disgrace to ourselves, an abuse to a noble word, and an offense before God. If a country such as ours is to raise no loftier, no more heroic type of national virtue than that, our fertile zones will indeed be barren of attractive fruit. Then we may say, here is America, but where are the Americans?³⁹

The following months found him traveling the rough roads of California and Nevada proclaiming his Union sentiments. He went to Sacramento and Hangtown, to Sun Mountain in Nevada, Virginia City, Carson City, and other mining towns in the gold regions. It was a dangerous journey for a Lincoln man but he was able to command the attention of his rough audiences and come through unscathed.

The fact that Lincoln was elected did not mean that California's problem was resolved, rather it portended the dark days that were to follow. Of the fifty-three newspapers in California, only seven had been backers of Lincoln. On the California political scene, there were only four Republicans in the State Senate, and in the House they were out-numbered fifty-four to nineteen. The Governor was a Democrat as were all the delegates to Washington — and most of them gave their sympathies to the South. A strong Union man was needed for governor. This was to be King's next project. Leland Stanford was to be the candidate.

Eighteen sixty-one was a year of decision for California and an equally busy one for Thomas Starr King.

It was in February, 1861, though he was as yet unconscious of the great mission to which he was being called, that Starr King fired the opening gun of his oratorical campaign by giving at a patriotic rally in San Francisco an address on "Washington and the Union." In the month following Starr King delivered one of the most powerful and popular of his addresses, "Webster and the Constitution." A few weeks later he spoke to another great audience on "Lexington and the New Struggle for Liberty." Later themes of his patriotic appeal were "The Great Uprising" and "The New Nation to Issue from the War." These addresses, repeated all over the State, created a great sensation and were listened to by large and delighted audiences.⁴⁰

By this time, William Brewer had made the acquaintance of King and was much impressed by him. In a letter of June 23, 1861, he wrote:

On Saturday night at ten o'clock a flag was raised on T. Starr King's church. He is very strong for the Union, and this was for a surprise for him on his return from up country. A crowd was in the streets as he returned from the steamer. He mounted the steps,

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made a most brilliant impromptu speech, and then ran up the flag with his own hand to a staff fifty feet above the building. It was a beautiful flag, and as it floated out on the breeze that wafted in from the Pacific, in the clear moonlight, the hurrahs rent the air — it was a beautiful and patriotic scene.

Sunday I went to hear him preach. He is a most brilliant orator, his language strong and beautiful. He is almost worshipped here, and is exerting a greater intellectual influence in the state than any other two men.⁴¹

That summer Thomas Starr King wrote to a friend in the East:

We are boiling over with all sorts of agitation here. The Secessionists have taken great heart since Manassas Junction. There are three tickets for Governor and Congressman in the field, Secession-Democratic, Union-Democratic, and True-Blue Republican. The Secessionists are all of a sudden peace men, and flood the State with documents on the cost of war, its horrors, and the propriety of stopping the fight and recognizing Jeff Davis. Owing to the division of the Union strength there begin to be fears that the Secessionists may get a plurality, and so we are arming, drilling and spouting. Among other forces to save the State I have taken to lecturing again — an hour and a half on "The Confederate States, Old and New." Last night, I spoke on "Peace, and What It Would Cost Us," for the benefit of the New York and Massachusetts Volunteers. House packed. Enthusiasm tremendous. Profits for the fund \$1,500. Speech printed before daylight this morning, and now flying over the State by thousands. I am to give another lecture for the same fund in two weeks.⁴²

The speech to which he referred was considered to be his best sermon. It must be noted that it was presented at a time when fortunes were turned against the Union. Things looked good for the South and the Secessionists were talking about an "honorable" peace. It was delivered August 29, 1861, at Platt's Hall. Here are several paragraphs from the oration which caused such a stir among his listeners.

And let us not forget this: When the advocates for peace among us press their arguments upon us against war, be sure to remember that no war is so horrible as *civil* war. And the only danger of war on our soil, at our doors, lies in the triumph, next week, of the eager *peace*-party. They are *so* devoted, of a sudden, to the interests of California! California owes her greatness to the Union, and the American Constitution. And what is their attitude toward these? Are their leaders for the Union? No; they cheer secession. They argue and declaim that a man owes allegiance to his State more than to the Nation: to his State — not the State where he lives; where the American flag covers and tries to ennoble him; where his prosperity wells up, and is assured and guarded — but to the State in which he was born; on which he turned his back; where probably he owns no property, and can be held for

no duty in any hour; and for which, probably, he is too much a coward to return and fight.

You have seen the game of "Simon," which children play. They sit in a circle, and one stands in the middle and says, "Simon says up," and up go the hands; "Simon says down" and down they go; "Simon says wiggle-waggle," and all heads and hands waver. That is the statemanship of the party that believes in State supremacy, and does not acknowledge the sovereignty of the American Constitution. What has the head of the spurious peace party himself confessed? He waved his finger and said, "I go with my State, Kentucky, and she will be out of the Union in two weeks. He was no prophet, nor the son of one. Kentucky is for Union, and spurns Breckenridge for the traitor. But California trusts nobody that plays the game of "Simon says wiggle-waggle," at the peril of the Constitution. She wants a governor who remembers his oath, and keeps his eye on the Eagle and the Stars. And *only* such a man can sit in her chair of State, whoever may get there.

We do need a peace party here; a serried, serious, triumphant one, that shall save the State against the civil gophers that are now undermining its prosperity, and place a man true to the Union in its highest seat. *Civil* war is our danger. Let the candidate of the Joab party triumph, and set himself against the requisitions of the Government, and seek in the administration of his office, to extend open aid to Mr. Jefferson Davis, and we shall have *civil war*, which will wipe out the memory of such trifles as tax bills from Washington. For the loyal men of California, who owe allegiance first to the Constitution of the country, would bear no such treason. They would arm against it. They would rally. They would sweep the perjurer from his seat. They would send him where Missourians sent Claiborne Jackson. They would keep the Constitution supreme over the Governor's chair. They do this in mercy to the State, as their serious Christian duty; and I know ministers who, if they have not muscle enough to hold a musket, and do not measure enough around the chest to be mustered into service, would be willing to load revolvers for troops, and tear up their Bibles for wadding. If we would have peace in the State, we must show a strong front of Union loyalty. We must turn an ear, stone deaf, to insidious treason. We must look to our powder, and not to what it costs.⁴³

A "Home Guard" was formed that year in San Francisco which worked industriously to elect the right governor, among other things. Thomas Starr King was an active participant in the organization. Many years later Horace Davis, a fellow member, gave a first-hand account of their activities. He recalled:

There were really but two tenable positions, for or against the government, and we called on every man to take his stand on one side or the other. . . . Mass meetings were called all over the State, and we sent our ablest and most eloquent men as missionaries. Starr King was especially conspicuous and he travelled over the interior from north to south, firing the zeal of the loyal men. His

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meetings were sometimes disturbed, and occasionally his life was threatened, but take it altogether, it was wonderful that so few real disturbances occurred.⁴⁴

Davis further recollected:

We worked to elect a war governor who would do all he could to uphold the hands of Mr. Lincoln. Of the three candidates, Stanford was the only one who filled the bill. Next we labored to maintain the patriotic propaganda throughout the State, of which Starr King was the great apostle.⁴⁵

Their vigorous efforts brought success and Stanford was elected governor but this was not the end of the oratory. The sermons and lectures continued to pour forth, bearing such titles as "The Confederate States, Old and New," "The Pilgrims," "The Treason of Judas Iscariot," and "The Choice Between Barabbas and Jesus."

Although his expanding church was bringing heavier pressure on his ministry, so widespread was his popularity as a patriotic orator that many people were forgetting that he was a minister at all. Political discourses meant but one thing to them — politics. Leland Stanford broke the news to Starr: there was a campaign on foot to persuade him to run for senator! That was not to his liking. "I would rather swim to Australia before taking a political post," he declared. Politics in the pulpit was enough for him. The campaign died.⁴⁶

There was politics in other pulpits too — in varying intensities and in diverse shadings. Catholic Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco, in anticipation of the oncoming conflict, had issued a pastoral letter which was published in the *San Francisco Bulletin* of February 25, 1861, in which he spoke out against divorces and duels. He concluded by giving equal condemnation to the national divorce and duel which seemed to be looming ahead. The Methodist Church had its Reverend Myron C. Briggs who played an active role and earned a place for himself as a patriotic orator. But not all the churches were pro-Union and those churches which had branches, North and South, such as the Methodist Episcopal Church contributed to grave disturbances.

Some felt it a serious mistake for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, ever to have entered the free state of California.⁴⁷

One of the most outspoken Southern sympathizers was the leading Presbyterian clergyman of San Francisco, the Reverend Dr. William A. Scott, who had come from New Orleans. He enraged some of the San Franciscans by praying for the "presidents" and one Sunday morning found himself hung in effigy in front of the church door and bearing the label, "*Dr. Scott, the Reverend Traitor.*"

He had an unusually large congregation that morning, but he discreetly omitted the offensive prayer. A few days later he resigned his pastorate and on October 1, departed with his family for the South, where he remained until after the termination of the Civil War.⁴⁸

This praying for "presidents" in the plural was reprehensive to Thomas Starr King and drew a strong response in which he declared of the President of the Confederacy:

He is a representative to my soul of a force of evil. His cause is pollution and a horror. His banner is a black flag. I could pray for him as one man, a brother man, in his private, affectional, and spiritual relations to heaven. But as President of the seceding States, head of brigand forces, organic representative of the powers of destruction within our country — pray for him! — as soon for Antichrist! Never!⁴⁹

On April 27, 1862, the ever-observant Brewer wrote of the dynamic effect of the Reverend King in these words:

T. Starr King delivered a patriotic sermon that night, the anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter, which, although probably hardly appropriate for Sunday, was nevertheless a most brilliant and eloquent performance. The crowded church could scarcely be restrained from bursting out in enthusiasm during some passages.⁵⁰

And so his words continued to be heard throughout the perilous days and months to follow — words which sought to inflame the spirit of national unity he so highly cherished. He seemed to foresee the greatness this nation could attain if it remained whole and he was willing to give his life for those convictions. We, who are a hundred years removed from his oratory, can never really feel the effect which it had on those earlier Californians because as he himself said, "oratory dies with the occasion" and the printed word cannot properly breathe life into his impassioned speech, but the following address on "The Privilege and Duties of Patriotism" might give some small idea of the persuasiveness of the man and why he has been so honored by the state of California.

I am to speak to you of the Privilege and Duties of American Patriotism.

First the Privilege. Patriotism is love of country. It is a privilege that we are capable of such a sentiment. Self-love is the freezing-point in the temperature of the world. As the heart is kindled and ennobled it pours out feeling and interest, first upon family and kindred, then upon country, then upon humanity. The home, the flag, the cross — these are the representatives or symbols of the noblest and most sacred affections or treasures of feeling in human nature.

We sometimes read arguments by very strict moralists which

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cast a little suspicion upon the value of patriotism as a virtue, for the reason that the law of love, unrestricted love, should be our guide and inspiration. We must be cosmopolitan by our sympathy, they prefer to say. Patriotism, if it interferes with the wider spirit of humanity, is sectionalism of the heart. We must not give up to country "what is meant for mankind."

Such sentiments may be uttered in the interest of Christian philanthropy, but they are not healthy. The Divine method in evoking our noblest affections is always from particulars to generals. God "hath set the solitary in families," and bound the families into communities, and organized communities into nations; and he has ordained special duties for each of these relationships, and inspired affections to prompt the discharge of them and to exalt the character.

The law of love is the principal of the spiritual universe just as gravitation is the governing force of space. It binds each particle of matter to every other particle, but it attracts inversely as the square of the distance, and thus becomes practically a series of local or special forces, holding our feet perpetually to one globe, and allowing only a general unity, which the mind appropriates through science and meditation, with the kindred but far-off spheres. The man that has most of the sentiment of love will have the most intense special affections. You cannot love the whole world and nobody in particular. If you try that, it will be true of you as of the miser who said, "what I give is nothing to nobody." However deep this baptism in general good-will, a man must look with a thrill that nothing else can awaken, into the face of the mother that bore him; he cannot cast off the ties that bind him to filial responsibilities and a brother's devotion; and Providence has ordained that out of identity of race, a common history, the same scenery, literature, laws, and aims — though in perfect harmony with good-will to all men — the wider family feeling, the distinctive virtue, patriotism, should spring. If the ancient Roman could believe that the yellow Tiber was the river dearest to Heaven; if the Englishman can see a grandeur in the Thames which its size will not suggest; if the Alpine storm-wind is a welcome-home song to the Swiss mountaineer; if the Laplander believes that his country is the best the sun shines upon; if the sight of one's own national flag in other lands will at once awaken feelings that speed the blood and melt the eyes; if the poorest man will sometimes cherish a proud consciousness of property in the great deeds that glow upon his country's annals and in the monuments of its power — let us confess that the heart of man, made for the Christian law, was made also to contract a special friendship for its native soil, its kindred stock, its ancestral traditions — let us not to fail to see that where the sentiment of patriotism is not deep, a sacred affection is absent, an essential element of virtue is wanting, and religion is barren of one prominent witness of its sway.

But why argue in favor of patriotism as a lofty virtue? History refuses to countenance the analytic ethics of spiritual dreamers. It pushes into notice Leonidas, Tell, Cincinnatus, Camil-

lus, Hampden, Winkelried, Scipio, Lafayette, Adams, Bolivar, and Washington, in whom the sentiment has become flesh, and gathered to itself the world's affections and honors. It asks us, "What do you say of these men? These are among the brighter jewels of my kingdom. Thousand of millions fade away into the night in my realm, but these souls shine as stars, with purer lustre as they retreat into the blue of time. Is not their line of greatness as legitimate as that of poets, philosophers, philanthropists, and priests? . . ."

NATIONAL PATRIOTISM

It is a privilege of our nature, hardly to be measured, that we are capable of the emotion of patriotism, that we can feel a nation's life in our veins, rejoice in a nation's glory, suffer for a nation's momentary shame, throb with a nation's hope. . . .

Think of a man living in one of the illustrious civilized communities of the world, and insensible to its history, honor, and future — say, of England! Think of an intelligent inhabitant of England so wrapped in selfishness that he has no consciousness of the mighty roots of that kingdom, nor of the toughness of its trunk, nor of the spread of its gnarled boughs! Runnymede and Agincourt are behind him, but he is insensible to the civil triumph and the knightly valor. All the literature that is crowned by Bacon, Shakespeare, and Milton, the noblest this earth ever produced from one national stock, awakens in him no heart-beat of pride. He reads of the sturdy blows in the great rebellion, and of the gain to freedom by the later and more quiet revolution, and it is no more to him than if the record had been dropped from another planet. The triumphs of English science over nature, the hiss of her engines, the whirl of her wheels, the roar of her factory drums, the crackle of her furnaces, the beat of her hammers, the vast and chronic toil that mines her treasures, affect him with no wonder and arouse no exultant thrill of partnership. And he sees nothing and feels nothing that stirs his torpid blood in the strokes and sweep of that energy, before which the glory of Waterloo and Trafalgar is dim, which has knit to the English will colonies and empires within a century which number nearly one fourth of the inhabitants of the globe. The red flag of England hung out on all her masts, from all her housetops, and from every acre of her conquests and possessions, would almost give this planet the color of Mars, if seen through a telescope from a neighboring star. What a privilege to be a conscious fibre of this compacted force! If I were an Englishman, I should be proud every hour of every day over my heritage. . . . The man who is dead to such a pride ought not to be rated as a man.

And is it any less a privilege to be an American? Suppose that the continent could turn towards you tomorrow at sunrise, and show to you the whole American area in the short hours of the sun's advance from Eastport to the Pacific! You would see New England roll into light from the green plumes of Aroostook to the silver stripe of the Hudson; westward thence over the Empire State, and

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over the lakes, and over the sweet valleys of Pennsylvania, and over the prairies, the morning blush would run and would waken all the line of the Mississippi; from the frosts where it rises, to the fervid waters in which it pours; for three thousand miles it would be visible, fed by rivers that flow from every mile of the Alleghany slope, and edged by the green embroideries of the temperate and tropic zones; beyond this line another basin, too, the Missouri, catching the morning, leads your eye along its western slope, till the Rocky Mountains burst upon the vision, and yet do not bar it; across its passes we must follow, as the stubborn courage of American pioneers has forced its way, till again the Sierra and their silver veins are tinted along the mighty bulwark with the break of day; and then over to the gold fields of the western slope, and the fatness of the California soil, and the beautiful valleys of Oregon, and the stately forests of Washington, the eye is drawn, as the globe turns out of the night-shadow, and when the Pacific waves are crested with radiance, you have the one blending picture, nay, the reality, of the American domain! No such soil, so varied by climate, by products, by mineral riches, by forest and lake, by wild heights and buttresses, and by opulent plains — yet all bound into unity of configuration and bordered by both warm and icy seas — no such domain was ever given to one people.

THE LESSON OF HISTORY

And then suppose that you could see in a picture as vast and vivid the preparation for our inheritance of this land: Columbus haunted by his round idea and setting sail in a sloop to see Europe sink behind him, while he was serene in the faith of his dream; the later navigators of every prominent Christian race who explored the upper coasts; the *Mayflower* with her cargo of sifted acorns from the hardy stock of British puritanism, and the ship, whose name we know not, that bore to Virginia the ancestors of Washington; the clearing of the wilderness, and the dotting of its clearings with the proofs of manly wisdom and Christian trust; then the gradual interblending of effort and interest and sympathy into one life, the congress of the whole Atlantic slope to resist oppression upon one member, the rally of every State around Washington and his holy sword, and again the nobler rally around him when he signed the Constitution, and after that the organization of the farthest West with North and South into one polity and communion; when this was finished, the tremendous energy of free life, under the stimulus and with the aid of advancing science, in increasing wealth, subduing the wilds to the bonds of use, multiplying fertile fields, and busy schools, and noble workshops, and churches hallowed by free-will offerings of prayer, and happy homes, and domes dedicated to the laws of states that rise by magic from the haunts of the buffalo and deer, all in less than a long lifetime; and if we could see also how, in achieving this, the flag which represents all this history is dyed in traditions of exploits, by land and sea, that have given heroes to American annals whose names are potent to conjure with, while the world's list of thinkers in matter is crowded with the

names of American inventors, and the higher rolls of literary merit are not empty of the title of our "representative men" — if all that the past has done for us and the present reveals could thus stand apparent in one picture, and then if the promise of the future to the children of our millions under our common law, and with continental peace, could be caught in one vast spectral exhibition, the wealth in store, the power, the privilege, the freedom, the learning, the expansive and varied and mighty unity in fellowship, almost fulfilling the poet's dream of

*"The Parliament of man,
the federation of the world,"*

you would exclaim with exultation, "I, too, am an American!" You would feel that patriotism, next to your tie to the Divine Love, is the greatest privilege of your life; and you would devote yourselves, out of inspiration and joy, to the obligation of patriotism, that this land, so spread, so adorned, so colonized, so blessed, should be kept forever one in polity, in spirit, and in aims!...

True patriotism is pledged to the idea which one's native country represents. It does not accept and glory in its country merely for what it is at present and has been in the past, but for what it may be. Each nation has a representative value. Each race that has appropriated a certain latitude which harmonizes with its blood has the capacity to work out special good results, and to reveal great truths in some original forms. God designs that each country shall bear a peculiar ideal physiognomy, and he has set its geographical characteristics as a bony skeleton, and breathed into it a free life spirit, which, if loyal to the intention, will keep the blood in health, infuse vigor into every limb, give symmetry to the form, and carry the flush of a pure and distinct expression to the countenance. It is the patriot's office to study the laws of public growth and energy, and to strive with enthusiastic love to guard against every disease that would cripple the frame, that he may prevent the lineaments of vice and brutality from degrading the face which God would have radiant with truth, genius, and purity.

He was the best patriot of ancient Greece who had the widest and wisest conception of the capacities and genius of Greece, and labored to paint that ideal winningly before the national mind, and to direct the flame of national aspiration, fanned by heroic memories, up to the noblest possibilities of Grecian endeavor. The truest patriot of England would be the man whose mind should see in the English genius and geography what that nation could do naturally and best for humanity, and, seizing the traditional elements that are in harmony with that possibility, should use them to enliven his own sympathies, and to quicken the Nation's energy. We might say the same of Russia and Italy. The forward look is essential to patriotism.

And how much more emphatically and impressively true is this when we bring our own country into the foreground! We have been placed on our domain for the sake of a hope. What we have done, and what has been done for us, is only preparation, the out-

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line-sketching of a picture to be filled with color and life in the next three centuries. Shall the sketch be blurred and the canvas be torn in two? That is what we are to decide in these bitter and bloody days.

NATIONAL UNITY

Our struggle now is to keep the country from falling away from the idea which every great patriot has recognized as the purpose towards which our history, from the first, has been moving. God devised the scheme for us of one republic. He planted the further slope of the Alleghanies at first with Saxon men; he has striped the Pacific Coast with the energy of their descendants, protecting thus both avenues of entrance to our domain against European intrusion; but the great wave of population he has rolled across the Alleghanies into the central basin. That is the seat of the American polity. And an imperial river runs through it to embarrass, and to shame, and to balk all plans of rupture. The Mississippi bed was laid by the Almighty as the keel of the American ship, and the channel of every stream that pours into it is one of its ribs. We have just covered the mighty frame with planking, and have divided the hull into State compartments. And the rebels say, "Break the ship in two." They scream, "We have a right to, on the ground of the sovereignty of the compartments, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence; we have a right to, and we will!" The loyal heart of the nation answers, "We will knock out all your Gulf compartments and shiver your sovereign bulkheads, built of ebony, to pieces, and leave you one empty territory again, before you shall break the keel." That is the right answer. We must do it, not only for our own safety, but to preserve the idea which the nation has been called to fulfill, and to which patriotism is called and bound to be loyal. Aye, even if there were one paragraph or line in the Declaration of Independence that breathed or hinted a sanction of the rebellion! Geology is older than the pen of Jefferson; the continent is broader than the Continental Congress; and they must go to the foundations to learn their statemanship.

The Procrustes bed of American patriotism is the bed of the Mississippi, and every theory of national life and every plan for the future must be stretched on that; and woe to its wretched bones and sockets if it naturally reaches but halfway!

Providence made the country, too, when the immense basin should be filled with its fitting millions, to show the world the beauty and economy of continental peace. It is a destiny radically different from that of Europe, with its four millions of armed men, that has been indicated for us. By the interplay of widely different products into one prosperity — cotton and cattle, tobacco and corn, metals and manufactures, shipyards and banking rooms, forests and fields — and all under one law, and all enjoying local liberty — sufficient centralization, but the mildest pressure on the subordinate districts and the personal will — Providence designed to bless us with immense prosperity, to develop an energy unseen before on

this globe, and to teach the nations a lesson which would draw them into universal fraternity and peace.

The rebels have tried to frustrate this hope and scheme. Patriotism, which discerns the idea to which the nation is thus called, arms to prevent its defeat. They say that there shall not be such unified prosperity and all-embracing peace for the future hundreds of millions on our domain. We say that there shall. And we arm to enforce our vision.

But is not that a strange way to establish peace, by fighting on such a scale as the republic now witnesses? Is it not a novel method to labor for economy of administration and expense in government by a war which will fetter the nation with such a debt? We answer, the rebellion gave the challenge, and now victory at cost is the only economy. Carnage, if they will it, is the only path to peace.

*"For our own good
All causes shall give way; we are in blood
Stept in so far, that, should we wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er."*

Yes, if we return, all our blood and treasures are wasted. The peace we gain by victory is for all the future, and for uncounted millions. The debt we incur by three years' fighting will be nothing compared with the new energy and security aroused, nothing to the next hundred years. And it will establish the idea to which the land was dedicated.⁵¹

Thus spoke Thomas Starr King — thus he earned his place as a representative of California in the *National Statuary Hall of Fame*.

NOTES

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4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
5. Hunt, *California in the Making*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1953, p. 306.
6. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California 1853-1913*, Boston and New York, 1930, p. 321.
7. Cooney, "Southern California in Civil War Days," *Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. XIII, 1924, p. 56.
8. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period*, New York, 1927, p. 357.
9. Bancroft, *History of California, Vol. VII, 1860-1890*, San Francisco, 1890, p. 260.
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12. Hunt and Sanchez, *A Short History of California*, New York, 1929, p. 471.
13. James, *Heroes of California*, Boston, 1910, p. 171.
14. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period*, New York, 1927, p. 355.
15. Caughey, *California*, New York, 1953, p. 285.
16. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*, New Haven, 1930, p. 88.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
20. Moore, *Destiny's Soldier*, San Francisco, 1958, p. 39.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

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22. Cooney, "Southern California in Civil War Days," *Historical Society of Southern California* ANNUAL, 1924, p. 55.
23. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California 1853-1913*, Boston and New York, 1930, p. 299.
24. Cooney, "Southern California in Civil War Days," *Historical Society of Southern California* ANNUAL, 1924, p. 55.
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26. Shutes, *Lincoln and California*, Stanford, 1943, p. 80.
27. Cooney, "Southern California in Civil War Days," *Historical Society of Southern California* ANNUAL, 1924, p. 58.
28. Shutes, *Lincoln and California*, Stanford, 1943, p. 80.
29. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period*, New York, 1927, p. 357.
30. Caughey, *California*, New York, 1953, p. 286.
31. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*, New Haven, 1930, pp. 426, 427.
32. Simonds, *Starr King in California*, San Francisco, 1917, p. 59.
33. Crompton, *Apostle of Liberty, Starr King in California*, Boston, 1950, p. 22.
34. Wendte, *Thomas Starr King*, Boston, 1921, p. 5.
35. Simonds, *Starr King in California*, San Francisco, 1917, pp. 11, 12.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.
37. Crompton, *Apostle of Liberty, Starr King in California*, Boston, 1950, p. 28.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 35.
40. Wendte, *Thomas Starr King*, Boston, 1921, pp. 156, 157.
41. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*, New Haven, 1930, p. 120.
42. Wendte, *Thomas Starr King*, Boston, 1921, pp. 157, 158.
43. King, *Peace, What It Would Cost Us*, published sermon.
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46. Crompton, *Apostle of Liberty, Starr King in California*, Boston, 1950, p. 50.
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49. James, *Heroes of California*, Boston, 1910, p. 174.
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WAGONS EAST ACROSS THE SIERRAS

By Allen Fifiel



AT SACRAMENTO IN THE SPRING OF 1848 forty-five men, most of whom had been employed by John A. Sutter, were preparing to take seventeen wagons, two brass cannon, about two hundred mules and horses and two hundred fifty head of horned stock eastward across the Sierra Nevada Mountains over a route where wagons had never been before. Indeed, no wagon had ever been taken west to east over these formidable "Snowy Mountains," as they were then called.

Discharged the previous year at Los Angeles, these veterans of the Mexican War had already taken the first wagons across the continent from the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean and were well qualified for the task ahead. They had made the longest infantry march in history, but they were not aware that the feat would surpass those of both Hannibal and Napoleon in crossing the Alps, Achievements which historians have long praised.

One woman, wife of Sergeant William Coray, was along, the only one of her sex. With three other wives of officers of the Mormon Battalion she had also crossed the continent with her husband. All were veterans except John Eager, who had sailed around Cape Horn in 1846 with Sam Brannan's Mormon colonists, and Addison Pratt, a Mormon missionary to the Society Islands returning to Salt Lake City to get further instructions. One non-member, a Mr. Diamond was also with the group.

At this time thousands of men from all parts of the world were risking lives and fortunes to reach the gold fields, which these men were abandoning. Henry W. Bigler, whose diary established the date of gold discovery, James Barger, James S. Brown, Israel Evans, William Johnson and Alexander Stevens had been at the mill site when James Marshall picked up the first nugget, January 24 that same year. To assure themselves that gold had been found, Levi Fifiel, Wilford Hudson and Sidney Willis had walked from Sutter's

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Fort, where they were working, to the mill at Coloma. Convinced, they followed the American River back to Sacramento, prospecting along the way and thus became the first men to look for gold and find it. After reaching the fort, according to the diary kept by Heinrich Lienhard, Sutter's German clerk, Fifield and Hudson went back and located the richest diggings ever found in California, Mormon Island.

Everyone in the group had dug gold; those in a position to know estimate the average amount of the yellow dust on each veteran was worth about \$1,700. On the scene of the discovery in the virgin, gold-bearing gravel of Mormon Island, these men really "cleaned up."

Although August Sutter gives them credit for fulfilling their verbal contracts with him, it soon became evident that he would never be able to pay them the wages agreed upon. One of them, James S. Brown, wrote that the genial Swiss never paid them anything; this was only partially true. He was glad to pay in items they could use: wild horses and mules, cattle and oxen, half-broken though they were. He also let them have wagons they had made for him while in his service, plows, picks, shovels, iron, seeds, plant cuttings and other items useful to colonists.

Sutter's diary for May 14, 1848, reads:

Paid off all the Mormons which have been employed by me in building these mills and other mechanical trades, all of them made their pile and some of them became very rich and wealthy but all of them are bound to the Great Salt Lake and spent their fortunes there to the glory and honor of the Lord.

After each had taken for wages whatever he felt he could use, there was still a balance due them of \$512; for this they agreed to take two brass cannon, a four and a six-pounder that had come into Sutter's possession when he bought Fort Ross from the Russians. Napoleon Bonaparte had taken these guns to Moscow in 1812. The czar's "burnt earth" policy had forced the French to retreat and leave their arms. The Russians had hauled them across Siberia, shipped them to Alaska, thence down to Bodega Bay and mounted them at Fort Ross at the time the Muscovites had planted their first and only colony in California. Rather than see his ordinance fall into the hands of the Spaniards, the Russian commander sold them to Mr. Sutter.

Shortly after Sutter had settled his accounts with the Mormons, nine of them, Ezra H. Allen, J. R. Allred, Daniel Browett, Henderson

Cox, Israel Evans, Robert Pixton, James C. Sly, Jacob Truman and Ira J. Willis left the Fort and tried to make their way over Donner Pass where their fellow church member, William B. Ide, had brought wagons in the fall of 1845. Many other immigrants had also brought wagons west over this summit.

One would suppose that where wagons had come they could also go. By use of block and tackle, rough-locked wheels and drow-sers, wagons can be let down slopes so steep that it is impossible for free, unhampered animals to get up them. After these veterans found they could not get up the 800-foot bluff out of Bear Valley, they returned and dug gold. Besides they found the snow too deep for a crossing.

At this time word spread among them that a rendezvous would be held at Pleasant Valley, six miles southeast of where Hangtown, now Placerville, grew up.

Historians with a dogma to defend will protest, but documented events prove conclusively that Brigham Young and Sam Brannan had an understanding about a rendezvous on the West Coast. Sam's voyage with two hundred forty other Mormons around Cape Horn, made on advice from Brigham Young, should be sufficient to prove this statement.

Their pact is further corroborated by an entry, June 11, 1847, in the diary of Sergeant Nathaniel V. Jones, one of a guard chosen by General S. W. Kearny from the Mormon Battalion to escort the mutinous John C. Frémont east to the states for a general courts martial. Jones wrote:

Today we learned that there had been an express through from the church and that Brother Brannan has gone back to pilot them through the mountains. This evening there was a brother came to see us by the name of Rhodes (Rhoads). He came here last year from Missouri. The brethern are settled in different places through the country.

Entries in various other Battalion diaries prove such a messenger came from the church about this time. One by Private Robert Bliss confirms Jones's entry.

With his family of twelve, Thomas Rhoads had come to California in the fall of 1845. Two of his sons assisted in the rescue of the starving Donner party during the winter of 1846-1847. He took his family back to Utah in 1849.

Another Mormon whose presence in California at that time points out a trend which was significant of Brigham Young's

schemes. William Brown Ide, formerly a presiding elder over a Mormon branch in Sangamon County, Illinois, delegate to the convention which nominated Joseph Smith as candidate for the presidency of the United States, May 6, 1844, led a group of Mormons over Donner Summit in 1846. He proposed building a wooden trestle across the chasms near the top of the summit. Likely he had in mind migrations to be made later by his co-religionists. Ide also was the leading figure in the Bear Flag Rebellion. His account of events in that revolution was pronounced more reliable, by Lilburn W. Boggs, ex-governor of Missouri and later alcalde of upper California, than those of the Mormon-hater, Frémont. His son, James M. Ide, later went to St. George, Utah, and did temple ordinances for his father's family.

Responding to Brigham Young's request and at his own expense, Sam Brannan left San Francisco in early April with three companions and fifteen pack animals. At Sutter's Fort he was most likely joined by another man, added more supplies to what he already had and left to cross the "Snowy Mountains" April 26. Conflicting tales about where he made the crossing exist. Mr. Grant Merrill, now living at Woodsford's, California, claims Sam came east through what is now Carson Pass. Stopping at springs called after him and long known as Brannan's Springs, Sam left two of his companions there with a cache of food and went on. He got to Fort Hall on June 9 and waited ten days for a letter from Brigham Young. In part this letter reads:

If any battalion men are with you or are at your place and want to find their families, they will do well to take the road to the states, via the south bank of the Salt Lake, Fort Bridger, South Pass, etc., and watch the path or any turn of the road till they find this camp. The camp will not go to the west coast or to your place at present as we haven't the means.

Brigham didn't have any soldiers' wives with him; those he brought first were one of his, Harriet; his brother John's, and one of Heber C. Kimball's. Despite his promise that if the men would enlist in the Battalion, he would bring their families to them at their place of discharge, little effort was made to carry out that promise.

The Mormon veterans had sung the song, "*The Upper California; Oh, that's the land for me,*" prior to leaving Nauvoo, the words written by John Taylor who later became third president of the Mormon Church. Entries in most of their diaries record their disappointment at Brigham's failure to keep his word, but since nothing to the contrary had been heard they still expected to make

their homes in California, and sought out a route over which they could go to fetch them.*

In discussing their problems with Ide and Brannan, they unquestionably sought out John Bidwell, who had surveyed and laid out the site of Montezuma, later named Suttersville while working for Sutter. The town was meant for the Mormons and the project was instigated by Lansford W. Hastings, advocate of the cut-off by that name, which led across the south end of the Great Salt Lake. Bidwell had come to California in 1841 with the Bartleson pack train whose route was over what is today called Carson Pass. He was well-qualified to give advise, and his word was probably followed when the veterans decided to try to make their road.

The diary of Addison Pratt, Monday, June 26, 1848, reads:

Some of the brethern who for some time have been making preparations to start for the Great Salt Lake broke up their temporary encampment on the American River and commenced their long journey eastward. Some of the wagons went up to the mines to get their tires set; the remainder of the wagons traveled on and encamped for the night.

June 27: The advance company arrived at Pleasant Valley about fifty miles from their previous encampment and waited several days for the rear wagons to come up.

July 1: The wagons which went to the mines for repairs came up.

July 3: Packed up and traveled about 25 miles overtaking some of the wagons which set out a day or so ago. Here they built a fort because they found some good feed. This later called "Sly's Park" in honor of the man who found it.

James S. Brown wrote that the day before leaving on this trip he took a pick and shovel up into a dry gulch and soon struck a rich prospect about a quarter of a mile from water. Carrying the rich dirt to the stream in his pants he washed out \$49.50 worth of gold dust. They were loath to leave such prosperity. That many of them expected to return is attested by the fact that they had bought lots in Sacramento and San Francisco, the writer's ancestor, Levi Fifield, being among them.

* Because of the scope of this article, further proof that the Mormons' destination was California can't be given. Will any zealous historian with a dogma to prove insist that Brigham Young, assured by divine revelation that the Mormons were to settle in the Great Basin, would, at the time of the enlistment of the Mormon Battalion, permit forty wives with their seventy children to make a trek of 1,800 miles, half of which was through the trackless and unknown deserts of New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California, face the hazards of winter, thirst, hunger and Indian attacks and pass through enemy territory, only to turn about and make another road through a more rugged desert from the Pacific to the Great Basin, a distance of more than 600 miles?

Wagons East Across the Sierras

The veterans were traveling north of east up a ridge. Despite their half-broken draft animals, they made good time. They were attempting an almost impossible task, financing it themselves, and with no equipment except picks, axes, shovels, plows with wooden beams which broke when a strain was put on them, saws and chains were their tools; their motive power was wild and half-tamed horses and mules with oxen when needed; their wagons, made of half-seasoned wood, were of the inch-pin type, the wooden hubs of which revolved around wooden axles, and which went ahead like a hog going to war: in all directions at the same time.

Herding the large drove of loose stock was no mean job. Those who performed the thankless task were: Sidney and Ira J. Willis, Israel Evans, Jacob Truman, Wesley Adair and James S. Brown. Because of Indians, all stock had to be corraled at night and an armed guard put to watch. The city-raised John Eager and Addison Pratt unwillingly furnished much amusement for the others in their attempts to ride some of the half-broken horses. Because of saddle sores they also "walked Spanish" for days.

Some fifty years later, James S. Brown wrote:

We made slow progress for the road was very rough; about six of us rode ahead and looked up and marked the route. We would go ahead a half a day and then return to meet the train, often finding them camped, the men working the roads, cutting the timber, rolling rocks, digging dugways, or mending wagons. Sometimes we had to lay over a day or two to make the road passable.

After leaving Sly's Park the group went up to Hazel Valley, turned east at Stonebreaker Creek, and then veered down into Diamond Creek bottoms which they crossed, pulling over to the head of Snow Creek. From here they moved along the ridge to the head of Camp Creek, where they set up a camp, and built enough road to reach Leek Springs, so named because of the heavy growth of wild onions there. They made a corral here and camped again.

From the journal of Azariah Smith, July 5, 1848:

Brothers Daniel Browett, Ezra Heely Allen, and Henderson Cox have gone over the mountains to find the best place to cross; they have not got back yet. There is a man here who is going to pack over the mountains to Salt Lake Valley and I calculate to accompany him. This morning some of the boys went ahead to see what had become of the others and we expect to camp here until they return.

July 6: A meeting was held in camp at which it was decided to send ten men over the mountains to pioneer the way and to hunt for the missing men.

While the group was waiting for the return of the ten men

they made road, repaired wagons and harnesses and other equipment. July 13, Azariah Smith wrote:

I went to the camp and the brethern all appeared to be cheerful and are waiting with anxiety for those who have gone ahead to come back.

July 14: In the morning two of the men who had gone ahead returned to the general encampment. They stated that they had been in sight of a valley on the other side of the mountains, finding a very good pass; but they had not seen or heard anything of the three men who went first.

The area into which these men were making a road is unquestionably one of the most rugged in the United States. Mt. Whitney, our highest peak, is in the same range of mountains, and even today, with our modern road-making equipment, we have but one or two crossings in a distance of 300 miles. It is also the area of heaviest snowfall; because of this moisture the slopes are heavily timbered with much underbrush growing the trees.

The formation is mostly granite with occasional outcroppings of lava and basalt. Heavy springtime run-offs have deposited boulders in the streambeds varying in size from that of a baseball to that of a Mormon Meeting House. These pioneer roadmakers soon learned to keep to the tops of the ridges where, aside from an occasional ledge, there was less clearing of trees and chapparal.

There was much breakage of the wagons which were difficult to guide. Although the six-foot hind wheels made passage over high stumps possible, these were not sturdy like smaller wheels. Samuel H. Rogers' wagon tipped over twice in one day. One of the wheels had every other spoke replaced with the wood of what these eastern-raised veterans called "red pine." It was actually Douglas fir, a species peculiar to the western part of the United States, even more like a hemlock than fir, and the strongest wood for its weight on the American continent. Broken reaches, felloes, hounds, tongues and axles had to be replaced daily by the wagonright, Wilford Hudson. The blacksmith whom Sutter praised so highly for fashioning the irons for the mill at Coloma was likewise kept busy welding broken king pins, queen pins, bolts and chain links, one of the most difficult of all welds to make. As a youth, Fifield had learned the art of gun smithing and his skill in working iron was sought by everyone around Sacramento who needed fine workmanship. With the ever-changing mountain winds blowing smoke and ashes into his eyes, his problems with an improvised forge made it almost impossible to tell when the correct flux for welding had been reached. With

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only the manzanita which grew on the mountains as fuel, his problems sometimes exceeded his skill.

Journalizing on July 17, Azariah Smith wrote:

This afternoon those men who went ahead saw some Indians wearing clothing which resembled those of Brothers Browett, Allen and Cox. They also saw a place where they suspect they were killed and buried.

Camp was broken at Leek Springs and the road, for the most part, followed that of the present-day highway except that it kept more to the top of the crest; the climb was getting steeper as they progressed.

Henry W. Bigler wrote on July 19:

We made a move and in passing through a snow bank one of our wagons broke down. We soon reached the supposed Indian grave, and as soon as Sly saw it he exclaimed, "Our brethern are in that grave." The tools were at once taken from the wagons and the grave opened. We were shocked at the sight. There lay our brethern naked, one with his face turned upward, the other face downward, to all appearances an ax or hatchet had been sunk into Brother Browett's face and a shot had penetrated one of his eyes. Allen was lying next, Cox underneath. A withe was around Allen's neck and all were buried in a shallow grave. On looking around we found bloody arrows on the grave, many of them broken. Allen's purse of gold dust was found, which was readily known as several of the boys had seen him make it. It had a long buckskin string attached to it so he could put it around his neck and let it hang inside his shirt bosom.

At night while at prayer something gave our stock such a fright that they stampeded; the cannon was fired.

Next afternoon we enclosed the grave of our brethern to prevent the wild beasts from disturbing the remains. Wilford Hudson cut the following in a large balsam tree standing near the springs which we called "Tragedy Springs."

TO THE MEMORY OF
DANIEL BROWETT
EZRAH H. ALLEN
HENDERSON COX
WHO ARE SUPPOSED TO
HAVE BEEN MURDERED
AND BURIED BY INDIANS
ON THE NIGHT OF THE 21st
OF JUNE, 1848.

After the tree blew down in 1935, the *Sons of the California Pioneers of Amador County* cut out the section which had the engraving on and placed it under glass where it can be seen in the northwest corner of the Sutter's Fort Museum. A bronze plaque

cemented to a large granite boulder near the grave contains the same legend except that the word "BURNED" has been substituted for "BURIED." In none of the accounts given by the comrades of the massacred victims is there any indication that the bodies were burned.

Azariah Smith's version of the event written July 19, gives additional data, viz.:

We opened the grave and sure enough there they were, having been killed and thrown into that hole and covered with dirt by the Indians. After examining the place well we were sure they were all three there, we covered them up and searched to see what we could discover. We soon found Brother Allen's purse with some upwards of a hundred dollars in it.

The manner in which the brethren were supposed to have been killed was: they were supposed to have stopped and camped there for the night and some Indians came and in a friendly way stayed with them. As they had been working a great deal in the mountains with them in the winter; thus not suspecting them they all laid down as they supposed in safety. But after they got fast asleep a body of Indians crept on them from behind the rocks which were thick and poured a heavy shower of arrows on them and before they could gather their arms in order to defend themselves against their enemies, they were killed on the spot.

From the appearance of things, Brother Allen had got his six-shooter and got behind a big rock to protect himself. But there being so many Indians they rushed upon him and mashed his head in pieces with rocks where the purse was found which was covered with blood. In the morning fifteen of the men went after the horses and those that stayed built a wall around the place where the brethren were buried and filled it up with rocks inside.

All accounts of this grim affair agree about the bloody arrows, the burial, the shallowness of the grave and that only one purse was found. While the writer was discussing the tragedy with the keeper of the "Tragedy Springs Inn" nearby, Mrs. Mike Mailske, she called attention to the well-known fact that Indians do not bury the bodies of their victims. The grave is in a stony area where picks and shovels would be necessary for excavation. Since Indians do not carry these tools, another conclusions must be formed. All three of these men had dug gold; only one purse was picked up. Since Indians had no use for the yellow metal, we have but two items against the savages: bloody arrows picked up near the scene and the fact some Indians were seen wearing clothing belonging to the dead men.

These incidents lend credence to the story of the massacre told by Mr. Grant Merrill, who also told of Brannan's crossing and catch-

ing the supply of food at what was called Brannan's Springs for two decades. A gentleman of the old school, Mr. Merrill is well-read, alert and thoroughly conversant with the local history of that area. His ancestors were early settlers at the place now called Woodford's and played a very important part in the growth of the vicinity. His version of the massacre goes this way:

Prior to the gold discovery there were two classes of outlaws in California — the "chollas," Mexican veterans who served under General Micheltorena when the central government attempted to force the native Californians to pay taxes for protection they weren't getting. These gathered around the notorious Joaquin Murrietta. Then there were the Americans who had presumably drifted into California to escape justice back in the states, but who, evidence seems to point out, were there to assist Frémont in his effort to prevent the pre-dominantly free-state Mormons from establishing an independent commonwealth on the West Coast.

These outlaws of both nationalities were loath to get a dollar by honest effort. The scum of both civilizations, they were hated and feared by all honest citizens, Latin or Saxon alike, and who later had to unite in forming vigilante committees for self protection.

While the Mormons were digging gold, these human vultures were organizing and planning to deprive them of the results of their hard work. There can be no doubt that the ruffians were aware that the Battalion boys would have much gold along with them. That the scalawags were organizing is self-evident. The fate of the three men at Tragedy Springs was just a prelude to the crime and violence for which the gold fields became notorious later on.

Because fear of law and justice was common between them, Jed, a fugitive slave who had come to California, fell in with the ruffians. On one of their forays it seems they captured a Mr. Plasse who had been to the diggn's and who, they assumed, had a large quantity of gold on his person. After frisking him and finding none of the wanted metal on him, the group bound him to a tree threatening that they'd be back later and warning him that he'd better be ready to tell where his treasure was.

Convinced that Mr. Plasse had no gold cached, Jed stole away from the ruffians and freed the captive. Grateful for his kindness, Plasse assured the Negro that if he should ever need succor or assistance of any sort to call on him and every effort he could make would be used to help.

Years passed. After California was admitted to the Union as a free state and Jed found association with the ruffians no longer necessary, he became a frequent visitor at "Plasse's Trading Post," set up about a mile southeast from Tragedy Springs and grew up more or less with Plasse's family, which in later years carried on their father's business. Descendents of this family now operate their resort on Silver Lake, not too far from the original post their grandfather operated.

As Jed and Mr. Plasse grew more intimate, Jed told the miner he had often heard the outlaws discuss the murder of the three Mormons to get their gold. In order to hide their crime they stripped the bodies and gave the clothes to the Indians hoping thus to throw those who came later off the trail and make possible another robbery. The presence of the broken, bloody arrows are thus also accounted for.

Mr. Plasse passed Jed's story on to his descendents who, in turn, repeated what they had heard to Mr. Merrill's parents, until today it is a legend around the region of Carson's Pass.

As usual numerous myths about unknown graves, mere conjectures in the first place, but told as factual later on, have grown up about the massacre at Tragedy Springs. One to the effect that the grave was that of members of Frémont's exploring party which were killed there by Indians when the "Pathfinder" crossed the mountains during February of 1844. This was printed and sold to tourists who stopped at the Tragedy Springs Inn. One was shown to the writer, a descendent of Ezra H. Allen, one of the murdered men.

After leaving Leek Springs, the veteran roadmakers pulled up a ridge over Alder Hill, roughly parallel to the present highway, passing the spot known today as the Maiden's Grave. A trailmark stands there today erected by travelers who used the road for about eighteen years after the Battalion boys blazed the way. Because the feed was good at Tragedy Springs, the Mormons built a corral nearby and camped until the road was passable over the high mountain known as Carson's Spur. The elevation at Tragedy Springs is about 8,000 feet; the distance to the crest of the Sierras is about twenty miles.

Crossing the Spur was more difficult than going over the main crest. The canyon south of the eminence is impassable to pack trains; going around the north end, where the present highway is located, was unthinkable because of large rock cliffs. The only way to reach their goal was to go up over the spur and then down again into the low place where Twin Lakes, volcanic craters, were.

Two miners with thirty years' of prospecting in the area pointed out the impossibility of establishing the exact route taken by the Battalion veterans because of the many roads made by subsequent gold seekers who came west later. One of them, Mike Mailske, owner and proprietor of the Lost Cabin Mine, seemed to think the Mormons went by the south end of the reservoir, now called Silver Lake, passed the site of Plasse's old resort and then went over the spur south of Thimble Peak at an altitude of more

Wagons East Across the Sierras



— Photo courtesy the Author

TERRAIN OVER WHICH ROAD WAS BUILT

*This photograph, looking west from near the summit of Carson Pass,
shows Carson Spur in the distance.*

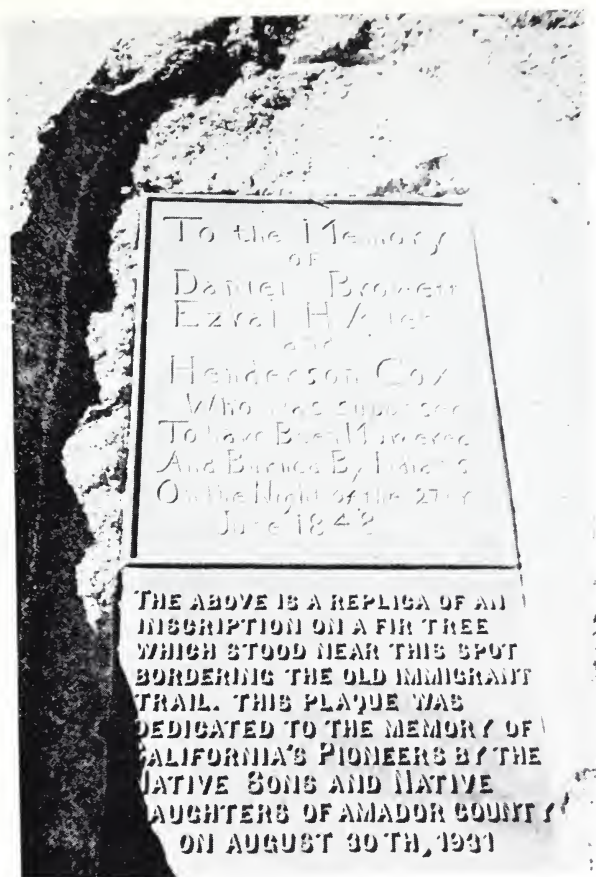


— Photo courtesy the Author

COMMON GRAVE FOR MURDERED MORMONS

Here the three men Daniel Browett, Ezra Allen and Henderson Cox were first superficially buried by their murderers and later reinterred by their Brethren.

Wagons East Across the Sierras



— Photo courtesy the Author

MARKER COMMEMORATES ROAD BUILDERS

Note the error in marker — the engraver put in the word “burned,” which obviously should have read “buried.”



— Photo courtesy the Author

LOOKING EAST FROM CARSON PASS

Now under the waters of Red Lake is the site where John Studebaker had his shop. It was possible for the road makers to lower their wagons into this steep declivity only by snubbing them to the trees and dropping them only inches at a time.

than 9,000 feet. Mailske's partner, Mr. John Nunes, corroborated this opinion, and also volunteered the fact that because of the altitude of this intervening mountain, he doubted that Kit Carson could see the coast range from the pass bearing his name. Either that or Carson and Frémont were at another location.

Descending into the basin containing some crater lakes bearing the names of Emigrant, Twin and Winnemucca, the Battalion road-makers cut eastward through the thick brush, passing between Twin Lakes, and pulled up on the side of Round Top peak, according to Mr. Mailske, the only one from which it is possible to see the coast range. Part way up this 10,386 foot peak, they came upon a granite shelf which leads northward to the pass. Because of its unique shape it is called Elephant's Back, a formation some three miles long, so smooth that a car can be driven over it.

At this point, on July 29, two Indians came into camp; they were disarmed, given supper and breakfast and sent on their way. More than likely they were of the peaceloving Washoe tribe which gave the Whites little trouble. The treacherous Pahutes could be seen lurking through the timber, waiting for an opportunity to kill, steal a horse or a gun and gave the veterans so much trouble that they had to keep a gun in one hand while they did their work with the other. They related in their diaries how it was possible to pick flowers with one hand and mold a snowball with the other. Ice formed in their camp kettles at night. If the wagons passed across a snow bank before the morning sun shone on it, the wheels would stay atop, but the July sun soon made the snow so rotten that it wouldn't support any weight.

Game in the form of grouse, quail, deer and bear was plentiful and easy to take. Hence they had feasting while doing their heavy work. There was water in every draw, and fuel always close at hand. The last night in July they camped in the Carson Pass, elevation 8,573 feet. No diarist mentions seeing the famous Carson Tree, in which Kit is supposed to have carved his name when he went over the pass in February, 1844. Nor is any mention made of the two "fire trees" described by Frémont's cartographer, Charles Pruess.

When the writer mentioned the fact that the Battalion diarists had not seen these trees, Dr. Vincent Gianella, geologist from the University of Nevada and an explorer of the Sierras for several decades, said, "The pass should never have been given Carson's name. When he and Frémont crossed the Sierras in 1844, they were not within several miles of that pass. It should be called "Mormon

Pass" after the men who made the first road over it." The geologist said he had taken observations which proved conclusively that those recorded by Frémont were not made at Carson Pass.

In his journal, Pruess recorded that both of Frémont's chronometers were stopped several days before the Sierra were crossed, making it impossible to determine longitude, but he gave the latitude as $38^{\circ} 41'$. Frémont's recorded altitude at the point he crossed was 9,338 feet; Carson pass is 8,573. Although Carson claimed he could see Mt. Diablo which he recognized from having seen it fifteen years previously, Pruess wrote the day was foggy. He wrote, "One could only dimly discern a low mountain range on the other side, which Kit claims to recognize as the one which stretches between the Sacramento and the ocean."

Because of timber and the intervening Carson Spur with an altitude greater than that at the "Pass," it is impossible to see the coast range from where the "Carson tree" stood when Kit is supposed to have carved his name in it. Hungry, starving men, as Frémont wrote his helpers were at this time, don't stop to blaze trees and carve their names in them. Pruess also wrote that some kinds of food was scarce, but except for lack of salt, no one suffered. Nor do freezing, famished men climb peaks "to see what they can see" as "Man Unafraid" claims in his Memoirs. That he, Carson and Fitzpatrick climbed to an eminence can't be doubted. Pruess, who had nothing but contempt for the "Pathfinder," wrote that he climbed a peak by himself. But none of these was Round Top, the only one high enough to make possible a view of Mt. Diablo, according to Mr. Mailske, veteran hunter and prospector of that area. He claimed men not specially equipped couldn't scale Round Top in winter; that in summer months, California surveyors had to make the ascent on foot, and then to establish a meridian between the peak and Mt. Diablo the work had to be done by aid of flash lights, several pounds of dry cells being used before the task was completed. This was because of the misty haze always present in the atmosphere above the Sacramento Valley.

Armchair historians will ask, "But what about Carson's name carved on the tree with the date under it, 1844?"

The name "KIT CARSON" was beautifully carved in well-shaped, vertical letters. Under this was carved the digits "1844." These numbers were at a decided slant, not nearly so well proportioned, and quite clearly the work of a different person from the one who carved the letters. It should be recalled that Kit Carson drove a band of sheep over the pass bearing his name in 1854; also in 1855.

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He could have done the carving then. Much of Frémont's work is laudable, but as Jim Bridger pointed out to the Mormon pioneers on the banks of the Little Sandy in July, 1847, there is also much of which one should be ashamed. Historians have, for the most part, highly over-rated him.

The last day of July found the roadmakers ready to descend the eastern slope. It had taken them a month to make their way to the summit. They had brought two of Napoleon's cannon to an altitude higher by more than 600 feet than his 32,000 picked troops took cannon over St. Bernard pass in the Alps when he went to conquer Italy. The Corsican had a well-beaten trail to follow and men enough to have pulled his cannon up the slopes by ropes. In 217, B. C., Hannibal took an army across Col de Genevere during the month of November. He had no wheeled vehicles and used elephants for motive power. The altitude at which he made the crossing was only 6,102 feet but transportation by pack animals is much simpler than that by carriage, especially when there is no road. History still sings of the feats of these two military geniuses, but it has been silent for more than a century about these Mormon Battalion boys achievement.

For countless centuries prevailing westerly winds have carried snow across the Sierra crest and piled it in drifts hundreds of feet deep on the eastern slope. These potential avalanches have, by glacial action, carried dirt and loose rocks down against the granite slopes until the top thousand feet have become a sharp drop-off. To ascend or descend this declivity was the dread of all the gold seekers, both going and coming. Small lakes, formed by the glacial moraines at the bottom of this sharp descent, make the scenery some of the most stupendous in the world. The pioneers were now making their way to the shores of such a lake; they named it Red Lake.

Their seventeen wagons and two cannon were maneuvered over a sidling stretch of smooth granite with considerable difficulty. Only the presence of trees growing in crevices among the rocks made it possible to place their vehicles so they could be let down by block and tackle to the lake shore. Even today one can see where their chains and ropes were wrapped around the trunks of these trees for safety. Drowzers, rough-locked wheels and brakes were of no use on this granite decline.

That evening a camp was made on the shores of the lake. A year or so later an enterprising young gold seeker named Studebaker foresook his quest and set up a wagon repair shop there. Rigging up a permanent block and tackle service to supplement his black-

smith and wagonwright work, he laid the foundation for the manufacture of wheelbarrows later at Hangtown, where he accumulated enough means to start a famed wagon manufacturing plant, one which later developed into an automobile factory.

The veterans were now in beautiful Hope Valley, the floor of which is fairly level with patches of brush, aspen, willows, birch and other growth which could easily be cut so the wagons could pass through. Intermittent areas of excellent grass made grazing for the animals possible, but the ever-skulking Indian could be seen waiting his chance to get what was not his. It was here they killed the lame cow which they had hoped to take to the widow of Daniel Browett; she couldn't keep up with the herd. That night they camped at the head of Carson River Canyon, and dreaded the hazards scouts had reported were in the six miles of boulder-strewn passage which in many ways was their most trying experience.

The narrow canyon with the tumbling, raging river dodging here and there among the over-sized boulders proved almost impassable. Armed Indians on either side of the canyon found it easy to snipe at the water-soaked white men, as they chopped aspen poles to make bridges, hitched oxen to rocks to roll them aside, wheeled their wagons by hand along a sidling place where a hand-dug furrow kept the upper wheel in place as the lower made its way along a rough-hewed log to get by a seeming impossible spot in the canyon. The ice-cold water only a short time off the glaciers above chilled the marrow in their bones. Drying off in the torrid August sun was conducive to sickness, but there was no other way. At one place it was necessary to unhitch the animals from the wagons and roll them by hand over a narrow shelf which left less than six inches between the outer wheel and a drop-off of several feet into the tumbling river.

Camp was made that night at what was called then Brannan's Springs. They realized now that a new problem lay ahead: the desert air would dry out the wood in their wheels until the tires would roll off. Many of them cut thin wedges of dry wood and took them along to drive between the tire and the rim of the wheel, a device used while crossing the desert between the Rio Grande and Pacific when there was danger of the tire falling off the wheels. Others waited; they judged there would be water enough along the route so that it could be dipped and poured on the wheels to keep the tires tight. Still others said they'd wait and when the wood had dried out sufficiently, they would have the blacksmith cut a piece out of the tire, weld it together, heat the tire and shrink it on the

wheel. The smith said he could do it if they'd furnish the charcoal; this gave them pause. It was even proposed that time be taken out to build a charcoal pit and burn it there where there was a plentiful supply of wood.

Then there was the problem of shoes for the draft animals and riding horses. Many of them were already tenderfooted from the wearing of their hoofs while crossing rocky slopes of the Sierras. It was decided to put shoes on only such animals as were indispensable, riding ponies and the draft animals that were trusty enough to be used in harness-breaking the wild ones from the herd.

Next day about noon, camp was broken up and after a trip of about six miles made again out in the open where Indians couldn't crawl up close without being seen. Everyone considered their location was much better, so much so that one of the men whose turn it was to do guard duty proposed that he be allowed to sleep because fewer guards would be needed. Just then the tethered horses set up a ruckus. Hastening to the scene, they found two Indians leading off as many ponies. Hasty action saved the animals, but the guard stood his watch. All of which goes to prove old Jim Bridger's dictum:

Whar ye don't see no Injuns there's whar they're sartin' to be thickest.

Just at daylight next morning it was discovered that Indians had crept up to within four or five rods of the wagons and taken several of the choice saddle horses. Guards detected them as they crossed the river. Nine men chased them. Hoping to divide and ambush the palefaces, the savages divided into three groups, but didn't dare carry out their plans, even though the whites also separated; probably the Indians were afraid of the superior arms of the Mormons. All the horses were recovered except one; in its place was an Indian pony, but it later developed distemper, a fact discovered too late to prevent the spread of the disabling disease among the white men's horses. Those who gave chase called it the most tiring pursuit of any they had ever taken.

Next day they pulled into Carson Valley. Wishing to get on a road again and afraid to follow the Carson River for fear it would lead them into a desert quagmire, they followed the foothills north, parallel to the Sierras, passing Steamboat Springs just south of Truckee Meadows where many of their number had turned back the previous summer when they met Sam Brannan returning from his bootless trip to meet the Brigham Young pioneers. Here they followed the well-beaten trail of those who had come to California

before the gold rush, camped at the bend where the Truckee turns north to empty into Pyramid Lake, and prepared to make the dash across the forty-five mile desert to Humboldt Sink; a dry, forced march which took all of two nights and an intervening day. This they did with no sleep during the entire time. When their stock smelled the water they broke into a trot until they reached the slimy pools; there, the poor creatures were permitted only a little of the brackish moisture, and then forced on some eight miles further until they could drink from a running stream. Besides there was no grass at the first water.

Near what is now Rye Patch Dam, two Redskins came into camp; others were seen among the tall sage which grew along the river banks, then called the St. Mary's. By this time the tempers of the veterans had grown so jittery that one of them proposed to kill the two Indian as spies, and make a foray against all the others with an idea to annihilate them. This suggestion was voted down.

Eventless days followed each other until the Narrows was reached. One morning some of their animals were brought into camp with arrows sticking in them. Most of these animals died.

The diet of meat and sour dough bread was varied somewhat by fish caught along the river. One man in particular, Addison Pratt, was said to be able to hook a fish in a cowtrack. A day or two was spent at the Wells; then came the long trek northeast to the top of the Goose Creek Mountains; there James S. Brown caused his friends much worry, when an Indian who had traded him a mule for one of their cayuse mares and other things to boot, mounted the mare and lured Brown into what was thought to be an ambush. The veteran however, rode into the Redman's camp, jumped off the pony and on the mule's back before the amazed Indians had time to figure out what was going on.

Going down into the City of Silent Rocks, near where the town of Elba, Idaho, now stands, the men followed the new Sublette Cut-off across the range of mountains to Bull Springs in Rockland Valley, then turned south into Curley Valley, east again over a low range into Malad Valley which they followed southward until they came near the spot where Bear River City stands. There they blocked up their wagon beds and crossed the Bear, camping that night near the warm springs at the point of the mountain northwest of Ogden.

Next day friends and relatives greeted them at Brown's Fort, named after Captain James Brown of Co. "C" of the Battalion. He was an uncle of James S. Brown, mentioned several times in this

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article. A two days' journey took them to Pioneer Square, where they camped for the night of September 28, 1848. A few wagons, broken down along the way came into Salt Lake City some three or four days later.

Two parties which left California later, caught up along the way; one, a pack train of sixteen men; another consisted of four men and one woman, the wife of Franklin Weaver, formerly Rachel Read of the Brannan Company, whom he had married while in California. In this group was William Prows, the first man to wash gold on the Comstock. He later told his friend, Abner Blackburn about his find, and Blackburn has long had the honor of being the discoverer of gold on the famed and rich Comstock Lode.

The road these men made was one of the main routes taken by immigrants to California for about eighteen years. It was less direct to the gold fields than that taken over Donner Pass, but was smoother and with Studebaker to help the wagons up the pitch near the tops of the mountains, it became a popular road. Some ten years after the first wagons came over, a Mr. Johnson found a cut-off which took off the Mormon Road at the head of Carson River Canyon and led to the northwest, where the summit of the Sierras was crossed at Echo Summit. There the steep rocks near the top were avoided, and quite a distance was cut off the way to Sacramento. It also avoided the climb over Carson Spur.

One of the men who made the road also wrote a four-page pamphlet on the best road to the gold fields and sold it to the immigrants for fifty cents. A copy was bought by a Mr. Bruff who went to California in 1849. This guide gives the distances between the water holes, and instructions about feed for animals. It was written by Ira J. Willis and sold to Mr. Bruff at the City of Rocks.

A SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BOOSTER LETTER

Sent Home to Sweden in 1889

By Ernst Ekman



ANY SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION Americans of European origin owe their present residence in Southern California to enthusiastic letters from California sent home to Europe. Often these letters were partly translations of real estate promoters' advertising booklets and were actually intended to be published in local newspapers at home where they would have the greatest possible effect.

One such letter from Captain A. O. Carlsson to A. Gustafsson, an organist and school teacher in Örebro, Sweden, can serve, in English translation, as an interesting case in point. The letter is dated November 22, 1889, and the following translation is based on the copy found in the collections of the Royal Library in Stockholm.

"Some time ago I wrote you and promised to give you a more detailed and complete description of and about this pleasant part of San Diego County, but especially about the section of it in which we are now living. I am doing this particularly because I know you often come in contact with people in your part of the country [the province of Närke in central Sweden] where many emigrate to the United States of North America and who desire and need truthful information about areas which could possibly be their new homes.

"First off, I want to add to my previous letter that the city of San Diego now has about 28,000 inhabitants, a harbor as good as any on the Pacific Ocean, and, as I have already written you, a most marvelous and wonderful year-around climate.

"But now I want to inform you of my observations on the country itself, and the soils in the various parts I have visited. As you know, we left Sweden with the firm intention of going to Ensenada, Mexico, in Lower California,¹ and once we had arrived

1. A translation into Swedish of a brochure on Lower California for the International Company of Mexico appeared in New York in 1887. In 1888, A. Romander published in Göteborg a pamphlet on *Lägre Californien*, "*Tierra Perfecta*."

here in San Diego, I left my whole family here and traveled there alone, about 160 English miles by sea. The return trip was by land and took, with stops at certain places, twenty-six days. Everywhere I traveled the soil was favorable but water, the life force of earth and plants, seemed difficult to obtain wherever I was — in valleys or on hills. There was water all right, but to get it required a good deal of labor and great costs, which is the reason I completely gave up the idea of settling in Lower California.

“Back in San Diego, I made two trips in company with our Swedish consul, a Norwegian by birth, about forty English miles east of here where I found the land diversified and damp, to be sure, but on the whole rocky and dry and too expensive. Afterwards I lay low in San Diego for a month and during this time heard about a region called the San Marcos Valley, which is thirty English miles north of here and where trains go twice a day. I found out as much as I could about conditions and decided to travel there. Arrived on the spot, I found the region enchanting, with fertile soil and water everywhere — all one has to do is dig down from eight to twenty-five feet. Roads are laid out, and it is easy to get to one’s property. The land was reasonably priced from twenty-five to sixty dollars per acre, which I found cheap since we figured out that a family can support itself on five, ten, or twenty acres according to desire, means, and circumstances.

“Now I would like to describe the San Marcos Valley somewhat more fully with the information I have gathered during the past half year. Located in San Diego County and Southern California in the United States, this region consists of 9,000 acres of fertile land, thirty English miles north of San Diego, with alternating hills and valleys where one can choose whatever kind of soil one wants and as much or as little as one desires. A branch of the Santa Fe Railroad with two daily trains, with which one can travel to San Diego or Las Angelas [sic], goes through the whole length of the valley. Near the station the town is staked out and already has a hotel, school house, weekly newspaper, telephone, shops, a postoffice, and a number of other buildings. The city is provided with good and plentiful drinking water as well as water for other needs by pipes running from pure and inexhaustible sources up in the mountains. The sources are so high that the water is forced down of its own weight which explains why it is delivered to the inhabitants without charge. The city is growing quickly, and this is a splendid region for those who want cool summers and warm winters without any great change between day and night temperatures. Since the city is located only eight English miles from the coast and at an altitude

of from 500 to 700 feet above sea level, there is a splendid view of the ocean from most places.

"The city was not, however, what I wanted to describe to you but rather the tens of thousands of acres of rich and bounteous farm land surrounding the center, which I want my countrymen, who may possibly intend to come to this wonderful and fertile region, to know about. Land comparable to this can nowhere be sold at the prices I paid for the land I bought — namely fifty-five dollars an acre.

"The productive capacity inherent in California's earth has been and still is a constant wonder even for those who know it the best. Year after year, new discoveries are made, new ways of planting, grafting, and cultivating the different kinds of fruit which, to a great extent, contribute to increasing the yield from the land. This is especially true in Southern California.

"This part of the state has a peculiarity which does not occur any other place on earth — namely that the various plants of the north and tropics can grow beside one another in the same ground: the San Marcos Valley possesses this unusual characteristic to a high degree.

"The man who wants to live and dwell in the old-fashioned way can raise his own wheat, barley, and oats and feed his pigs, cattle, and small animals. On the other hand, his more reflective neighbor can, with incomparably greater profit and less work, raise grapes, figs, oranges, lemons, plums, apricots, olives, and nuts, as well as strawberries the year around, or he can also combine the two ways in a manner which the man who lives on the other side of the Rocky Mountains cannot even imagine. I have found out that the income from agriculture in all of the American states east of California is very low; ordinarily a profit of ten dollars per acre is the highest a farmer can hope for. The land which lies closest to the cities gives a better income, since garden products, etc., can be sold to advantage. But then the farmers in the eastern states have a steady struggle with snow and ice or blizzards and long winters. They have purchased their land for forty to one hundred forty dollars an acre unless they prefer to go out to the prairie states where a blizzard can freeze their children to death on the way to or from school.

"I have visited farmers and fruit-growers here in this County and seen how easily they take life; they work or rest when they feel like it, for no season requires them to hurry, and they are unaffected by either heat or cold, blizzards or thunderstorms.

A Southern California Booster Letter

“Within an area of several miles, that is English miles (there are about six English miles to one Swedish), from San Marcos there are two towns, Escondido on one side with 15,000 inhabitants and Oceanside in the west with eight hundred to nine hundred inhabitants. In the surrounding regions there are several farms which I have visited. Full surety is guaranteed on land ownership in the area already surveyed and subdivided — one buys in conformity with United States patent-deeds.

“The mild winter makes it possible to raise different products the year around. There are no “cold frost waves” as in Florida, because no polar currents wash these coasts. The only cold we have is at night, and it lasts only until sunrise when one can be sure of having a warm and glorious day. We have no frost here after sunrise, and after the chilliest night the thermometer at noon reaches 60 to 70 degrees Fahrenheit, that is 20 degrees C. Mild frost occurs, at the most, six times a winter during the month of January. Rain, on the other hand, occurs most often from the beginning of November to the end of February and into the month of March — then one speaks of the rainy season. Indeed, a good shower falls almost regularly two or three times a week during the above mentioned period of five months. The remarkable and at the same time pleasant thing about all of this is that it rains during the night after which a brilliant sun rises from a clear horizon, and the day is glorious. Then rain falls again during one of the following nights. This, it seems to me, is the reason for the great vegetative power in combination with the good soil, which never needs to be fertilized. The result of this fertility is that grapes and ‘southern fruits,’ oranges, lemons, and peaches, are well worth cultivating. On an average, one can count on a profit of one hundred dollars per acre and with oranges, lemons, figs, and olives up to three hundred or four hundred dollars per acre after three to five years. During this time, one can have a good income by raising chickens and vegetables, etc., and especially by cultivating alfalfa. Two acres of alfalfa (a kind of clover) are sufficient to feed a cow the year around and to provide enough green fodder for three or four hogs. Alfalfa hay, which is pressed into bales, has great commercial value; on suitable land one can have five to six harvests a year. Experience has shown that for every harvest one gets two tons of hay per acre. (One ton is about twenty-four centners).

“The San Marcos soil is just the soil in which these last named crops can flourish, and of this I have assured myself on the spot.

“Generally, people assume that the climate of Southern California is very warm, but this is not at all the case. The cool sea-

breeze which blows gently every day throughout the summer cools the air, and the thermometer seldom goes up to more than 70 or 80 and, once in a while, 90 degrees Fahrenheit — or about 30 degrees C., during the summer. Sunstrokes never occur here, nor do fevers or infectious diseases.

“At the moment, people here are talking a lot about setting up a sugarmill to manufacture sugar from beets. If this happens, I shall buy another twenty acres.

“There are now three of us Swedes who have bought land in San Marcos this year, and a fourth is in the process of doing so. One can, therefore, meet fellow countrymen immediately upon arrival.

“Those who are considering emigrating to this wonderful country and desire further information about the situation of the region, price of land, the climate, the trip here, etc., can get in touch by letter with Mr. A. Romander in Västerås, who has also bought land here and is well acquainted with the conditions of the place. He is at home in Sweden now, but his intention is to return here at the end of March or the beginning of April next year. Those who want to inquire of him will find that he will gladly help out with good advice and truthful information.”


THE PAROCHIAL BOOKS

of the

CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

1961

By J. N. Bowman

HE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS kept six sets of books in which to record their activities and are not to be confounded with their library books: (1) Book of Baptisms; (2) Book of Marriages; (3) Book of Deaths; (4) Book of Confirmations; (5) Book of Patents or Book of Official Directions and Instructions; and, (6) the Padron or register of the neophytes. This study deals only with the Books of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths.

The books are of uniform size and binding. The pages are $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches of excellent paper of Spanish or at least of Mexican origin. The binding is of flexible brown leather of practically the same size of the pages with the back binding sufficiently long to fold over the edge and top with two leather loops and two thongs with crossbars to serve as clasps to hold the volumes intact; a few of these loops and crossbars are still in service. In a few missions the overlapping backs are part of the front binding instead of the back. The leather of the earlier volumes is very flexible and light brown in color, evidently of Spanish or Mexican origin; the later volumes, however, are bound in darker brown and less flexible leather, apparently of California tanning. A very few are bound with stiff backs and without the overlapping backs. The volumes average nearly an inch in thickness. There is one exception to this type of binding: the original books of San Diego Mission were burned in 1775 as a result of the Indian massacre, and the successor volumes were bound in stiff cardboard covers. In the books of Sonoma Mission the Book of Marriages is now a part of a separate collection. For Mission San Rafael all the books are bound in one volume.

In most of the missions the records were continued as parish records after secularization. This necessitated the determination of a date to separate the mission from the parish periods. The end of the

year 1834 was chosen as the dividing point to serve as the end of the mission period, based on the secularization decree of 1833 and the putting of the decree into effect in most of the missions in 1834-1835 and a few years later. This date is also reflected in the annual and biennial mission reports which ceased for practically all the missions after 1834, except for a few entries made by Hartnell and Andres Pico in their Mission inventory reports in the middle 1840's.

The number of volumes of these books of the mission period that are now in existence is shown in TABLE I.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF VOLUMES
BOOKS OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS
WHICH ARE NOW IN EXISTENCE

MISSIONS	BAPTISMS	MARRIAGES	DEATHS	TOTAL
Carmel	2	1	2	5
Dolores	2	1	2	5
Purisima	1	1	2	4
San Antonio	2	1	2	5
San Diego	2	1	2	5(1)
San Fernando	1	1	1	3
San Gabriel	3	1	2	6
San José	2	1	1	4
San Juan Bautista	2	1	1	4
San Juan Capistrano	2	1	1	4
San Luis Obispo	2	1	1	4
San Luis Rey	0	0	0	0
San Miguel	1	1	1	3
San Rafael	1	1	1	1(2)
Santa Barbara	1	1	1	3
Santa Barbara Presidio	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)
Santa Clara	2	1	1	4
Santa Cruz	1	1	2	4
Santa Ines	1	1	1	3
Soledad	1	1	(lost)	2
Sonoma	1	1	1	3
Ventura	2	1	2	5
TOTALS	32 (33)	20 (21)	27 (30)	77 (82)

1. One volume has been lost.

2. All three books are in one volume.

The largest collection of the books is in the vault of the Chancery of the Bishopric of Fresno-Monterey for its diocese; the Chancery of the Archbishopric of San Francisco has the records of two missions (San Rafael and San José); the Chancery of the Archbishopric of Los Angeles has the books of one mission (San Fernando); the records of the other missions, or parts of them, are in various missions and elsewhere. A last volume of Deaths of San José (1837-1859) is in the Archives of the Old Mission of Santa Barbara and so it is separate from the other books of this mission in the San Francisco Chancery.

The Parochial Books of the California Missions

THE ENTRIES. The first page of each volume is the title page, except for the few that have been lost or not written, as in the case of Sonoma. It contains the official name of the mission in question, the date of the founding, and the "comenzada" date when the volume was opened for entries. The next page, except for the few that have been lost, contain the first entries. A margin of about one and one-half inches wide is retained on the left side of each page for the entry of the cumulative serial entry numbers, the names of the person or persons concerned, whether child or mature, tribe of Indians, and "razon" if the person is not an Indian, and occasionally the "razon" cumulative serial number in parenthesis. The remainder of the page contains the official entries, dates, place, name or names of the persons, together with the data as to sex, nationality, legitimacy, age, nativity of parents, godmothers, etc., and the signature of the officiating padre. For Indians the entries are usually short, one or a few lines; for the "razones," or whites, the number of lines is larger. Usually a narrow space or a line across all or part of the page separates the entries. The calendar year is usually placed in the space between the last and first entries of the years.

The notes and comments of the visiting "presidente" and others were entered in the Book of Baptisms.

In the California Mission Books of Baptisms it was the general custom to give the date of birth or the age of the person baptized at the time of the baptism. Ages were also given for both parties in the Book of Marriages, but these ages are not at all reliable when checked with the data in the Books of Baptisms, due, no doubt, to making the entries later from notes or memory rather than at the time of the ceremony.

THE SERIAL NUMBERS are cumulative for all entries, except for the second volumes of baptisms and deaths of Ventura, which begin with the numeral 1. In many cases the numbers were very badly written so that errors resulted in the succeeding numbers. During the mission period most of the errors were corrected but in the parish period the errors were frequent and uncorrected so that the error may run as high as 400 and in one case 6,000 for each set of books. In the later parish period no numbers were used at all. A second set of marginal cumulative numbers in parentheses is for numbering the "razones" or whites.

Because of these number errors *all citations for entry reference should give the dates of the entries*, followed, if desired, by the marginal entry number.

THE INK used was of carbon; for the most part it is still very legible but in some cases it is very faded and almost undecipherable.

THE HANDWRITING varies greatly with the changing padres, from a clear script with open spaces between words and lines to a cramped and crowded writing.

THE CONDITION of the volumes is for the most part very good; they are now well cared for and protected. A few have lost their title and other pages. The San Gabriel books of the mission are in the worst condition of all the mission records; pages gone, pages torn, and pages injured by water and apparently by fire, and in some cases the pages are loose from the binding.

This condition of the books and the ink and the historical value suggests the importance of their photographic reproduction, which is now under way at Fresno, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

THE LOST VOLUMES are now two in number together with all of those of San Luis Rey which have been lost since early in 1847, except for twenty-three items in 1827 and 1828. Recently a volume used by San Antonio and Soledad was acquired by Mons. Culleton from the late Tom Norris of Livermore, who had acquired it from Edwin Grabhorn of San Francisco. It is surprising that so many of the volumes survived the unsettled conditions of the missions in the years following the secularization. Also recently the lost first volume of Deaths of San Antonio has been returned from private hands to this newly restored mission.

THE FOUNDING DATES of the missions are those given on the title pages of the volumes excepting in the case of San Juan Capistrano, Dolores and Santa Cruz. The formality of the founding of the missions was uniform in all twenty-one cases: scouting for a site, the selection and the military approval of the final site, preparing the Cross, the building of the "enramada" or brush shelter for the altar, followed by the ceremony of the blessing of the water, site, and Cross with its planting and veneration, singing of the litany, saying of mass and a sermon, with the singing of the *Te Deum*, and ended often with a procession. In eighteen instances the ceremony was followed by the building of a more permanent chapel or "palazada" church and the opening of the books for entries.

Most of this routine was performed at San Juan Capistrano on October 30, 1775, and a week later the stock and supplies had arrived from San Gabriel, when the news of the Indian massacre at San Diego arrived; the building operations stopped, the chapel bell was buried and the Cross left standing; all persons with the stock and supplies returned to San Diego.

The Parochial Books of the California Missions

Meanwhile the military ordered no rebuilding of the one or the completion of the other until the Indian conditions had improved; the following year the military approved both operations, Father Serra accompanied the group to Capistrano, the buildings were completed, the bell dug up and hung and the books opened for entry on this date — November 1, 1776.

Out of respect for the Presidente, tradition has accepted this as the founding date instead of October 30, 1775. Mission Dolores was founded on July 26, 1776, when the site had finally been selected by the padres and approved by the military, the site selected was near the camp site where they awaited the arrival of the ship from Monterey. Preparation for the building operations began at the same time the construction of the presidio started, but for political reasons the mission founding had to wait for the completion of the presidio on the governor's orders. The military structure was dedicated in September; as soon thereafter as possible the mission was dedicated on October 9. All the usual steps in the founding procedure were followed but in reverse order; and by tradition this dedication date has been accepted as the founding date. Some tradition also place the founding date on June 28 or 29 when the first mass was said at the military camp site; but at that time no site had either been selected by the padres or approved by the military; the selected and approved mission site happened to be near this camp site. The "comenzada" date for the opening of the Dolores books was August 1, 1776, about midway between the founding and the dedication dates. Mission Santa Cruz was formally founded on August 28, 1791, but the building operations and the opening of the books for entry were delayed until the following month. But strange to say tradition has rightfully accepted the former as the founding date rather the latter.

THE NAMES OF THE MISSION have changed somewhat during the century. Popularly and locally Mission San José is now known as Mission San José de Guadalupe to distinguish it from the Pueblo San José de Guadalupe and the town of Mission San José. San Carlos was early known as Carmelo from the river on which it was located, and also as San Carlos Boromeo which was originally to have been its name in the place of the official name it bore. The official names are those found on the title pages of the mission books except for San Luis Rey whose books have long been lost; its name is that of the report of the founding, as furnished by Father Geiger of the Santa Barbara Archives. The founding names and dates as written by the padres, with the "comenzada" dates are given in TABLE II.

T A B L E I I
THE OFFICIAL NAMES, THE FOUNDING AND COMENZADA
DATES OF THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS
 As Written in the Parochial Books

No.	POPULAR	NAMES OF THE MISSIONS		D A T E S	
		TITLE PAGES	FOUNDED	COMENZADA	
1	Carmel	Misión de San Carlos del Puerto de Monte-Rey	June 3, 1770	June 3, 1770	
2	Dolores	Misión de Nuestro Padre San Francisco	July 26, 1776 ⁽¹⁾	August 1, 1776	
3	Purisima	Misión de la Purísima Concepcion de la Santísima Virgen Maria	December 8, 1787	December 8, 1787 ⁽²⁾	
4	San Antonio	Misión de San Antonio de Padua	July 14, 1771	July 14, 1771	
5	San Diego	Misión de San Diego de Alcalá	July 16, 1769	July 16, 1769	
6	San Fernando	Misión de Señor San Fernando Rey de España	September 8, 1797	September 8, 1797	
7	San Gabriel	Misión del Santo Príncipe el Arcángel San Gabriel de los Temblores alias Poviscanga	September 8, 1771	September 8, 1771	
8	San José	Misión del Gloriosísimo Patriarcha San Joseph ⁽³⁾	June 11, 1797	June 11, 1797	
9	San Juan Bautista	Misión de San Juan Bautista Precursor de Jesus Christ	June 24, 1797	June 24, 1797	
10	San Juan Capistrano	Misión de San Juan de Capistrano de Sajivit	October 30, 1775 ⁽⁴⁾	November 1, 1776	
11	San Luis Obispo	Misión de San Luis Obispo de Tolosa	September 1, 1772	September 1, 1772	
12	San Luis Rey	Misión de San Luis Rey de Francia ⁽⁵⁾	June 13, 1798	Lost	
13	San Miguel	Misión del Gloriosísimo Príncipe Arcángel Señor San Miguel	July 25, 1797	July 25, 1797	
14	San Rafael	Asistencia de San Rafael Arcángel (Mission in 1826) ⁽⁷⁾	December 14, 1817	December 14, 1817	
15	Santa Barbara	Misión de la Señora Santa Barbara Virgen y Martir	December 4, 1786	December 4, 1786	
	Santa Barbara Presidio	Nuevo Real Presidio de Santa Barbara	April 21, 1782	April 21, 1782	
16	Santa Clara	Misión de Nuestra Madre Santa Clara	January 12, 1777	January 6, 1777 ⁽⁶⁾	
17	Santa Cruz	Misión de Santa Cruz	August 28, 1791	September 25, 1791	
18	Santa Ines	Misión de la Señora Santa Ines Virgen y Martir	September 17, 1804	September 17, 1804	
19	Soledad	Misión de Maria Santísima Nuestra Señora de la Soledad	October 9, 1791	October 9, 1791	
20	Sonoma	Misión de San Francisco Solano	July 4, 1823	Title page lost	
21	Ventura	Misión del Glorioso Obispo Cardinal y Doctor Serafico de la Iglesia San Buenaventura	March 31, 1782	March 31, 1782	

1. The Traditional date is the political date October 9, 1776.

2. The Book of Marriages opened April 11, 1788, and the Book of Deaths on the following day.

3. Locally known as Mission San Jose de Guadalupe.

4. The traditional date is November 1, 1776, in deference to Serra.

5. Name from Father Geiger, Archivist of Santa Barbara.

6. Book of Deaths opened June 22, 1777, and Book of Marriages on January 12, 1778.

7. In the parochial books the word "asistencia" was last used on April 14, 1826, and¹ on April 19, the word "misión" was first used.

The Parochial Books of the California Missions

IN TABLE III is listed the missions, again in the alphabetical order of the popular names, the three parochial books by volume number, the first and last entry number of each volume and their respective dates, and the number and date of the last entry in 1834 as the end of the mission period. Where uncorrected errors in serial numbering were found the corrected last entry number for 1834 is given in the column under that heading — a more detailed study may change these corrections.

THE PRESENT LOCATION of the volumes is given in the last column of TABLE III. During the years since 1834 many changes have occurred. Before 1847 all three sets of the parochial books of San Luis Rey had disappeared and only twenty-three entries of 1827 and 1828 have since been recovered. Since an unknown date a Book of Deaths of Mission San Diego and of Mission Soledad has been lost and have never been recovered. A Book of Marriages used at Missions San Antonio and Soledad, lost at an unknown date, was recently recovered and placed in Fresno Chancery. The first Book of Deaths of Mission San Antonio, also lost at an unknown date since 1929, was recently returned to the restored mission. The Mission Sonoma books (1823 to 1839) as part of the Vallejo Documentos came to the Bancroft Library in the 1870's. The Mission San Fernando Book of Baptisms had come into the possession of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce by 1914 and to the Huntington Library later and in 1925 the Library returned it to the church. The books of San Juan Capistrano were moved from San Luis Rey to this mission and those of Dolores were recently moved from the Chancery to the mission rectory. Most or all of the mission books in the diocese of the Bishopric of Fresno-Monterey have been collected in the Chancery; and also at unknown dates the books of San Rafael and San José came to the San Francisco Chancery.

Ten of the missions have all of their extant books; three have one or more of their books and San Luis Rey has only twenty-three entries of its lost Book of Baptisms; seven have none at all, and Purisima has a set of reproductions of its books. In the Fresno Chancery are all the existing books of three missions and most of those of three others; the San Francisco Chancery has the books of two missions and the Los Angeles Chancery has the books of one.

The final figures of entries for 1834 for baptisms, marriages and deaths are not fully correct for the following reasons: (a) the differences between the figures of the parochial books and the yearly reports; (b) corrections of serial numbers; (c) estimates needed for figures of 1834 in the absence of documentary figures; and, (d) the

few occasions when the padres forgot or failed to record the baptisms, marriages or deaths. The figures of TABLE III are those from the parochial books or in their absence are the estimates and corrections made on their basis or on the yearly reports. The probable error could be about three tenths of one per cent.

The totals of these figures for the California missions during the mission period are as follows: baptisms, 89,124; marriages, 25,348; deaths, 65,848. See the following four pages for *Table III* and explanatory notes.

T A B L E I I I

CURRENT STATUS OF THE MISSION RECORD BOOKS

Showing the books, volumes, entry numbers and dates, corrections, and locations of the mission Books of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths by Missions down to 1834.⁽¹⁾

MISSIONS	BOOK OF	VOL. No.	FIRST ENTRY DATE	No.	LAST ENTRY DATE	CORRECTED	LOCATION ⁽³⁾
1 Carmel	Baptisms	I 1	December 26, 1770	3166	April 9, 1820		Fresno ⁽⁴⁾
		II 3167	April 1, 1820	3920	December 27, 1834	3922(2)	Fresno
	Marriages	I 1	November 10, 1772	1062	October 20, 1834		Fresno
	Deaths	I 1	June 3, 1770	2722	April 14, 1829		Fresno
2 Dolores		II 2723	April 27, 1829	2874	December 30, 1834	2877(2)	Fresno
	Baptisms	I 1	August 10, 1776	3895	January 20, 1810		San Francisco ⁽⁵⁾
		II 3896	January 20, 1810	6999	December 24, 1834	7121(2)	San Francisco
	Marriages	I 1	January 7, 1777	2117	October 19, 1834	2121(2)	San Francisco
3 Purisima	Deaths	I 1	December 21, 1776	2740	December 31, 1809		San Francisco
		II 2741	January 2, 1810	5328	October 24, 1834	5351(2)	San Francisco
	Baptisms	I 1	April 9, 1788	3225	October 8, 1834	3214(2)	Santa Ines ⁽⁶⁾
	Marriages	I 1	May 10, 1788	1043	December 31, 1834		Santa Ines
4 San Antonio	Deaths	I 1	February 14, 1789	2549	December 29, 1831		Santa Ines
		II 2550	January 13, 1832	2688	December 26, 1834		Santa Ines
	Baptisms	I 1	August 14, 1771	3563	February 8, 1811		Fresno ⁽⁷⁾
	Marriages	II 3564	February 10, 1811	4468	December 26, 1834		Fresno
5 San Diego	Deaths	I 1	May 1, 1773	1171	December 18, 1834		Fresno
		I 1	August 27, 1771	2899	May 10, 1819		San Antonio ⁽⁸⁾
		II 2900	May 10, 1819	3736	December 27, 1834		Fresno
	Baptisms	I 331	October 1, 1775	5270	February 21, 1822	(9)	San Diego ⁽¹⁰⁾
6 San Fernando		II 5271	February 21, 1822	6638	December 19, 1834		San Diego
	Marriages	I 115	November 10, 1775	1880	December 18, 1834		San Diego
		I 432	November 6, 1775	4156	June 14, 1831		San Diego
	Deaths	II 4157	1831 to 1849 is lost			4497 ⁽¹¹⁾	San Diego
6 San Fernando	Baptisms	I 1	September 8, 1797	2839	December 22, 1834		Los Angeles ⁽¹²⁾
	Marriages	I 5	February 6, 1798	849	November 30, 1834	(12a)	Los Angeles
		I 1	April 7, 1798	2028	August 17, 1834	2030(2)	Los Angeles
	Deaths						

(Continued)

T A B L E I I I (Continued)

MISSIONS	BOOK OF	VOL.	No.	FIRST ENTRY DATE	No.	LAST ENTRY DATE	CORRECTED	LOCATION ⁽³⁾
7 San Gabriel	Baptisms	I	1	November 27, 1771	2459	June 23, 1794		San Gabriel ⁽¹³⁾
		II	2460	June 23, 1794	6192	April 10, 1819		San Gabriel
	Marriages	III	6559	December 1, 1820	8025	December 13, 1834		San Gabriel ^(13a)
	Deaths	I	8	December 15, 1774	1818	December 25, 1834	1984 ^(2; 14)	San Gabriel ⁽¹⁴⁾
8 San José		I	4	August 6, 1774	2354	November 13, 1804		San Gabriel
		II	2355	November 17, 1804	5734	December 30, 1834		San Gabriel
	Baptisms	I	1	September 2, 1797	6200	September 17, 1830		San Francisco ⁽¹⁵⁾
	Marriages	II	6201	September 22, 1830	7321	December 26, 1834	7319 ⁽²⁾	San Francisco
9 San Juan Bautista	Deaths	I	1	September 24, 1797	2171	December 30, 1834	2170 ⁽²⁾	San Francisco
	Baptisms	I	1	September 18, 1797	5272	October 27, 1834	5284 ⁽²⁾	San Francisco
	Marriages	I	1	July 11, 1797	3981	May 3, 1832		San Juan ⁽¹⁶⁾
	Deaths	II	3982	May 17, 1832	4122	December 1, 1834		San Juan
10 San Juan Capistrano		I	1	October 5, 1797	1061	October 16, 1834		San Juan
		I	1	September 23, 1797	3008	October 18, 1834		San Juan
	Baptisms	I	1	December 19, 1776	3402	September 2, 1812		San Juan Capistrano ⁽¹⁷⁾
	Marriages	II	3403	September 18, 1812	4404	December 27, 1834		San Juan Capistrano
11 San Luis Obispo	Deaths	I	1	January 23, 1777	1168	November 4, 1834	1231 ⁽²⁾	San Juan Capistrano
		I	1	July 13, 1777	3216	September 22, 1834		San Juan Capistrano
	Baptisms	I	1	October 1, 1772	2549	February 21, 1821		Fresno ⁽¹⁸⁾
	Marriages	II	2550	December 14, 1821	2727	December 31, 1834		San Luis Obispo
12 San Luis Rey	Deaths	I	50	November 30, 1776	775	December 31, 1834		Fresno ⁽¹⁹⁾
		I	1	October 4, 1772	2318	December 21, 1834		Fresno
	Baptisms	I						? ⁽²⁰⁾
	Marriages	II						
13 San Miguel	Deaths	I						
		I						
	Baptisms	I	1	July 25, 1797	2588	December 26, 1834		San Miguel ⁽²²⁾
	Marriages	I	1	January 24, 1798	795	October 23, 1834		San Miguel
	Deaths	I	1	March 17, 1798	2035	December 30, 1834		Fresno
		I						
		I						
		I						

(Continued)

T A B L E I I I (Continued)

MISSIONS	BOOK OF	VOL.	No.	FIRST ENTRY DATE	No.	LAST ENTRY DATE	CORRECTED	LOCATION ⁽³⁾
14 San Rafael	Baptisms	I	1	December 14, 1817	1841	September 5, 1834		San Francisco ⁽²³⁾
	Marriages	I	1	February 22, 1818	521	April 8, 1834	561(2)	San Francisco
	Deaths	I	1	January 13, 1818	696	September 12, 1834	589(2)	San Francisco
15 Santa Barbara	Baptisms	I	1	December 31, 1786	4593	October 28, 1834		Santa Barbara ⁽²⁴⁾
	Marriages	I	1	February 3, 1787	1327	February 6, 1834		Santa Barbara
	Deaths	I	1	August 8, 1787	3722	December 10, 1834		Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara Presidio	Baptisms	I	1	July 10, 1782	1086	December 31, 1834		Santa Barbara ⁽²⁵⁾
	Marriages	I	1	December 3, 1786	198	November 21, 1834		Santa Barbara
	Deaths	I	1	December 29, 1782	325	September 6, 1834		Santa Barbara
16 Santa Clara	Baptisms	I	1	June 6, 1777	4575	July 5, 1804		Santa Clara ⁽²⁶⁾
		II	4576	July 10, 1804	8706	December 22, 1834		Santa Clara
	Marriages	I	1	January 12, 1778	2617	December 23, 1834		Santa Clara
	Deaths	I	1	June 22, 1777	6990	December 31, 1834	6991(2)	Santa Clara
17 Santa Cruz	Baptisms	I	1	October 9, 1791	2232	October 24, 1834		Fresno ⁽²⁷⁾
	Marriages	I	1	November 6, 1791	807	September 29, 1834		Fresno
	Deaths	I	1	November 19, 1791	1902	March 22, 1833		Fresno
		II	1903	March 25, 1833	1932	December 27, 1834	1938(2)	Fresno
18 Santa Ines	Baptisms	I	1	September 17, 1804	1372	December 20, 1834		Santa Ines ⁽²⁸⁾
	Marriages	I	1	December 16, 1804	410	December 23, 1834	1390(2)	Santa Ines
	Deaths	I	1	January 23, 1805	1262	October 25, 1834		Santa Ines
19 Soledad	Baptisms	I	1	November 23, 1791	2232	November 23, 1834		Fresno ⁽²⁹⁾
	Marriages	I	1	January 27, 1792	675	September 2, 1834		
	Deaths	I	1	Lost			1724 ⁽³⁰⁾	?
20 Sonoma	Baptisms	I	1	April 4, 1824	1206	December 24, 1834	1217(2)	Bancroft Library ⁽³¹⁾
	Marriages	I	1	May 2, 1824	287	June 14, 1834	288(2)	Bancroft Library
	Deaths	I	1	December 26, 1823	649	December 19, 1834		Bancroft Library
21 Ventura	Baptisms	I	1	April 27, 1782	2648	December 26, 1808		Ventura ⁽³²⁾
		II	1	January 1, 1809	1229	December 16, 1834	3877 ⁽³³⁾	Ventura
	Marriages	I	1	August 30, 1782	1106	June 1, 1834		Ventura
Deaths		I	1	April 15, 1782	2637	December 31, 1823		Ventura
		II	1	January 8, 1824	534	December 24, 1834	3221 ⁽³⁴⁾	Ventura

NOTES

1. The final figures listed for 1834 in a few instances differ from those given by Engelhardt in his mission histories.
2. The marginal entry numbers were often so badly written that later misreading resulted in errors; most of these errors were corrected during the mission period but not during the parish period when they run to the hundreds and once to 6,000.
3. The references to the dates to which the mission books extend are only for those volumes actually used by the missions in 1834.
4. Chancery, Bishopric of Fresno-Monterey, 1550 North Fresno Street, Fresno. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1853; Marriages to 1854; Deaths II to 1855.
5. Mission Rectory, 3321 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1856; Marriages to 1860; Deaths II to 1856.
6. Rectory, Mission Santa Ines, Solvang. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths all to 1850 and 1851; but no books thereafter to the present.
7. See Note 4 above. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1882; Marriages to 1867; Deaths II to 1872.
8. First Book of Deaths of Mission San Antonio, long in private hands, was returned recently to the restored Mission.
9. All books burned in 1775 by the Indian uprising; the lost entries of these books were recalled from memory and entered in the new volumes but without dates or entry numbers.
10. Custodian, Mission San Diego. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1846; Marriages to 1938; Deaths II to 1880 (1831 to 1849 is missing).
11. The last entry on June 14, 1831, was 4,322; Engelhardt (San Diego, 301) gives 4,497 as the last entry in 1834 but without date; it was no doubt based on the annual reports.
12. Chancery, Archbishopric of Los Angeles, 1531 West Ninth Street, Los Angeles. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms to 1855; Marriages to 1854; Deaths to 1852. The "7" of April 7, 1798, in Deaths can easily be read as "1." Engelhardt reports that in 1914 the Book of Baptisms was in the hands of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and that later it came to the Huntington Library which in 1925 returned the volume to the Church. At an unknown date Engelhardt saw the first entry in the Book of Marriages with the date of October 8, 1797, but in 1904 he found the first page missing.
- 12a. As noted in 12 above entries 1 to 4 are now missing.
13. Rectory, Mission San Gabriel. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms III, Marriages, and Deaths II, all to 1855.
- 13a. The entries between 6193 and 6558 are missing.
14. The entries 1 to 7 of Marriages and 1 to 3 of Deaths are now missing. The pages of the Book of Marriages from late 1820's to middle 1830's are badly blurred with numbers and dates uncertain. From 1824 to 1832 are three errors in the serial numbering. The 1834 figure is obtained by checking Engelhardt's figures (taken from the yearly reports) with the entries and correcting for the errors.
15. Chancery, Archbishopric of San Francisco, 445 Church Street, San Francisco. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II, Marriages and Deaths, all to 1859. Book of Deaths (5,730, February 16, 1837, to 6,945, April 25, 1859) is in the Archives of Mission Santa Barbara.
16. Rectory, Mission San Juan Bautista, San Juan Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1931; Marriages to 1934; Deaths to 1934.
17. Rectory, Mission San Juan Capistrano, Capistrano. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1853; Marriages to 1915; Deaths to 1850.
18. The books are in two places: in Fresno (see Note 4 above) and in the Mission Rectory of San Luis Obispo. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1869; Marriages to 1902; Deaths to 1838.
19. Marriages entries 1 to 49 were burned; these lost entries were recalled from memory and entered in the new volume without dates or marginal numbers.
20. All books lost before 1847 except for twenty-three entries (4,774 to 4,782 in July and August, 1827, and 4,867 to 4,882 in March 1 to 13, 1828) which were recovered in Spain and returned to the Mission.
21. These figures were compiled by Engelhardt (San Luis Rey, 220) from the annual reports.
22. The books are in two locations: in Fresno (Note 4 above) and in the Rectory of Mission San Miguel. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms to 1861; Marriages to 1860; Deaths to 1843.

The Parochial Books of the California Missions

23. Chancery, Archbishopric of San Francisco (Note 15 above). All three books are bound in one volume. Mission books as parish books: All to 1839.
24. In the Archives of Mission Santa Barbara. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms to 1858; Marriages to 1857; Deaths to 1841.
25. Rectory, Church of Our Lady of Sorrows, 21 Sola Street, Santa Barbara. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms to 1846; Marriages to 1885; Deaths (in The Old Mission) to 1880.
26. President's Office, University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1843; Marriages to 1863; Deaths to 1840.
27. Chancery, Fresno (Note 4 above). Mission books as parish books: Baptisms to 1857; Marriages to 1902; Deaths to 1894.
28. Rectory, Mission Santa Ines, Solvang (Note 6 above). Mission books as parish books: All to 1850.
29. Chancery, Fresno (Note 4 above). Mission books as parish books: Baptisms to 1835; Marriages to 1837; Deaths is now missing. Engelhardt, Soledad, 81, gives 2,234 as the last number of baptisms in 1834.
30. In or before 1929 Engelhardt used the Book of Deaths and found the first Indian death on August 27, 1792, and the notes of the death and burial of Padre Serra on May 5, 1835, and gave Number 1,724 as the last entry of 1834, apparently from the annual reports.
31. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. They were part of the Vallejo Documentos. Mission books as parish books: All books to the end of 1839. In the Rectory of St. Francis Solano Church in Sonoma are the Book of Baptisms from 1840 to 1868, and of Marriages from 1840 to 1908; the Book of Deaths from 1840 to 1878 is now missing.
32. Rectory, Mission San Buenaventura, Ventura. Mission books as parish books: Baptisms II to 1873; Marriages to 1893; Deaths to 1912.
33. Each volume of Baptisms and Deaths begins the entries with Number 1; the totals are the totals of each of the two sets.

WILL H. HAYS
and the
MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY
1919-1922

By Gerald S. Schatz



HERE WAS SOME SIMILARITY between a W. C. Fields movie and a standard 1920-model American political speech. The Fields movie purported to be funny, but it wasn't, and the speech purported to say something, but it didn't. Coincidentally, Fields and Will H. Hays, the Republican national chairman, even looked alike.

This is the dream-come-true story of how a humble lawyer from Indiana who became chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1918 first made good in Hollywood.

It was an odd time. Observed Frederick Lewis Allen:

During the three or four years that followed the Armistice of 1918 there came a subtle change in the emotional weather. The torch of idealism that had kindled the revolt of the American conscience seemed to have pretty well burned itself out. People were tired. In particular their public spirit, their consciences, and their hopes were tired. . . . Even the reformers themselves were tired, and wondered why they now went limp at the thought of battling for great political causes.¹

The so-called "Roaring Twenties" didn't quite roar. In Hollywood, in Los Angeles, as elsewhere in prosperous postwar America, reminded Gene Fowler,

It must be remembered that . . . the average amusement seeker reached the zenith of revelry while listening to phonographs that played cylindrical records beneath goose-necked horns. It was a time when only the most depraved female would paint her face, march in suffrage parades, or forego the traditional coy hints while knitting certain small garments and say candidly and to the point: "I am pregnant."²

And Hollywood had its own peculiar problem. One might speculate on the remark of Leo C. Rosten in his Carnegie report on

the sociology of the movie industry that found it a place where "aberrations are simply more vivid,"³ but Fowler didn't have to guess. He saw that Los Angeles residents were less than grateful for the economic boom brought them by the motion picture industry.* There was a reason:

Whenever Selig's noisy cowboys or Ince's intoxicated cavalry came riding down the pike, mothers drove their inquisitive children indoors until these plagues would pass by. When Sennett's epileptic merry-andrews appeared, leaping and chastising one another with two-by-fours, the martyred burghers barricaded their doors against these Pied Pipers.

The social outcasts of the movie colony were thrown upon their own devices as they searched for extra-mural activities. Even the pariah longs to eat, drink and be merry.

The picture folk, in their quest for food, found cafes to their taste. To quench their thirst, they found sanctuary in saloons. After a day of sadistic slapstick, nothing made them merrier than to sit safely among the audience and observe two prizefighters maiming each other, thus satisfying the immemorial human need that has impelled busmen to go riding on their holidays.⁵

Scandals multiplied among movie folk. There was a Mary Pickford divorce in 1920.⁶ In the autumn of 1921 there followed the disgusting Arbuckle affair. Actor Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle had been charged with the death of a young woman allegedly as a result of his attack. He was found innocent but the false assertion still had brought him and "the whole motion picture industry . . . a conviction at the bar of public opinion."⁷

Not only did the unorthodox behavior of the Hollywood movie people upset some citizens.⁸ The old National Association of Film Producers was tied up in testimony against censorship bills in various state legislatures⁹ because of film titles including: *A Shocking Night*, *Luring Lips*, *Red Hot Romance*, *The Passion Flower*, *Forbidden Fruit*, *Virgin Paradise*, *Scrambled Wives*, *Foolish Matrons*, *Don't Tell Everything*, *The Truant Husband*, *Love's Penalty*, *The Fourteenth Lover*, *Plaything of Broadway*, *She Could Not Help It*, *Her Purchase Price*, *The Highest Bidder* and *The Other Woman*.¹⁰

During the winter of 1921 censorship bills were the subject of much serious discussion in thirty-six states.¹¹

"It was a fearsome thing, this 'public interest' that highbrows talked about," said Raymond Moley in his Hays Office report; . . . it could sweep away dollars."¹²

The National Association of Film Producers under William A. Brady was ineffective.¹³ Mutual suspicion, distrust and under-

cutting by its members had made impossible any real work toward either self-discipline or common interests generally.¹⁴ Competition was stifling the industry. Films were losing money and this was finally recognized by producers. In order to promote the industry in the eyes of the public, in order to bring back audiences and in order to fend off movie censorship the competitive industry had to unite.¹⁵

In varying language the writers close to the heart of Hollywood termed the movie colony's critics liars and hypocrites. Fowler saw:

It was becoming increasingly apparent that the movies were a major force in the social and educational life of the world. Those who condemned them most violently . . . put on a cloak of sanctity . . . for their jittery diatribes. With organic frenzy, they describe Hollywood as St. Beelzebub's See, and denounce its children as the remote offspring of Sodom and Gomorrah. . . . Poor Hollywood! It has no night life whatever. There are . . . newspaper and magazine correspondents on the lookout for the least delinquency.¹⁶

The motion picture industry's box office take and reputation grew worse and by this time "some millions in good-will were at stake."¹⁷ "But like the period of greatest suspense in a Griffith thriller," said the industry's own historian, Terry Ramsaye, "the lone horseman and champion of the right" would be called to the rescue.¹⁸

The industry, facing problems from within as well as from the outraged public, church and state, needed a politician. Producers were to get the best and pay him well.

In early December, 1921, Charles C. Pettijohn, a former leading Indiana Democrat who had gone into the movie business with Lewis J. Selznick, quietly mentioned the name of Will H. Hays to Selznick and others. Other nominations included Hiram Johnson and Herbert Hoover. A lawyers' conference followed down in the Wall Street district. "Not Hoover," they decided. "He's rich and independent." "Johnson — well, Johnson was from California." Selznick promoted Hays, to whom the job would be offered.¹⁹

Will H. Hays was, indeed, a politician. His most careful analyst,²⁰ Raymond Moley, called him "the most authentic politician" in a political process where "politician" was devoid of good and bad connotation.²¹ Hays had been bred in politics, said Moley, as Mozart in music.²²

Not only had Hays been "born into the roughhouse of Indiana politics,"²³ but his career thus far pictured the vertical organizational chart of the Republican Party.

Will H. Hays and the Motion Picture Industry

Hays, admitted to the Indiana Bar in 1900, was city attorney in Sullivan, 1910-1913, but had started his partisan career before the age of 21. He held offices including those of Republican precinct committee member; chairman, Republican County Committee, Sullivan County; member, Republican State Advisory Committee, Indiana, 1904-1908; chairman, Speakers' Bureau, Republican State Committee, 1906-1908; district chairman, Republican State Committee, second district, Indiana, 1910-1914; chairman, Republican State Central Committee, Indiana, 1914-1918; chairman, Indiana State Council of Defense, 1917-1918; chairman, Republican National Committee, 1918-1921, and by appointment of President Harding on March 5, 1921, Postmaster General of the United States.²⁴

Within the high places of the Republican Party Hays was a curious figure. He was professional Republican, he was mediator, he was quasi-candidate. Hays was national chairman and one of the group controlling the 1920 convention,²⁵ but he deliberately stayed aloof from the selection of a Presidential candidate. Hays was absent from the famous "smoke-filled room"²⁶ bargaining that resulted in a deadlocked convention's nomination of Warren G. Harding for President of the United States.

Hays said later:

Personally, although I had the adjoining suite, I was not present in the room that became famous for its aroma of tobacco. I stood absolutely pat on my determination that my job as national chairman was *to elect, not to select*. In Indiana a man doesn't bid at his own auction.²⁷

His own auction? Hays was more than a party administrator. First, he had been speculating on the possibility of his becoming the Republican nominee.²⁸ Second, the smoke-filled room was the Blackstone Hotel's Room 404,²⁹ that of George Harvey, one of the party bosses and a New York editor who had turned bitterly against President Wilson during the war.³⁰ When the vote-trading began, Harvey named Will H. Hays as his candidate.³¹

That the "smoke-filled room" episode hosted by Harvey may have been a Will Hays set-up that backfired is less important than the things that were there acknowledged about Will Hays.

Hays throughout that convention was "shrewd, energetic, of high personal character and popular with all factions."³² As the vote-swappers met in Harvey's suite they recognized that Hays could be regarded as reasonably progressive while still entirely satisfactory to the Old Guard.³³ Harvey argued for Will Hays, "an efficient cog in the machinery and . . . well liked by all the leaders."³⁴ Had Hays more public appeal he might have been the party's candidate.³⁵

The important thing was the obvious ability of Hays to bring together widely divergent factions for a political purpose. This the motion picture industry needed.

Hays ran a masterful campaign, providing, incidentally, the best hospitality for newsreel people. "The air was full of newsreels, and the newsreels were full of Warren G. Harding," said Terry Ramsaye.³⁶ "I had arranged for the newsreel to have proportionate coverage with the press during the campaign," said Hays.³⁷

Hays promoted the front porch campaign³⁸ and Lewis J. Selznick and Pettijohn promoted Hays in return for small favors including the wholly lawful clearance of some of the industry's minor problems in government, through petty influence-peddling.³⁹ Said Ramsaye:

It became well impressed on the motion picture industry in several ways that Hays could be a friend worth having and the motion picture had never had any pals who knew telephone numbers in Washington. It was properly impressed. Quite a few little favors were done, done in that graceful open-handed way that is bread upon the waters.⁴⁰

Recited Hays: "Beyond . . . the newsreels . . . I had never been identified with any phase of motion pictures."⁴¹

Suffice to say that Harding won by the proverbial landslide that endears campaign managers to everybody. Harding was elected overwhelmingly on November 2, 1920. Whatever Hays' connections were with movies, he still had no inkling at this point of anything resembling the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., which would incorporate in 1922 with Will H. Hays as its president.⁴²

In his published memoirs Hays omitted reference to any connection, other than newsreel work, with the motion picture industry prior to December, 1921. This did not mean such contacts didn't occur. Certainly, as campaign manager for Harding, Hays was interested in the vote-getting power of the newsreel and a good many movie magnates knew him well.⁴³ However, Hays' contacts with the industry dated at least from the spring of 1919. The tough fighting within the industry and between the industry and various government agencies had brought some contact, although the thought of a strong producers' association with Hays as its head did not materialize until December, 1921.

On May 6, 1919, a motion picture trade journal, *Wid's Daily*, carried the following by Joseph Dannenberg, editor, on page one:

Will H. Hays and the Motion Picture Industry

MYSTERY LUNCH

Who was the Little Man at the Important Party?

Scene, the Claridge, Parlor B.

Time, yesterday, about 12:30 p.m.

In the cast: Adolph Zukor, Arthur Friend, Famous Players; Pat Powers, Universal; Charles C. Pettijohn, and Wm. J. Clark of Exhibitors Mutual, and several others of the industry, AND, a little slender man who was probably of importance.

As the party arrived they quietly reached Parlor B and for once no one would say what it was all about.

Investigation disclosed that Parlor B had been secured for a luncheon by Charles C. Pettijohn. Late yesterday, when Pettijohn was found he said: "Oh, my birthday falls on May 5 and I had a little party." But he smiled in a peculiar manner.

None of those attending the luncheon would discuss what took place. Interest is chiefly aroused in who the little man in the gathering was. He has not been a familiar figure in picture circles at all events.⁴⁴

Terry Ramsaye later completed the story. While Pettijohn was likely to have a birthday any time, the luncheon party in Parlor B included also: William Fox, Robert H. Cochrane of Universal; Gabriel Hess and Samuel Goldfish of Goldwyn Pictures Corporation; Saul Rogers, attorney for the Fox Film Corporation; Percy Waters and Harry Berman. Oh yes, and the mysterious little man. He was Will H. Hays, who for more than a year had been chairman of the Republican National Committee.⁴⁵

How reliable are Ramsaye's statements? The best testimony in behalf of Ramsaye came from Will Hays. The two were fond friends⁴⁶ even though they disagreed on what should or shouldn't be printed. Ramsaye's reports are complete and Hays' are sparse, with notable omissions.

Yet Hays never denied Ramsaye's contentions. Hays did, in fact, cite Ramsaye's work as his authority five times in his little promotional book, *See and Hear*,⁴⁷ calling him "the historian of the motion picture."⁴⁸ Referring to the early days of the industry Hays was able to say "it was an open game, as Terry Ramsaye says."⁴⁹ In his published memoirs Hays called Ramsaye "the most thorough historian of the art."⁵⁰ Such statements were not likely to be made by a man who had found Ramsaye's volumes, including their indictments, at all inaccurate. This is substantiated by Mack Sennett, with his ghostwriter, Cameron Shipp,⁵¹ who referred to Ramsaye's work as "an invaluable source book for confirming . . . the development of the motion picture industry."⁵²

It should be emphasized that in that early year of 1919 the industry little knew the use it would have for Will Hays and it little realized that Pettijohn, who had known Hays from Indiana, would be something of a prophet.⁵³

Meanwhile, Hays worked for the Republican Party. Harding was elected in 1920 and on February 22, 1921, the President-elect announced his Cabinet which included Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury; Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior, and Will H. Hays, Postmaster General.⁵⁴ Hays reacted interestingly to the appointments. He said of Mellon: "The politics involved, good or bad, did not worry me. . . . No one could question his capacity and particular fitness."⁵⁵

It had been presumed that Hays would be named Postmaster General but prior to the actual appointment he had seen three other avenues open to him. He could give attention to his family law firm. He could join a Congressional government reorganization committee staff. Or he could accept an offer made in December, 1920, to join the Fox Film Company as an executive.⁵⁶ He waited and took the Cabinet post.

When Hays joined the Post Office Department he was appalled at its "inhumane policy" and the statement that "labor is a commodity the same as wheat."⁵⁷ The new Postmaster General related that "it took only a few days to see that the Post Office Department had been run . . . on principles that went out of style more than nineteen hundred years ago that Easter."⁵⁸ Hays began "humanizing" the Postal Service. There he:

. . . saw an opportunity to perform a public service, a chance to show the people that the new administration meant to do all the things that they had said in 1919 and 1920 they would do.⁵⁹

After the first six months in office, said Will Hays,

Day by day the country senses the qualities of the man in the White House, and if they are the qualities that appeal to the good in the common mass of men, the country tends to reflect them . . . as a pattern.⁶⁰

Will Hays would be much concerned with all these things. He would have to explain the strange flaws in the man in the White House; he would have to seek out and then pander to the good that was in the common man, and he would have to shunt aside some disturbing glaring reflections of those days in the Harding administration.

Nonetheless, as Hays did a masterful job of running a campaign he did just as masterful a job of reorganizing and running the

Will H. Hays and the Motion Picture Industry

Post Office Department. The department's labor policies were vastly improved, the mail service was improved, mail robberies were slowing in frequency, even the motion picture industry began getting its mail on time and, in Terry Ramsaye's words, "even the dextrine on the back of the stamps tasted better after Hays got ahold."⁶¹

In early December, 1921, Hays was going from city to city investigating conditions of mail service due to the impending rail strike. He was injured in a train accident while returning to Washington, D.C., from New York and was recovering under treatment in his suite in the Wardman Park Hotel.⁶²

Meanwhile, the Pickford divorce and Arbuckle cases brought woe upon the industry. They were seeking their politician and Hays' name was most discussed.⁶³

The men who so discreetly had nominated Hays in that Wall Street meeting in New York circulated a round-robin letter, dated December 2, 1922.⁶⁴ If the message it bore was not without precedent in American political history it was at least rare. Addressed to the Hon. Will H. Hays, Postmaster General, Washington, D.C., it read:

Dear Sir:

The undersigned producers and distributors of motion picture films realize the necessity for attaining and maintaining the highest possible standard of motion picture film production in this country and are striving to have the industry accorded the consideration and dignity to which it is justly entitled, and proper representation before the people of this country so that its position, at all times, may be presented in an unbiased and unprejudiced manner.

We realize that in order to insure that we will have proper contact with the general public and to retain its confidence, it will be necessary to obtain the services of one who has already, by his outstanding achievement, won the confidence of the people of this country, and who, by his ability as an organizer and executive, has won the confidence, admiration, and respect of our people in the motion picture industry. We feel that our industry requires further careful upbuilding and a constructive policy of progress.

It is our opinion that the necessary qualifications to assist us in our work are possessed by you and we shall consider it a great privilege if you will accept an invitation from us to become the active head of a national association of motion picture producers and distributors of which the undersigned shall be members, and such additional membership as they shall be able to procure. The compensation which we are prepared to pay in the event of your acceptance is one hundred thousand dollars a year under a commitment satisfactory to you, for a period of three years.

We trust that you will consider this offer favorably and will induce the President of the United States to relieve you from your present high duties as a member of his cabinet.⁶⁵

Signatures included those of Adolph Zukor, William Fox, Samuel Goldwyn, W. E. Atkinson of Metro, Morris Kohn of Realart, Rufus S. Cole of R. C. Pictures, Lewis J. Selznick, P. L. Waters of Triangle, Carl Laemmle, and United Artists Corporation, by Hiram Abrams, president.⁶⁶

On December 8, Saul Rogers and Lewis J. Selznick, two men who with Hays had attended Pettijohn's "birthday party" in Parlor B in 1919, came to the convalescing Hays in his Wardman Park Hotel suite in Washington.⁶⁷ They came straight to the point. They brought with them the round-robin letter with its offer to Hays.

Hays, who had resigned the non-salaried job of Republican National Committee chairman the previous June in order to give full attention to the Post Office Department, was being offered a salary seven times that of the Postmaster General of the United States.

"Why me?" asked Hays.⁶⁸ Said the Postmaster General after ignoring his previous relationships with the industry: "I was an Indiana lawyer who had become Republican national chairman, then Postmaster General. Just that."⁶⁹

Hays surmised:

I was aware, of course, of a certain ferment going on in the industry and some influential sections of the public. As happens in the history of every institution, human frailty had ushered in by degrees what appeared to many to be an era of scandal. This had even happened in our wholesome national game of baseball and had resulted in the selection of Judge Kenesaw M. Landis as an over-all commissioner, or "czar," as he was usually called. . . . I am sure these considerations influenced the producers and distributors in their decision to follow the lead of baseball.⁷⁰

If Hays had any advance word of the forming of the association it could have come only from Pettijohn, his friend in New York. He was honestly surprised by the forming of the association and the offer to himself. It posed a real problem for him. Said Hays:

I knew that if I accepted the offer I would be criticized for yielding to a mercenary object and renouncing, as it were, dignity for gain — as if being Postmaster General were something priestly. . . . It was understood that I would remain as Postmaster General only until the department was satisfactorily reorganized, and I felt that this had been accomplished.⁷¹

While newspaper stories broke about the offer, embarrassing all parties and saying that Hays had and had not accepted the job,

Will H. Hays and the Motion Picture Industry

Hays sought retreat with "home folks in Sullivan."⁷² He told himself:

There was another side to the problem I had to consider. I had been raised in a Christian home, and while I am not a reformer I hope that I have always been public-spirited. It required no great insight to see that the young movie giant might well grow up a Frankenstein.⁷³

This is not a Griffith thriller, so there is no reason not to say immediately that Hays accepted the offer. But he was fond of saying he made up his mind on Christmas Day, 1921,⁷⁴ and he told the following story repeatedly:

On Christmas Day in Sullivan I made up my mind. As I was sitting at breakfast, I overheard an argument in the next room. My boy Bill, who was six, and his two cousins, Charles and John, a little older and a little younger, were putting on the cowboy suits I had bought them.

"I want to be William S. Hart!" cried my boy.

"No, I'm going to be him!" contradicted one of my nephews.

"No, I am! You can be Doug, and Bill can be the bad guy," yelled the other.

The text from Scripture, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise" flashed through my mind. They wanted to be Bill Hart. Not Buffalo Bill. Not Daniel Boone. But William S. Hart! To these little boys and to thousands of others throughout our land, William S. Hart and Mary and Doug were real and important personages and, at least in their screen characters, models of character and behavior. . . .

I realized on that Christmas morning that motion pictures had become as strong an influence on our children and on countless adults, too, as the daily press. . . .

At any rate, this was the thing that crystallized my decision.⁷⁵

The story may or may not be true as stated but it is likely that similar incidents had occurred that had impressed Hays.⁷⁶ In his expanded version of this tale Hays always used the word "wholesome" wistfully.⁷⁷

His formal acceptance of the offer was put off and if Hays had made up his mind on December 25 he didn't say anything about it to public ears until a few weeks later. On January 2, 1922, he told newspaper reporters he would meet with representatives of the industry on January 14. On January 14 he formally accepted the offer despite much criticism of the "viewing with alarm" variety, coming chiefly from Henry Ford and Democratic Congressmen.⁷⁸

Two months later the "Hays Office" opened its doors in New York. On March 4 Hays resigned as Postmaster General and on

March 5 he signed a three-year contract as president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America.⁷⁹

In the meetings that Hays held with his new employers during those first few weeks he learned his position. It was to be that which he held for the Republican Party. He would be a bringer-together of divergent factions, as well as a spokesman and a promoter. He wouldn't be a candidate for anything. He would be a "czar." The industry knew it needed this and realized that Hays had to be given power. Hays fought for and got a place of independence. He would not be anybody's puppet.⁸⁰

On March 10 a certificate of incorporation was filed and approved in New York for the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. The new corporation had a significant statement of purpose in its character and by-laws:

The object for which the corporation is to be created is to foster the common interests of those engaged in the motion picture industry in the United States, by establishing and maintaining the highest possible moral and artistic standards in motion picture production, by developing the educational as well as the entertainment value and the general usefulness of the motion picture, by diffusing accurate and reliable information with reference to the industry, by reforming abuses relative to the industry, by securing freedom from unjust or unlawful exactions, and by other lawful and proper means.⁸¹

More prominent directors included Rufus S. Cole, William Fox, David W. Griffith, Hays, Carl Laemmle, Marcus Loew, Saul E. Rogers, Lewis J. Selznick, George A. Skinner and Adolph Zukor.⁸²

The industry's hiring of a politician, however, first looked as if it had come too late. On the night of February 1, William Desmond Taylor, a producer and English gentleman-of-fortune whose real name was William Cunningham Deanne-Tanner, was shot and killed in his Alvarado Street court in Los Angeles. The case, never solved, involved screen personalities including America's sweetheart, Mary Pickford; Taylor's girl friend, little Mabel Normand, actress Mary Miles Minter and producer Mack Sennett. Newspapers carried shocking stories of love and narcotics amid the movie production capital.⁸³ And by February 24, 1922, movie producers were unable to secure bank loans.⁸⁴

Woe was deep in the motion picture kingdom as Will H. Hays entered the industry. Quickly he contacted bankers. Within three months after he took office the film companies' credit with the banks was re-established. Film loans rose from absolute zero.⁸⁵

Hays began to teach the movie industry to co-operate in both

production and self-discipline. He taught it to fumble less and think more. The Hays Office ran smoothly. There were fewer scandals.

Hays, however, had his own problem. It developed that he had accepted a \$100,000 "loan" from Harry F. Sinclair. In 1924 Hays, spiritual and temporal ruler of the movies, was called before a Congressional investigating committee to testify on his knowledge of Teapot Dome and Elk Hills oil leases, items that had brought Secretary Fall and the capacious Mellon also into prominence.⁸⁶

Will H. Hays' contract was renewed in 1925 for another three years and it was to be renewed again and again. Meanwhile he dreamed of a code of morality for the movie industry.⁸⁸

He got it. Beginning with a list of "Do's, Don't's and Be Careful's," he brought the industry to adopt an amazing document, the "Motion Picture Production Code."⁸⁹

Thus did Will H. Hays enter and consolidate his position in the motion picture industry of the United States. The politician's politician became the movie producer's politician. The politician *par excellence* forgot politics to administer motion picture morality. Art was neglected and so, even, was what Hays called "wholesome entertainment," but the code exists today. It's a substantial tribute to the curious politicians and moral-makers of the not-quite-"Roaring Twenties."

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53. Ramsaye, *op. cit.*, p. 810.
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THE BY-LAWS *of the* CALICO MINING DISTRICT:

A Landmark in the History of the Mojave Desert

By Douglas W. Steeples



EARLY IN 1881, one Lowery Silver located four silver mining claims in the Calico Mountains of Southern California.¹ Almost immediately, prospectors and miners began to flock to the area, which is situated about twelve miles to the north-east of modern Barstow. Within a little over a year, the town of Calico had sprung into being at the edge of a canyon on the southern slope of the mountains. The richness of local ores catapulted the young camp to fame; the hope of discovering hidden bonanzas attracted an increasing stream of people to the vicinity.

Unfortunately, rapid settlement joined with the inability of the Grapevine Mining District (in which Calico was located) effectively to regulate claiming procedures and development, and with the natural enthusiasm — and avarice — of fortune seekers, to result in a welter of conflicting and overlapping claims and a host of disputes over the possession of many choice mining sites. It was soon apparent that these unfortunate circumstances must be laid to rest if the area were to experience a healthy economic development. For as long as the ownership of local claims remained unsettled, it would be extremely hazardous for anyone to engage in ore extraction. Further, the heavy investment needed to build mills and initiate the large-scale mining operations through which the region could be made to prosper might never be forthcoming.

Faced with these perplexities, the miners, prospectors, and businessmen of Calico behaved in the same manner as had their counterparts in hundreds of other nineteenth century American frontier mining camps before them. Taking matters into their own hands in May, 1882, they met and decided to withdraw from the Grapevine Mining District. Then they organized the Calico Mining

The By-Laws of the Calico Mining District

District, the by-laws of which were to govern the location, proof, and registration of all claims discovered within the region. No criminal ordinances were included in the rules of the new entity, however. For Calico, unlike many similar communities, was situated close enough to longer settled and more populous areas to enjoy relatively effective protection from duly constituted federal, state, and county law officers almost from the moment of its birth.²

John McBride, a prominent local citizen and a leader in the movement to bring order to the confused claims situation of the neighborhood, was selected to fill the sole office of the Calico Mining District, that of recorder. The formation of the district proved to be of considerable value in instituting uniform claiming procedures and resolving a number of ownership disputes. Unfortunately, though, it required many years of litigation to resolve a number of the more serious conflicts.³

The By-Laws of the Calico Mining District constitute one of the more significant documents of Mojave Desert history. Their adoption was a major step in the development of the key mining camp of the region. They comprise a noteworthy example of an illuminating species of source for the study of American frontier history. Long obscure, they are of sufficient interest and importance to merit reproduction for the benefit of contemporary readers.

BY-LAWS OF CALICO MINING DISTRICT, *adopted May 27, 1882⁴*

SEC. I. Calico Mining District shall be bounded as follows: Commence at a point about two and a half miles west of the Calico Well (better known as the little red butte),⁵ run thence ten miles north, thence ten miles east, thence ten miles south, thence ten miles west to point of beginning.

SEC. II. The name of the District shall be Calico.

SEC. III. This District shall have one officer, viz: A Recorder, whose office shall be in Calico.

SEC. IV. The Recorder shall hold his office for one year, beginning the 1st day of June and ending the last day of May, provided, his successor has been previously elected; otherwise he shall hold his office until the election of a successor.

SEC. V. It shall be the duty of the Recorder to keep a record-book for the purpose of recording claims and affidavits of assessment work.⁶

SEC. VI. The Recorder shall receive one dollar for recording claims, fifty cents for recording affidavits, and twenty-five cents for furnishing certificates.

SEC. VII. It shall be the duty of the Recorder to post notices of election, in three public places, ten days before the expiration of his term.

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SEC. VIII. At the request of five miners, the Recorder shall call a miners' meeting. The notice of the meeting shall set forth the object for which it is called.

SEC. IX. Provided the limits of the district are to be changed or the By-Laws amended, the Recorder shall give notice of such changes or amendments twenty days beforehand by posting notices in three public places in the district.

SEC. X. It shall be the duty of the Recorder to turn over to his successor all books and papers pertaining to the archives of the district.

SEC. XI. The width of lode claims shall be three hundred feet on each side of the center of the vein or crevice.⁷

SEC. XII. The discoverer of a lode shall, within ninety days from the date of discovery, record his claim in the office of the Recorder of this district, which record shall contain: 1st, the name of the lode;⁸ 2nd, the name of the locator; 3rd, the date of the locations; 4th, the number of feet in length [width] claimed on each side of the center of the discovery shaft; 5th, the general course of the lode as near as may be.

SEC. XIII. Any location certificate of a lode claim which shall not contain the name of the lode, the name of the locator, the date of location, the number of lineal feet claimed on each side of the discovery shaft, the general course of the lode, and such description as shall identify the claim with reasonable certainty, shall be void.

SEC. XIV. Before filing such location certificate the discoverer shall locate his claim by first sinking a discovery shaft upon the lode, to the depth of at least ten feet from the lowest part of the rim of such shaft at the surface, or deeper if necessary to show a well defined crevice. Second, by posting at the point of discovery or [on] the surface, a conspicuous notice containing the name of the lode, the name of the locator, and the date of discovery. Third, by marking the surface boundaries of the claim.

SEC. XV. Such surface boundaries shall be marked by nine substantial posts or monuments, three on each end and three on a line running through the center.

SEC. XVI. Any open cut, cross-cut or tunnel, which shall cut a lode at the depth of ten feet below the surface, shall hold such lode the same as if a discovery shaft were sunk thereon; or an adit⁹ of at least ten feet along the lode, from the point where the lode may be in any manner discovered, shall be equivalent to a discovery shaft.

SEC. XVII. The discoverer shall have sixty days from the time of discovering a ledge or lode to do the necessary work on his claim.

SEC. XVIII. If at any time the locator of any mining claim heretofore or hereafter located, or his assigns, shall apprehend that his original certificate was defective, erroneous, or that the requirements of the law had not been complied with before filing; or shall be desirous of changing his surface boundaries; or of taking in any

The By-Laws of the Calico Mining District

part of an overlapping claim which has been abandoned, such locator or his assigns may file an additional certificate; provided that such re-location does not interfere with the existing rights of others at the time of such re-location; and the record thereof shall preclude the claimants from proving such title or titles as he or they may have held under previous location.

SEC. XIX. The re-location of abandoned lode claims shall be by sinking a new discovery shaft, fix[ing] new boundaries in the same manner as if it were the new location of a new claim; or the re-locator may sink the discovery shaft ten feet deeper than it was at the time of abandonment, and erect new or adopt the old boundaries, renewing the monuments if removed or destroyed. In either case a new location stake or monument shall be erected. In any case, whether the whole or part of an abandoned claim is taken, the location certificate may state that the whole or any part of the new location is located as abandoned property.

SEC. XX. No location certificate shall claim more than one location, whether the location be made by one or several locators; and if it purport to claim more than one location, it shall be absolutely void, except as to the first location therein described. And if they are described together, or so that it cannot be told which location is described, the certificate shall be void as to all.¹⁰

SEC. XXI. Within thirty days after performing the assessment work on a claim the person on whose behalf such outlay was made, or some person for him, shall make and record an affidavit in substance as follows:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA COUNTY OF SAN BERNARDINO

Before me, the subscriber, personally appeared, who being duly sworn said that at least dollars worth of work or improvements were performed upon (here describe claim or part of claim), situate[d] in Calico Mining District, County of San Bernardino, State of California. Such expenditure was made by or at the expense of, owners of said claim.

(Signature.)

And such signature shall be prima facie evidence of the performance of such labor.¹¹

SEC. XXII. These By-Laws shall take effect on the tenth day of June, 1882.

NOTES

1. Although prospectors had long been active in the area, it was only after W. Waterman registered his Omega silver claim, in December, 1880, that their investigations took on a note of urgency. Fanning out from the site of the Omega, which was about four miles due north of modern Barstow, they soon penetrated and began to examine the Calicos. For Waterman's claim see the "Index to Mines, San Bernardino County" (Unpublished record of all mining claims filed in the county since 1855), December 7, 1880. Lowery Silver's first four claims in the Calico Mountains, the Consolidated, Sara, Silver Mill Site, and Pico, are registered respectively in *ibid.*, for January 2, 7, February 8, and March 5, 1881.

2. The spontaneous organization of mining districts, with jurisdiction over local claiming procedures and the determination of local mineral rights, at public meetings such as the one which resulted in the formation of the Calico Mining District was a practice which had evolved out of long years of frontier experience in nineteenth century America. The inability of duly constituted law enforcement agencies — where they existed — to maintain order in many isolated bonanza camps, together with the virtual absence of laws designed or able to cope with the problems of land rights typical of the mining frontier, had made such a development almost inevitable. Thus a body of legal practice and common law pertaining to mineral lands and rights gradually took form in the American West. When Congress in 1872 enacted the first comprehensive national mining statute, it followed the earlier lead of many Western states in recognizing the validity of the principles upon which this common law was based by permitting the inhabitants of each mining neighborhood to organize and make regulations governing the location, manner of recording, and amount of work necessary to secure mining claims. See Jim Dan Hill, "The Early Mining Camp in American Life," *The Pacific Historical Review*, I (August, 1932), 295-303; and Charles Howard Shinn, *LAND LAWS OF MINING DISTRICTS* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1884).
3. Concerning litigation over Calico mining properties see Henry G. Hanks, *FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE STATE MINERALOGIST* (Sacramento: State Office, James J. Ayres, Supt. State Printing, 1884), pp. 336 and *passim*; and William Ireland, Jr., *EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE STATE MINERALOGIST* (Sacramento: J. D. Young, Supt. State Printing, 1888), pp. 491-499.
4. Quoted from the *Calico Print*, July 8, 1882.
5. The well noted was located at the edge of Calico Dry Lake, about a mile south of the point at which Wall Street Canyon debauches onto the desert floor. The "little red butte" in question lies almost in the middle of Section 30 of Township 10 North (of the San Bernardino Baseline), Range 1 East (of the San Bernardino Meridian), about two and one-half miles west of the old well site.
6. See note 11, below.
7. This size limitation was in conformity with the terms of the 1872 federal mining law, which stipulated that no mining claim was to exceed 600 feet in width or 1,500 feet in length. See the *UNITED STATES CODE*, 13 volumes. 1958 Edition (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1959), VI, 4,484-4,487, Title 30, Chapters 28-29, for the pertinent sections of the 1872 statute.
8. The discoverer, of course, named the lode.
9. An adit is a horizontal, or nearly horizontal, passage entering a mine.
10. The national law of 1872 permitted individuals, groups, and/or corporations to hold more than one claim in any given area. This represented a distinct departure from earlier practice, and was indicative of the growth of large-scale mining operations under corporate control during the latter half of the nineteenth century. See the *UNITED STATES CODE*, cited in note 6, above.
11. Unless he had, through purchase from the federal government or from a prior holder who possessed clear title to his claim, obtained a patent of ownership for his mining site, a claimholder had only usufructory rights thereto. Under the 1872 federal mining statute these rights were to be forfeited unless he annually filed an affidavit attesting to the fact that either he himself or someone in his employ had performed at least \$100.00 worth of work or made at least \$100.00 worth of improvements upon his claim during the preceding year. Such labor or improvement activity, because it was levied upon or assessed of claimholders falling within the terms summarized above, was known as assessment work. See the *UNITED STATES CODE*, cited in note 6, above.

THE FOOT AND MOUTH EPIDEMIC IN 1924:

An Episode in California History

By Jane F. Phillips



IN FEBRUARY 23, 1924, the following news dispatch from Sacramento appeared tucked away on an inner page of the *Los Angeles Times*:

Owing to an outbreak of foot and mouth disease among cattle in Alameda County, the State Department of Agriculture today established a quarantine on cattle movements in that county. The malady, one of the worst diseases to afflict livestock, is so severe that guards have been placed by the Department of Agriculture. This is the first outbreak of the disease to be known in the United States in ten years, Department officials said. Director George H. Hecke of the Department is in Alameda County investigating the situation.

Although the news item seemed of little significance to most readers at the time, it was the first revelation to the general public of an occurrence which in a matter of days developed into one of the most alarming epidemics in California history. And, though centered in California, it was to involve the rest of the forty-eight states and Hawaii, as well as Canada, Mexico, and the British Isles.

Foot and mouth disease is a filtrable virus disease predominating among cloven-footed animals, although man is not immune to it and, in fact, is considered to be the second most susceptible victim of this epizootic.

This disease is characterized by the formation of vesicles about the oral area, on the skin between hooves and feet, and on the teats and udder. In approximately twenty-four hours these vesicles rupture, exposing a raw red surface. The lesions heal rather rapidly but may give rise to a paralytic form (which ends in death) or else a serious secondary infection caused by various and sundry bacteria.

Soon after the first outbreak in Alameda County, two severe outbreaks occurred in San Leandro and West Berkeley, and guards were stationed there to enforce the quarantine.

On February 25, Congress was petitioned to appropriate two million dollars to stamp out the foot and mouth disease and to aid cattlemen whose stock were destroyed by the disease. A strict quarantine of all ranches, dairies and slaughter houses in Alameda, Napa, Sonoma, Solano, Contra Costa and Monterey Counties was decided upon as the best means of preventing the spread of the disease.

Even though these precautionary measures were carried out the disease spread rapidly through the northern part of California. This despite the fact that embargos had been placed upon all railroads in Solano, Alameda, and Contra Costa Counties against carrying livestock, carcasses, or fodder that had not passed official inspection for shipment.

As of February 27 no new cases had been discovered but rifle squads were moving among the herds in the quarantined areas, killing all animals infected by the disease, both cattle and swine. Crews of men then dug long trenches, eight feet deep, rolled in the carcasses, and spread heavy layers of quicklime over them to destroy them chemically as the trenches were filled in. This method of extermination was used on all birds that could be shot down, particularly pigeons, as they were considered carries of this epizootic.

The public began to be alarmed about drinking milk during the outbreak, but it was declared safe to drink pasteurized milk as precautionary steps had been taken to prevent milk and milk products from infected herds reaching the public for consumption.

On February 28 an additional appropriation of one million dollars was asked of Congress for use in efforts to eradicate the disease and for indemnity to the cattlemen whose stock were destroyed. Governor Richardson and the State Board of Control prepared for immediate action in case of a crisis, and the State of Utah placed an embargo even on poultry from California.

Also on eventful February 28 two men were incarcerated for violating the emergency regulations against the moving of cattle.

Then, most unexpectedly, there was a let-up in the daily reports of the spread of the disease. The public began to feel a sense of great relief and restored confidence. And on March 11 newspapers carried the report from an official source that the next day "would see the last of the infected herds underground." However, another column of the same papers carried the report that another outbreak of the disease had occurred in the Bay area.

The source of the entire epidemic was traced to Oriental ships which, while docked, had dumped their garbage on Mare Island.

The Foot and Mouth Epidemic in 1924

A herd of swine had fed upon the swill and they were the first animals to show symptoms of the disease.

No further outbreaks were reported by March 16 and all agencies, federal, state, and private, were reported to have fulfilled the duties assigned to them in the drastic program to eradicate the disease.

In the meantime, though, Mexico had placed an embargo on California livestock, poultry, and milk. This also included animals used for transportation of materials. Thus the embargo would harm the cotton growers in Baja California; for with the advent of the spring season several hundred mules were needed to work the cotton fields. Customarily these mules were brought in from California. However the Inspector of the Mexican Customs Service protested the embargo to the Secretary of Agriculture at Mexico City and appealed to all others who had their interests at stake to join him for a unified effort to have the embargo lifted.

The developments in Mexico, however, did not signify that there had been any improvement in the situation in California; for on March 20 it was reported that certain livestock owners in the stricken areas were relaxing their observance of the quarantine regulations. This caused summary action by the Federal government, in Washington, and the State government, in Sacramento, in ordering that no reimbursement would be provided for cattle destroyed, or loss of funds, due to the foot and mouth disease, in the cases of those ranchers, dairymen, and others who did not comply with the quarantine regulations.

Next, as of March 23, the livestock experts reported the epizootic "was about snuffed." On March 24, there were new reports of the spread of the disease — that it was now spreading rapidly and the quarantines were being tightened in the afflicted counties.

On March 25, the first occurrence of the disease in Los Angeles was discovered in a shipment of cattle received at the stockyards from Merced County. Instantly Los Angeles authorities instituted precautionary measures. Inspection controls were established: the roads were patrolled; special deputies were sworn in for duty in the emergency; and, while slaughtering was permitted to continue under redoubled supervision at the stockyards, the public was warned of imminent peril.

Throughout the afflicted areas as tension mounted in the emergency, all other traffic, vehicle and pedestrian, was barred from the highways, roads, and streets, when the diseased animals (as carcasses, or en route to become carcasses) were transported to

their final resting place. The order — the cry — was "Stand back! Stay away! Foot and Mouth Disease!" The citizenry obeyed, not knowing what the consequences would be — whether arrest for non-compliance, or contamination with the dread disease.

A special citizens' vigilante committee was organized in Fresno, reminiscent of California's early days when on occasions elements of the citizenry felt action by the constituted authorities in enforcement of the law was, or might be, too long delayed. Merced County sped up the slaughter of infected herds there. The town of Oxnard quarantined all livestock. Riverside stationed guards along its highways to inspect all in-coming and out-going vehicles or persons. And even in Phoenix, Arizona, precautionary measures in anticipation of the possible spread of the disease there were undertaken. Near panic seemed impending in California and adjoining states. The foot and mouth disease was on the march!

Of course, long before March 29, when reports of discovery of the disease among livestock in three additional Los Angeles packing plants was announced, the news of the epidemic and its spread had taken over the front pages of the newspapers with headline and feature treatment ordinarily accorded only war news or major disasters such as earthquakes. Albeit, the epidemic had developed into a major disaster for our state; California was fighting its own war of a kind. And the dreaded enemy — the epizootic — was right at the doorsteps, had already invaded and wreaked havoc on the property, of some; and might at any time evade the quarantines and by direct or devious means attack the property and persons of others.

News of the developments were reported one atop another in the papers, for what many Californians feared would be a time of indefinite if not terminal duration:

Some of them being:

CATTLEMAN ARRESTED FOR BREACH OF QUARANTINE.
HIS CATTLE KILLED . . .

MEETING OF ALL THE WESTERN STATES URGED
TO COMBAT THE PLAGUE . . .

RENEWED PLEA MADE TO PUBLIC TO AID FIGHT . . .

PIGEONS AND OTHER INTERMEDIATE CARRIERS AROUND
LOS ANGELES STOCKYARDS TO BE SHOT . . .

SLAUGHTERING OF DISEASED LIVESTOCK CONTINUES IN
MERCED . . .

BRITISH MODIFY EMBARGO PLACED ON U. S. CATTLE . . .
(an inexplicable development, considering that the epidemic had shown no signs of abating at the time of the action by the British).

The Foot and Mouth Epidemic in 1924

On April 1, the Citizens' Emergency Committee of Merced announced plans for "further tightening of the controls."

"A Call-to-Arms" was issued in Bakersfield, when seventeen new cases were reported there. The whole of Kern County was placed under quarantine on April 3.

All livestock and pets in Vernon City (Los Angeles Area) were ordered destroyed. On April 5 the Los Angeles city parks were ordered closed, and an appeal was made to the public to stay out of the mountains.

Illustrative of the general tension and bafflement caused by the epidemic, and reaching even into officialdom, was the dispatch from Sacramento that the emergency conference there had failed to reach an agreement on the kind and consolidation of scientific measures to be employed in the further attempts to combat the epidemic.

On April 6 outbreak of the disease in Pasadena was reported. Pasadena Boy Scouts were called to assist in the fight.

Outbreaks were reported in El Monte; and additional ones in Los Angeles, even though the packinghouses had been disinfected from stem to stern.

The public's purchase and consumption of meat had taken a tail spin, due to what Governor Richardson officially pronounced as "public hysteria." The stocks of fish in the markets and stores were depleted, and many were they who either made the trip or sought means to get to the ocean to try to catch fish as the nearest substitute for meat.

Sparrows and blackbirds were declared to be intermediate carriers of the disease, and were designated legitimate targets for the guns, arrows, thrown stones, or whatever other types or kinds of missiles or weapons were resorted to in the attempts that were made in all directions to stay the transmittal of the disease.

Governor Richardson invoked a special meeting because the bankers who had promised aid in the reimbursement of the cattleman were not living up to their promises.

On April 11 the Federal government placed two million dollars at the disposal of our State government to use in the fight against the disease.

The eyes of the nation, and of a large part of the world, were upon California as never before except in the days of the Gold Rush and the San Francisco earthquake. Would California survive, or would she become a quarantined state, laid low by the ravaging epidemic?

On April 18 President Calvin Coolidge addressed a letter to the State of Arizona questioning the justification of that state's severe measures of quarantine against California shipments.

On April 21 an afflicted calf was discovered among a shipment of livestock from California bound for Chicago. The entire shipment was liquidated.

Up to that time 350 herds, or approximately 50,000 head of livestock, had been exterminated in California's war against the pestilence. And no one could know how many birds, fowl, pets, and sundry other creatures met their deaths as the result of the drastic measures undertaken in the crisis. Luckily there was no record of the death of a human being in consequence of the epidemic, despite the susceptibility of humans to the disease.

Various claims were made of cures for the disease — serums, vaccines, and such — but none gained the stamp of approval as effective.

On April 26 Griffith Park was closed to the public. The Animal Protective League protested the killing of pets. A ban was placed on the use of automobiles for pleasure trips. Public alarm mounted daily, but the Governor ridiculed it as hysteria.

In May it did become increasingly apparent that the epizootic was waning, through controls and containment. During the month roads were re-opened, quarantines eased and then lifted, resorts re-opened, temporary traffic restrictions removed, the extermination of cattle virtually stopped, and slaughter houses re-opened. The remaining fish in California's coastal waters returned to their normal routines of an occasional baited hook at which to nibble. All hopes were for the Governor's pronouncement in short order that victory had been won, the fearful foe vanquished. Senator Henry Wallace, of Iowa, later to become Secretary of Agriculture, and later still Vice-President in the Roosevelt administration, wired California his congratulations on the mission accomplished.

The same encouraging conditions carried over into the month of June, even though a new outbreak occurred in Lankershim on the outskirts of Los Angeles. The government then said there was no need for an embargo, or other measures than to contain the particular herd. Confidence was rapidly being restored throughout California.

However, the disease had not been entirely snuffed out. Sporadic outbreaks occurred at various places, but the measures of control were localized. On July 1 pets were ordered destroyed in a section of the Los Angeles area when the disease was discovered. A

The Foot and Mouth Epidemic in 1924

fresh case was reported from Tuolumne County just as Arizona was about to lift its embargo against shipments from California. Arizona thereupon postponed her action.

Throughout July the reports of sporadic cases diminished, and California's governor spent more time in exchanging congratulations with the heads of other states and countries anent California's effectiveness in the fight and the good fortune of the others in having been able to keep the enemy out of their domains.

With further clearing of the situation the other states began to lift their embargos and undertake the resumption of normal trade with California. Congress appropriated additional funds for relief in California, and beef for food, and new cattle to replace the exterminated herds, were shipped in.

By August 25, fourteen out of sixteen counties were declared entirely rid of the disease, and soon thereafter the remaining two counties were given a clean bill of health.

The states of Colorado and Washington were the last to lift their embargos, and on November 27, 1924, the United States was declared free of the plague.

So ended a tragic episode in the history of California. However, the heroic measures taken by the authorities, and the co-operation of the public in the "Call-to-Arms" — that is, in an emergency program of sacrifice and deprivation, as well as combat — combined magnificently to bring about the State's recovery and resumption of the growth and progress which makes us proud to call California our home.

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PIONEER BUILDERS OF LOS ANGELES

A SERIES OF PERSONALITY SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE MEN AND
WOMEN WHO HELPED TRANSFORM THE PUEBLO OF LOS
ANGELES INTO A MODERN AMERICAN CITY

By Margaret Romer

PART II

DON MANUEL DOMINGUEZ

Among the builders of Los Angeles, none was a finer or more chivalrous gentleman than Don Manuel Domínguez. Though thoroughly Spanish and opposed to the "invasion" of the Americans, yet when the victory was won, Domínguez became a loyal, true, and active American, and helped to govern Los Angeles in the period of transition from a pueblo to an American town.

Born in San Diego in January of 1803, Manuel had little formal schooling. His father, Don Cristóbal Domínguez, was a Spanish military officer and the boy was tutored by an army sergeant. However, Manuel was an apt pupil and became an avid reader, thereby educating himself. His father had inherited the huge San Pedro Rancho, later called the Domínguez Rancho, on which now stands San Pedro, Compton, and part of Long Beach. On the death of his father, Manuel assumed the management of that vast cattle domain of some forty-eight thousand acres.

In 1827, Manuel Domínguez married María Engracia Cota, a señorita of high standing in the community.

The *ayuntamiento* corresponded to the present-day city council, but it made the laws not only of the pueblo, but for the entire Los Angeles area. Don Manuel Domínguez was a member of that august body. He was twice elected *alcalde* (mayor) of Los Angeles and also served as a judge. California was at that time a territory of Mexico whose capital was Monterey. In the 1833-1834 session of the California Legislature, Don Domínguez

was sent to the capital as the representative of Los Angeles. He was sent to Monterey again to the conference that decided on the secularization of the missions. Some nine years later, he was made *prefect* of the Second District of California. In this position, his was the top political office in the entire Southern part of California.

Then came the Americans and the Mexican War. Domínguez, personally, took little active part, but the Battle of Domínguez Rancho took place on his land. When peace came again to California, Manuel Domínguez was elected to attend the Constitutional Convention at Monterey. There he helped form the Constitution of the new American state of California. Because of his reputation for honor and unimpeachable integrity, he was later elected as a Supervisor of Los Angeles County.

Don Domínguez was a distinguished looking man with a smooth-shaven face, fine features, and high forehead. By this time, he and María Engracia Domínguez had a family of ten children, eight daughters and two sons. They were an unusually devoted household, and the father spent as much time with them as he could spare from his large business and civic responsibilities.

In the mid-1850's the ranch was divided among Don Manuel, a brother, and two nephews. The portion retained by Don Manuel was about twenty-five thousand acres in extent and included his home place near San Pedro and Rattlesnake Island, now called Terminal Island. In 1910, the first International Air Meet that

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was ever held on American soil, took place on an improvised air field on the Domínguez Rancho. In 1922, an experimental oil well was drilled on the property which, with wells subsequently sunk, netted the Domínguez heirs a large fortune.

In October of 1882, within three months of his eightieth birthday, this grand old Spanish Don and staunch American citizen passed through the gates into the Great Unknown. His wife, María Engracia, who adored him, literally could not live without him. She followed some five months later, in March of 1883. The acres where once their cattle grazed, are now covered with cities, factories, stores, homes and busy freeways . . . more than one-half million people now reside on land that was once Domínguez Rancho.

SUSAN MILLER DORSEY

The outstanding builder of the Los Angeles Public School System was Susan Miller Dorsey. Though her career was less dramatic than some of the other builders of Los Angeles yet her influence has rarely been exceeded. In this city's educational circles her work is known throughout America.

For nine years Superintendent of the Los Angeles City Schools, Mrs. Dorsey had a rare combination of talents that fitted her for her unusual achievements. Though she was trained in classical literature, she had a strong feeling for people and their practical needs. In addition, she had unusual executive ability. Leadership, through a high degree of intelligence coupled with kindness and understanding, were hers in large measure.

Born in New York State on February 16, 1857, she was the daughter of James and Hannah Miller. She received the A.B. degree from Vassar College in 1877, having majored in classical literature. Later she won the coveted Phi Beta Kappa key. After a year of teaching in a smaller college, Miss Miller was invited back to Vassar where she taught the classics for three years.

In 1881, Susan Miller became Susan Miller Dorsey and moved to Los Angeles with her husband. At that time, the town had scarcely twelve thousand inhabitants. Its first short stretch of pavement had been laid on North Main Street only a year before, and sidewalks were few. For the next fifteen years, Mrs. Dorsey busied herself with social service work, of which there was plenty to be done, since the period included the fantastic boom of the 'eighties with its extremes of fortunes and heartbreaking losses.

The year of 1896 found Susan Miller

Dorsey back in the teaching profession. She accepted a position as teacher of English in the Los Angeles High School. Old-timers will remember the four-story red brick building with the clocktower that stood on North Hill (then called Rock Street) on old Fort Moore Hill. From 1902 to 1913, Mrs. Dorsey served as vice-principal of the school. Her next advancement was to become assistant superintendent of schools — the first woman to hold that position here. Seven years later, she was chosen as superintendent of the Los Angeles City School System, in which capacity she served nine more years.

The fantastic growth of the community during her administration made her task difficult in the extreme. The population of the city increased from some 500,000 people to about 1,200,000. This meant that many new school buildings had to be built, facilities provided, and teachers and non-certificated staffs hired. Three times Mrs. Dorsey, as superintendent of schools, had to appeal to the voters for the necessary money and convince them of the desperate need. She succeeded admirably in conducting campaigns for three different bond issues: the first one was for \$9,500,000.00; the second one brought \$17,400,000.00; and the third issue authorized \$34,640,000.

Always sensitive to the practical needs of the people, Mrs. Dorsey established three types of schools, each especially designed to meet the requirements of young people for adequate vocational training. These were perhaps her greatest achievements. One is a part time school where young people may gain a high school education while working on a job. It is known as Metropolitan High School. Another is the huge Frank Wiggins Trade School; and finally, the Jacob A. Riis High School for Boys.

Never was Mrs. Dorsey the big "I," but always she shared the credit for achievements with her fellow-workers. She was an ardent worker and an inspiration to the members of her staff. It was under her able leadership that the Los Angeles City School System tripped in size and took its place among the finest in the nation. With all these responsibilities, Mrs. Dorsey still gave time to support every worthy community cultural project.

At the age of seventy-two, after thirty-three years of outstanding service in the school system, Mrs. Dorsey retired from active duty. On February 5, 1946, this magnificent life came to a close. Who can measure the influence an educator like Susan Miller Dorsey has exerted, both directly and indirectly on the present and future generations of Angelenos?

JOHN G. DOWNEY

John Gately Downey was the first American governor of California from the "cow country." He was a Los Angeles druggist and an Irishman.

Born in Roscommon, Ireland, in 1826, he came to America when a boy of fourteen. In the next six years he learned the drug business in Maryland, and in 1846 he took charge of a drug store in Cincinnati. In 1850, John Downey joined the stream of gold seekers and migrated to San Francisco to look the situation over. He decided it was not for him, and came on down to Los Angeles. It was a lucky decision for Los Angeles as well as for Downey for he became a leader in civic affairs and played a most useful part in the development of Southern California.

In partnership with Dr. James P. McFarland, young Downey ran a drug store and also wore the white ribbon that was the badge of the first police force which was composed of volunteer citizens. In 1852 he married Doña Maria Jesús Guirado, a young woman of outstanding character and charm. John Downey, too, was handsome, witty and wise. His manners were gracious. A high forehead and big honest eyes inspired confidence, and he wore the traditional short face-beard and mustache.

It was not long after his arrival in Los Angeles that John Downey was involved in politics. In 1859 he was elected as lieutenant governor of California. Milton S. Latham was made governor at the same election. In those days, United States senators were not elected by the people but were chosen by the Legislatures of the various states. Governor Latham had barely begun his term of office when the California State Legislature elected him to represent the state in the United States Senate. John G. Downey automatically became governor of California. This was in January of 1860. He remained in that office until succeeded by Governor Leland Stanford in 1862. During that time, the Civil War started and Governor Downey was firm in his stand to keep California with the Union. He assisted the Federal Government in every way he could, and helped organize six regiments to serve in the Union Army.

When Governor Downey's term expired, he returned to his home in Los Angeles and resumed his personal affairs. He was a successful business man and had many financial interests. He bought the old Temple Block on Temple Street, between Main and Spring, and renamed it the Downey Block. He was part owner of one of the two early banks of Los Angeles, and of the cable car system. He was also one of the organizers of the first Chamber

of Commerce. The town of Downey was named after him, as well as one of the streets of Los Angeles. John G. Downey also had a hand in the founding of the University of Southern California. In 1869 he built a splendid home of red brick on Main Street between Third and Fourth. One of the show places of the town, it even had a ballroom.

At this time, Los Angeles, unlike San Francisco, still had no rail connection with the East. The Southern Pacific was extending its rails southward through the San Joaquin Valley to connect with a southern transcontinental line at Yuma. The Southern Pacific was feeling out the southern towns to decide whether to run its main line through Los Angeles or through San Bernardino. Actual road construction through San Bernardino would have been much less expensive, thus giving that town a big advantage. Business men knew that the future of Los Angeles depended upon inducing the railroad to come through their city. John Downey and Harris Newmark made the journey to San Francisco to appeal to the powerful Collis P. Huntington. Los Angeles won — through the untiring efforts of many of its leading business men. To John Downey was given the honor of participating with Mayor Beaudry in the driving of the golden spike near Lang Station which made the final rail connection between Los Angeles and the East.

The Tehachapi Mountains were the scene of tragedy for John Downey. One night in January of 1883, he and his wife were passengers on a train returning from San Francisco. It was about midnight and a storm was raging in the mountains. The train was standing at the head of a grade and the crew had gone into the station for a bit of lunch. The train began to move — without its crew. Quickly gaining momentum, it rolled faster and faster, swinging around the dark mountain curves until it jumped the rails and rolled over and over to the bottom of the canyon. The cars were lighted with coaloil lamps and heated with stoves, consequently the wreck immediately burst into flames. Twenty of the passengers were cremated and the others were badly burned. Among the dead was Maria Guirado Downey. John Downey survived, but the horror, the shock, and his personal loss affected his health and he never fully recovered. "It seemed like a horrible dream," he said.

Five years afterward, John Downey remarried and he and his new wife divided their time between Los Angeles and the peace and quiet of the old Warner Ranch which Mr. Downey had acquired earlier. He passed on to the Great Beyond in 1894.

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STEPHEN FOSTER

One of the most dramatic figures in the transition of Los Angeles from the Mexican pueblo to the American city was Stephen Foster. He was known as the first American mayor; who resigned that position to participate in a lynching party.

Stephen Foster was born in Maine in 1820. He graduated from Yale University in the class of 1840. For the next few years he taught school, first in Virginia and then in Alabama. Always interested in the practice of medicine, he studied the art at the University of New Orleans.

In 1845, Stephen came west as far as Santa Fé. From there he explored the possibilities in El Paso and in Sonora, but returned to Santa Fé. By this time he was almost as proficient in Spanish as in English. Then came the Mexican War. Captain Cooke and his Battalion of Mormon Volunteers, en route to California, stopped at Santa Fé to rest and to replenish their supplies. They were in need of an interpreter and Stephen Foster joined the company to serve in that capacity. He arrived in Los Angeles with the Battalion on March 16, 1847.

For nineteen months after the Americans won the war, Los Angeles was under military rule, with the understanding that there would be no interference with local government. The *ayuntamiento* (council) and the *alcalde* (mayor) were native Californians. The only American serving the pueblo was Abel Stearns who had been elected as public attorney and tax collector.

Men with university training were rare in Los Angeles at that time, consequently Stephen Foster's educational background put him at once in a position of prominence. When the first vacancy occurred on the staff of town officials, the Governor of California, Richard B. Mason, appointed Stephen Foster as mayor. This infuriated the Angelenos. The *ayuntamiento* resigned in a body, leaving Foster and Stearns to run the town as best they could. However, the responsibility could not have been left in better hands. This was in the summer of 1848 and they remained in sole charge of affairs for nearly a year. Diplomatically, it was a touchy job. Abel Stearns was already loved by the townspeople, and Foster resolved to win them by efficiency and fair dealing. In December they called an election to choose a council, but the offended Californians ignored the call so Foster and Stearns continued alone.

In May, 1849, the mayor gave the citizens a second opportunity to elect a council. By this time, he had won the respect of all the better citizens of the community

and they responded by electing a council, two members of which were Americans.

Stephen Foster had found the community in which he wished to settle down and make his permanent home. He married a charming young lady who was the daughter of Don Antonio María Lugo and the widow of a son of the prominent Pérez family.

In May, 1849, Foster was elected as one of five representatives of the Los Angeles area at the Constitutional Convention in Monterey. In 1851, Los Angeles organized its first police force, the Rangers. The organization consisted of about a hundred mounted volunteers. Each man wore a white ribbon bearing the proud title POLICE. Stephen Foster was one of them and was given the rank of lieutenant. He frequently proved his strength and courage while serving with the Rangers in those lawless days.

Being a former school teacher, he called attention to the fact that there were some five hundred school-age children in the town and a surplus of about \$3,000.00 in the city treasury, yet there was no regular public school — only a few poorly subsidized classrooms. The agitation thus begun spread quickly among the better class of citizens and resulted in the first public school in Los Angeles. It was a brick structure erected at a cost of about \$6,000.00 on the northwest corner of Second and Spring Streets. Mr. Foster served as the first superintendent, outside of his duties as mayor. There was a lady teacher for the girls and a man for the boys.

Murders and lynchings were common occurrences in Los Angeles at this time, and Mayor Foster tried desperately to put a stop to both. One thoroughly undesirable American gambler named Dave Brown murdered a companion in cold blood, and was arrested. The next day a mob collected demanding to take the law into their own hands. Mayor Foster went to the scene of the trouble, faced the mob, and by the sheer force of his courage, he persuaded them to let Brown be tried by a court of law. However, he promised the people that if the court failed to do justice, that he himself would lead a lynching party. The trial was held and Brown was condemned to die on the gallows on the same day that an Indian half-breed should pay his debt for another murder.

The day of the hanging came and the half-breed paid the penalty, but Brown had hired two clever lawyers who had won him a last-minute stay of execution. The crowd was furious at the injustice. Spontaneous orators mounted, not "soap boxes,"

but barrels, from which elevation they inflamed the crowd. Mayor Foster made his word good. He promptly resigned his position as mayor, helped the mob collect axes, hammers and crowbars, and led them in the attack on the jail. Brown was dragged out and hanged on the crossbar over the gate of a corral on Spring Street; after which, Foster calmly resumed his duties as the town's chief executive.

Through the years, Stephen Foster served his community at various times as mayor and as its representative in the State Senate. He was courageous and loyal. He was a fine looking man, too, with a high forehead, a mass of hair, a heavy face and chin beard and mustache.

Along with the rest of the nation, Los Angeles held a big celebration on July 4, 1876, to observe the hundredth birthday of the United States of America. There was an elaborate parade complete with floats, bands, and fine horses. Stephen Foster, then fifty-six, marched with the other forty-two veterans of the Mexican War.

During his last years, Mr. Foster suffered considerable illness and became quite frail. He passed away quietly on January 28, 1898, at the age of seventy-eight. Two sons and a grateful city mourned the loss of this splendid citizen.

DR. JOHN STROTHER GRIFFIN

Dr. John Strother Griffin was a typical fine Southern gentleman. During the Civil War he was a radical Southern sympathizer in free California, voicing his feelings vehemently at times when such expression endangered his personal safety.

Born in Virginia in 1816, both of John's parents died when he was yet a small boy. He was reared in the home of an uncle in Kentucky and received a classical education. In 1837 the young man graduated from the College of Medicine of the University of Pennsylvania. After practicing in Louisville, Kentucky, for three years he joined the United States Army as a surgeon. Attached to the First Dragoons with the rank of captain, he marched West with General Kearny and took part in the Battle of San Pasqual in San Diego County, which was the biggest engagement in the Mexican War to be fought in California.

At San Diego, the commands of General Kearny and Commodore Stockton were combined for the march on Los Angeles. Captain John Griffin's first view of the city was on August 13, 1846, when the American forces marched into the little Mexican pueblo of three or four thousand

souls which included only a few Americans. Thereafter, Dr. Griffin served in the Army in San Diego, Los Angeles, and in Benicia. In the early 'fifties he returned to Washington where he resigned from the service.

Meanwhile, Dr. Griffin had decided to make Los Angeles his permanent home. As soon as he was out of the service, he lost no time in getting back to his chosen town and setting up a private practice. His educational background gave him prestige and he was soon made superintendent of the recently organized public school system of the town. There were only two teachers in that first public school house at Second and Spring — one for the girls and one for the boys. The teacher for the girls was Miss Louise Hayes who shortly became Mrs. John S. Griffin. The doctor's medical practice quickly grew to such proportions as to preclude his further service in the school system and he resigned as superintendent.

About five o'clock in the afternoon of April 27, 1863, a terrific explosion occurred aboard the *Ada Hancock* in San Pedro Bay, ripping her super-structure off to the water line. Some fifty-three passengers were aboard, more than half of whom were killed and most of the others were hideously wounded. Dr. Griffin was one of the two physicians sent down from Los Angeles to assist local doctors in the mercy work.

Dr. Griffin was not only an excellent physician, but a shrewd business man. About this time he bought some two thousand acres of land near the Los Angeles River — through which Griffin Avenue now runs — for fifty cents an acre and stocked it with sheep. Later, with Hancock M. Johnson, he subdivided the tract and started the district known as East Los Angeles, now called Lincoln Heights. He also bought a portion of the great San Pasqual Rancho and sold part of it to the Indiana Colony at \$7.50 an acre. They founded Pasadena on this tract. Not long after, some four thousand acres nearby brought him \$12.50 per acre. Orange groves were planted on this tract.

In the 1860's Los Angeles had some excessively heavy rains which washed out the inadequate water system on two different occasions. The City Council was thoroughly disgusted. The town was flooded, yet there was not a drop of water fit to drink — and no money in the treasury to cope with the situation. Prudent Beaudry, Solomon Lazard, and John Griffin came to the rescue. They readily secured a favorable contract from the city, organized the Los Angeles City Water Company, constructed dams, dug wells, laid

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pipes, and supplied the town with water for more than thirty years — at a handsome profit for the company.

Dr. Griffin was one of the organizers of the first Chamber of Commerce and served on its Board of Directors. He also helped in the establishment of the Agricultural Society which included all the counties in Southern California. Headquarters for the Society were located in Agricultural Park, now called Exposition Park.

A fine looking man was this physician-capitalist of Los Angeles, with his high forehead, clear eyes and heavy white beard and mustache. He did well for himself, but he also gave to the community richly in services and skill.

On Independence Day in 1876, he marched proudly with the Veterans of the Mexican War in the big parade to celebrate the one hundredth birthday of our Nation.

He passed away near the turn of the century after having ministered to the sick and the injured of Los Angeles for well over forty years.

H. W. HELLMAN

In 1859, two important future citizens of Los Angeles glided into San Pedro Bay aboard a sailing vessel. They were the brothers Herman W. and Isaias W. Hellman. Herman was a boy of about fifteen, his brother was two years older. They were born of Jewish parents in the state of Bavaria in southern Germany.

No doubt they were encouraged to come by their cousins who had preceded them by four years. One of these cousins was Isaias M. Hellman who kept a general merchandise store here. Isaias W. went to work at once as a clerk in his cousin's store, and later became one of the city's leading bankers. Herman found employment with Phineas Banning in the transportation business.

After a few years, Herman W. Hellman returned to Europe, but after a few months spent abroad, he came back to Los Angeles where he went into the wholesale grocery business in partnership with Jacob Haas and B. Cohn under the firm name of Hellman, Haas and Company. This was in the early 1870's. The business was highly successful. The company handled both staple and fancy groceries as well as drugs, tobaccos and liquors. They grew into one of the largest importing establishments on the Pacific Coast.

By the mid-seventies, Mr. Cohn sold his interest in the firm to Abraham Haas. A few years later, Mr. Hellman and the two Haas partners admitted still another member, Jacob Baruch. In the late 1880's,

Jacob Haas died, and Abraham Haas and Jacob Baruch bought out H. W. Hellman's interest, and the firm continued under the name of Haas, Baruch and Company.

Herman W. Hellman was usually active in the business and civic affairs of the town. In 1873, when the business men of Los Angeles started the first Chamber of Commerce, H. W. Hellman was one of the organizers and also served as one of the first directors. This was not the present Chamber, which came into existence in 1888.

For a time, Mr. Hellman owned and operated a variety store in which, the historian Boyle Workman said, "... you could buy anything from a needle to an organ."

Mr. and Mrs. Hellman reared two sons, Marco H., and Irving H., both of whom became creditable citizens of Los Angeles. The last major achievement of their father was the construction of the magnificent eight-story H. W. Hellman Building on the northeast corner of Fourth and Spring Streets. Mr. Hellman had owned the site since the decade of the 1870's when he paid \$4,000.00 for the land.

Hardly was the structure completed in 1906 when its builder passed away, leaving this splendid office-building in stone and marble as his monument.

ISAIAS W. HELLMAN

The name Hellman is almost synonymous with the early American period of Los Angeles, and Isaias W. Hellman is particularly associated with the city's banking. He was said to be a "born banker."

Isaias W. Hellman and his brother Herman W., came to Los Angeles in 1859 from Bavaria in southern Germany. They were of Jewish parentage. Isaias was seventeen and went to work at once in the store owned by his cousin, I. M. Hellman. In a few years he had a business of his own, a dry goods store at the corner of Main and Commercial Streets.

About this time, Isaias Hellman married Miss Esther Newgass, a young lady recently from New York. Through the years, she bore him a son and two daughters. They had a "suburban" home on the southwest corner of Fourth and Main Streets, a two-story frame dwelling ornate with bay windows and surrounded with a wide fenced lawn.

There were no banks in Los Angeles in those days, and crime and lawlessness were rampant. Bandits roamed the country. The storage of money was an acute problem. Isaias Hellman had a steel safe in the back of his store and allowed his best

customers the privilege of keeping their cash reserves in his safe. One of these grateful customers suggested that Hellman lend out some of the money and keep the interest as his pay for taking the responsibility for its safety. Out of this idea grew the firm of Hellman, Temple and Company. The partner was Francis P. F. Temple, a younger brother of the better known Don Juan Temple.

Another banking firm was started about the same time, to meet the same problem, by John G. Downey and a San Francisco financier named Hayward. It was called the Hayward Company. Three years later, Hellman bought out Francis Temple's share of their business and then consolidated his interests with the Hayward-Downey banking business, and the Farmers and Merchants Bank was established with John Downey as president and Isaias Hellman as cashier and manager. The bank was a success from the start and was the financial backbone of Los Angeles through the years. It is still in existence at Fourth and Main Streets as the Farmers and Merchants Branch of Security First National Bank.

The great depression that hit the East in 1873 did not reach Los Angeles until two years later. The Hellman bank, the Farmers and Merchants, weathered the storm. However, by that time, a competitive bank had been organized by William "Don Julian" Workman and Francis P. F. Temple, Hellman's former partner. It was known as the Temple and Workman Bank. It succumbed in the financial panic, ruined by an inopportune foreclosure by "Lucky" Baldwin.

Isaias W. Hellman erected his first building on the northwest corner of Los Angeles and Commercial Streets. In later years, another I. W. Hellman building went up on the site of the old family home at Fourth and Main Streets.

Throughout his lifetime, I. W. Hellman was a leader in the business and financial affairs of Los Angeles and was also active in civic and cultural matters. Though of the Jewish faith, he assisted liberally in the founding of the University of Southern California.

The only son of Isaias Hellman became a business man and financier in San Francisco. He died at the age of fifty while his father lay in a Los Angeles hospital in his last illness. The senior Isaias Hellman was never told of his son's passing because he was in no condition to bear the grief, since the father and son were exceptionally close to each other. It was well, because four months later, in April of 1920, the father followed his son into the Great Unknown.

MR. AND MRS. JOHN EDWARD HOLLENBECK

The Hollenbecks were Ohio people who migrated to Nicaragua where Mr. Hollenbeck had extensive business interests. He heard much of Los Angeles and came up to see it. He fell in love with the town at once and appreciated its possibilities for future growth. Returning to Nicaragua, he sold out his holdings there and, with his charming German wife, moved to Los Angeles.

This was in 1876. Mr. Hollenbeck was then forty-seven, and a very wealthy man. In a short time he was one of the leading citizens and financiers in town. He bought a large tract of land east of the river along Boyle Avenue and built a magnificent home with extensive varandas. He even installed a plant for generating his own gas to illuminate the house. The estate was his hobby and his pride.

The horse-car mode of transportation was still in its infancy. Judge Robert Widney owned a line with three cars. This he sold to John Edward Hollenbeck and Stephen C. Hubbell who quickly improved the line and added new ones. Then came the cable cars and Mr. Hollenbeck was one of the promoters of that system. He bought a large block of stock in the Commercial Bank and assisted in its conversion into the First National Bank of Los Angeles and became its president. Within three years, ill-health forced his retirement from a scheduled business routine, but he remained active as an investor.

Purchasing extensive acreage around Los Angeles, he planted three hundred acres to grape vines, and set out groves of oranges and lemons in the San Gabriel Valley. Besides these agricultural ventures, he owned the thirty-five hundred acre La Puente grain and stock ranch.

He also bought many lots in town including a horse corral at Second and Spring Streets. On this site he built the original Hollenbeck Hotel, a two-story structure with a foundation strong enough to support additional stories in the future.

The Hollenbecks were not all cold business. They had a very warm and human side. Although they were childless, they were fond of children and played god-father and god-mother to the youngsters of the community. They entertained them in their home and gave gifts lavishly, especially during the Christmas seasons. There is another example of the kindness of the couple. Mr. Hollenbeck held the mortgage on a lot 120 feet by 165 feet on the corner of Second Street and Fort (Broadway). There was a cottage on the

Pioneer Builders of Los Angeles

lot occupied by a widow. It became necessary to foreclose the mortgage, which Mr. Hollenbeck did, but he gave the widow a deed to the forty feet on which her cottage stood.

After Mr. Hollenbeck's retirement as president of the First National Bank, the couple traveled both in the United States and abroad. The good man became increasingly ill and he passed away in their home on September 2, 1885. He was then fifty-six and had lived in Los Angeles only nine years.

The kind, gentle, but efficient Mrs. Hollenbeck carried on. She added two more stories to the Hollenbeck Hotel and made it into a fine, yet home-like hostelry — a rendezvous for Angelenos.

The William H. Workman family lived near the Hollenbecks. A ravine ran through the land, part of which was owned by William Workman and part by Mrs. Hollenbeck. Together they donated it to the city for a park. Mr. Workman laid out the walks and started the work of landscaping the area. The lake was created by the Boyle Avenue fill across the ravine. Mrs. Hollenbeck suggested the name Workman-Hollenbeck for the new recreation area, but Mr. Workman insisted his name be omitted from the title. Thus Hollenbeck Park was added to the beauty spots of the city. Eastlake (Lincoln) Park and Westlake (MacArthur) Park had been created some ten years earlier.

Still another philanthropic achievement must be credited to Mrs. Hollenbeck. She created the Hollenbeck Home for aged people as a memorial to her husband. It was constructed on the fourteen and one-half acres surrounding her own home. Besides the building site, she gave several valuable properties to provide the means for the construction and maintenance of the home. These properties included the Hollenbeck Hotel and the Hollenbeck Block. The Hollenbeck Home is still serving the elderly on Boyle Avenue beside the busy Sixth Street arterial.

The good woman continued to live in her own home on the grounds until September 6, 1918, when she left to join her husband in the Great Beyond.

THOMAS D. MOTT

An Angeleno with "personality plus" was Thomas D. Mott. Noted for his social graces, pleasant manners, handsome features, and immaculate grooming, he was also a thoroughly successful business man and a leader in civic and political affairs of the community.

Thomas Mott came from New York State where he was born on July 31,

1829. He had been self-supporting ever since he was fifteen years old when he went to work in a local store. When the Gold Rush fever struck the country, he came to California and tried placer mining, but only for a short time. Then he attempted merchandising in Stockton. In 1851 he established a ferry across the San Joaquin River. This venture, too, was of short duration. A year later he came to Los Angeles — and remained here for the rest of his life. His friendly nature caused him to be warmly received. In the days when the use of first names was quite unusual, his friends called him Tom.

From the start, Tom took an active interest in local affairs. His first business venture here was a livery stable on North Main Street.

Two days before Christmas in 1861, before a large assemblage of relatives and friends, Tom Mott took for his bride the charming, refined, gracious, and intelligent Ascención, daughter of Don José Andres and Doña Francisca Avila Sepúlveda. The Sepúlvedas owned the great San Joaquin Rancho below Santa Ana, now known as the Irvine Ranch. Mrs. Mott proved a real asset to her husband in his political and business career.

A Democrat in politics, he was elected County Clerk in 1863 and was re-elected for three more terms. In this position he showed great ability. In 1871 he was chosen by the people to represent the Los Angeles area in the State Assembly. While in Sacramento, he did much to bring the main line of the Southern Pacific through Los Angeles instead of through San Bernardino as was originally planned by the company. In 1876, Mott served as a delegate to the National Democratic convention at St. Louis.

In 1886, he established the big Mott Public Market on South Main Street. It was a substantial brick building with the Armony Hall occupying the second floor. This hall served as a theater for many years in which traveling troupes presented their plays to the townspeople. Tom Mott also acquired considerable other property in various parts of town.

The family home of the Motts was on the west side of Main Street between Fifth and Sixth. There were five children, three sons and two daughters. Thomas D. Mott, II, became a prominent attorney in Los Angeles.

For more than fifty years this tall, dignified, gentleman, always carrying his ivory-handled cane, was a familiar figure on the streets of Los Angeles. In February of 1904, Angelenos mourned the loss of their respected friend — and worthy citizen of the city.

LAS FAMILIAS de CALIFORNIA

(*The Families of California*)

Conducted by MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

Genealogical Queries and Answers

14. My grandparents came to Butte County, California, in 1854 from Dade County, Missouri, just after they were married. Grandmother was born in Indiana in 1835 and her father is said to have been Samuel Clark. Grandfather was Silas Abner Boyd who may have been born in McMinn County, Tennessee, in 1831. I would appreciate any information offered regarding the parents of my grandparents. — Lois Vernon Wheeler, 338 N-E 191st Avenue, Portland 30, Oregon.

15. I am seeking descendants of Frederick, Edward or Clemens Wright, all born in California within a decade of 1870. They were grandsons of Enoch Wright who prospected at Marysville between 1850-1853. Enoch Wright and his sons resided in Visalia after 1853. — Mrs. Kenneth N. Roehl, 8351 Lakeshore Road, Lexington, Michigan.

Genealogical Notes

Los Angeles in 1816

From the Bancroft Library

Translated and Edited by MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

(Continued from the June issue)

27. Segundo Valenzuela, retired, married (wife Agustina Alcántara), entered in the year of 1800. He has no land. He sows in the pueblo and has a garden.

28. Tomás Uribes, married (wife Marcela Cota), entered in 1798. He was given land which he cultivates even now.

29. Pedro Pérez, married (wife María Guadalupe Pérez), entered in 1805. He was given no land. He has a garden.

30. Cayetano Varelas, married (wife María Hilaria Avila), entered in 1809. He has no land. He has a garden.

31. Ignacio Valencia, married (wife Luisa Varelas), entered in the year 1808. He has no land. He has a garden.

32. Ramón Sotelo, retired, married (wife María Marcela Lisalde), entered in the year 1805; he has no land.

33. Francisco Sotelo, retired, married (wife María Josefa Silvas), entered in 1803; he has no land.

34. Francisco Acebedo, retired, married (Wife María de la Concepción Verdugo), entered in the year 1808; he has no land; he has a garden.

35. Doroteo Feliz, retired, married (wife Juana Villalobo), entered in the year 1803; he has a *sitio* (site) and rancho that belonged to his deceased father.

36. Leandro Duarte, retired, married (wife María Briones), entered in the year 1809; he has no land.

Las Familias de California

37. Antonio Ygnacio Avila, married (wife Rosa María Ruiz), entered in 1799; he was given land, he cultivated it for a while and now he lives, with permission, on the Rancho of Gutiérrez.

38. Francisco Avila, married (wife María del Rosario Verdugo), entered in the year 1804; he has no land; he has sown on the lands of the pueblo and has a garden.

39. Máximo Alanis,* retired, married (wife Juana Miranda); he has no land; he has a garden.

40. Juan López, married (wife María Dolores Salgado), entered the year of 1799; he has no land; he sows in the land of the pueblo.

41. Jacinto Reyes, married (wife María Antonia Machado), entered the year 1804; he sows in the land of his deceased father.

42. Nicolás Alanis, married (wife María Fernanda Tapia), entered the year 1807; he has no land; he supports himself by being a servant.

43. Antonio Romero, married (wife María Dorotea Alanis), entered the year of 1807; he has no land; he worked at his trade of pottery-maker.

44. Urcino Tapia, married (wife Mariana Lorenzana), entered the year 1809; he has no land.

45. Xavier Alvarado, retired, married (wife María Ignacia Amada), entered July 1, 1810; he has no land; he sows in the land of the pueblo and has a garden.

46. José Palomares, retired, married (wife María Benita Sáez), entered in the year 1810 on December 19; he has land and he cultivates it.

47. Rafael Arriola, married (wife María Manuela Cañedo), entered in 1811; he has no land but supports himself as a sower (of seeds) in the missions.

48. Anastacio Avila, married (wife Juana Ballesteros), entered in the year 1799; he has land he cultivated and now lives on the rancho of Manuel Gutiérrez, with permission from Captain José Argüello.

49. José Félix, retired, married (wife María Celia Cota), entered in 1813; he has no land; he has a garden.

50. Mariano Cota, retired, widower** (of María Guadalupe Márquez), entered the year of 1814; he has no land.

51. Vicente Sánchez, married (wife María Victoria Higuera), entered in 1814; he has no land; he has a garden.

52. Encarnación Urquides, married (wife María Dolores Lisalde), entered in 1812; he has no land; he has a garden.

53. Dolores Sepúlveda, married (wife María Ignacia Avila), entered in 1814; he lives on the rancho Gutiérrez.

54. Ignacio Almenares, married (wife María Emilia Ceseña), entered in 1813; he has no land; he supports himself being a servant.

55. Francisco Avila, married, entered ?; he has no land. (This may be the repeated entry of No. 38.)

56. Ignacio Rendon, married (wife María Matilde Cota), entered the year of 1810; he has no land; he has a garden.

57. Claudio López, married (wife María Luisa Cota), entered the year 1811; he was not given land; he has a garden.

58. Juan José Duarte, married (wife María Gertrudis Moreno), entered 1814; he has no land.

59. Cayetano Duarte, married (wife María Vicenta Avila Pérez), entered 1813; he has no land; he supports himself by being a servant.

60. Juan Nepomucino Alvarado, married (wife María del Carmen Palomares), entered in the year 1812; he has no land but supports himself with his father; he has a garden.

61. Joaquín Ruiz, married (wife María Quirina Ybarra), entered the year 1813; he has no land.

62. José María Aguilar, married (wife María Ignacia Lisalde), entered in 1814, he has no land; he sows in the land of the pueblo.

63. Juan José Alvarado, married (wife María Antonia Valenzuela), entered 1815; he has no land.

64. Miguel Sáez, married (wife María Encarnación Varelas), entered the year 1806; he has no land; he supports himself by being a servant.

65. Cosme Olivas, married (wife María Victoria Monroy), entered ?; he has no land; he supports himself by being a servant.

66. Deciderio Ybarra, married (wife María de Jesús Valeriana Lorenzana), entered in 1814; he has no land, he has a garden.

67. José García, married (wife María Guadalupe Uribes), entered the year 1808; he has no land; he supports himself by being a servant and used to plant in the lands of the pueblo.

68. José Bermudes, retired, married (wife María Estefana Villa), entered the year of 1815; he has no land and sows in the land of the pueblo.

69. José Ruiz, retired, married (wife María Ignacia Lugo), entered in 1815; he has no land but sows in the land of the pueblo.

* The Bancroft copy lists "Mariano" instead of "Máximo." This is obviously an error as is proven by consulting contemporary records.

** Two days after this list was made, February 6, 1816, Mariano Cota married María Ignacia Rivera.

70. Francisco Sepúlveda, married (wife María Ramona Serrano), entered 1815; he has no land; he sows in that of the pueblo.

71. Ignacio Varelas, married (wife María Dolores Ruiz), entered in the year 1809; he was given a "sitio" (landsite) by Sr. Don José Argüello and he sows land in this pueblo and has a garden.

72. Antonio María Lugo, Alcalde, married (wife María Dolores Ruiz), entered in the year 1809; he was given a "sitio" (landsite) by Sr. Don José Argüello and he sows land in this Pueblo and has a garden.

73. Antonio Valdez, married (wife María Antonia Félix), entered the year 1815; he has no land but plants with his father Eugenio Valdez.

74. Carlos García, married (wife María del Carmen Alaya), entered in 1813; he has no land; he supports himself as a servant for the missions.

75. José Manuel Cota, married (wife Bárbara del Carmen Machado), entered in 1815; he has no land; he sows in that of the pueblo.

76. José María Soto, married (wife Crecensia García), entered in the year 1815; he has no land; he supports himself with his father Guillermo Soto.

77. José María Valenzuela, married (wife María de Jesús Rodríguez), entered 1815; he has no land; he supports himself as a servant for the ranchos.

78. Antonio López, widower (of María Viviana Monroy; married María Eulogia Palomares seven days later, February 11, 1816), entered in the year 1813; he has no land; he supports himself with his father and plants with him.

79. Agustín Carabantes, single, entered 1807; he supports himself as a servant.

80. Francisco Solorzano, widower (of María Rochin), entered in the year 1816.

81. Teodoro Silvas, married (wife María Luisa Alvarez), entered in the year 1816.

82. Juan Ruiz, single, entered in the year 1812; he supports himself as a servant.

83. Bruno Avila, single, entered in the year 1815; he supports himself with his brothers.

84. Gerónimo Cañedo, single, entered in 1812; he supports himself as a servant.

85. Ramón Buelna, single, entered in 1808.

86. Vicente Lorenzana, single, entered in 1812; he support himself as a servant.

87. Francisco Olivares, single, entered in the year 1815; he supports himself as a servant.

88. José María Farías, single, entered in the year 1815; he supports himself as a servant.

89. José María Rocha, single, an "agregado" (assistant) to the family of Encarnación Urquides, entered ?

90. Manuel Gonzales, single, entered in the year 1814; he supports himself as a servant.

91. Manuel Gutiérrez, single, he entered in 1811; retired to the rancho of the deceased Juan José Domínguez, as the owner shown on the paper given by the Señor Governor Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga.

92. José Verdugo, single, entered in the year 1814; he supports himself as a shoemaker.

93. José María Verdugo, retired, and married (wife María Encarnación López), entered to possess his rancho in the year 1811; he has ... *un cierto labor* (sic) ... and a garden.

94. Gabriel Sotelo, married (wife Agustina Amesquita), entered the year 1815; he has no land.

NOTES

Although some data on land which has been granted is lacking, as well as the work which they do on them, it is because they don't always continue in their work and it is uncertainable as to which is lacking or which is in existence.

Those who have papers or certificates from the supreme government are the following:

The Sergeant retired and promoted, José María Verdugo.

Manuel Gutiérrez.

The Military Corporal, Bartolo Tapia.

By the Señor Comandante Don José Argüello, Antonio María Lugo.

Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles, February 4, 1816.

(Signed) *Guillermo Cota*
rúbrica

BOOK REVIEWS

PAINTERS OF THE DESERT: *Glimpses of those who captured for themselves and for their fellowmen the beauty and message of the American Desert*, by Ed Ainsworth. (Published by Desert Magazine and printed by Desert Printers, Inc., Palm Desert, California, 1960.) Foreword by Carl Schaefer Dentzel, Director Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. *Many illustrations.*

This is truly a book of the desert, from the flaming orange butte standing stark against a blue sky as depicted by Conrad Buff on the paper wrapper that surrounds an equally dazzling orange binding with the title letters in gold, an exciting and slightly Oriental tone that holds mystery and promise of dramatic recitals as the pages unfold.

When we open the book the table of contents lists the thirteen famous painters of today whose works interpret the great spirit of the colorful Great American Desert. This is followed by Carl Dentzel's *Foreword* telling of the development of the West and of the pioneer artists who went out into the wilderness for various reasons and were enthralled by its beauties and compelled to put down on canvas their interpretations of its phenomena.

Now comes Ed Ainsworth with his enthusiastic *Prelude*, a paean to these magic regions, a well-worded history of the Colorado and Mojave Deserts, a descriptive list of the artists of the nineteenth century who portrayed sand and sage and mountain and were the vanguard of today's poets of the brush.

The thirteen painters included in the succeeding chapters are Maynard Dixon, Clyde Forsythe, Jimmy Swinnerton, Nicolai Fechin, Carl Eytel, Paul Lauritz,

Conrad Buff, Orpha Klinker, Don Luis Perceval, John Hilton, Burt Procter, R. Brownell McGrew and Bill Bender, all well-known names and, interesting to note, all painters of traditional art!

Each of these artists was drawn to the "Mirage Land" for different reasons, health, life under the stars, recreation, camping joys, but none of them were in search of monetary gain and all responded to the spiritual call of the colors at sunset, the burning curative heat of the day and the exciting smells and sounds of a vast wilderness.

The author, one of Southern California's best known newspaper journalists, a student of Western history and a lover of the desert, has presented, with his rich vocabulary and enthusiastic understanding of Nature, the lure of this land and the progress of the individual artist from his struggle against the elements to a successful exposition of figures and landscapes.

This is a volume interesting to read, instructive to study and a valuable addition to any fine collection of Californiana or of art, with its many original black and white illustrations as well as the thirteen beautiful color prints preceding the chapters about the thirteen dedicated painters. — *Dorothy Gleason.*

THE FREMONT DISASTER: 1848-1849. By The Participants. *Edited by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. Containing Frémont's Report, Diaries, Letters and Reports by Members of his Fourth Expedition.* (Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale.) *Introduction and Summary; Illustrations; Folding Map; Appendix; Index.* Pp. 320. \$12.50.

A tale of tragedy in the high mountains of Southern Colorado, where men hacked trails up canyons to snow clogged flats in an attempt to find a railroad route across the Rockies. Against his better judgement John Charles Frémont, who had already completed three successful expeditions from the mid-west to California, was induced to make a fourth. Backer

of this expedition was his father-in-law Thomas Hart Benton, U.S. Senator from St. Louis.

Earlier, Asa Whitney a New Yorker engaged in the China trade had, with the aid of Senator Niles of Connecticut, introduced a bill to give Whitney 100,000,000 acres of western land for building a railroad from New England to the Pacific.

Benton led the opposition to this and it was tabled 27 to 21.

Then Benton presented his bill for the Government to build its own road, financed by sale of public lands. This road was proposed to be built across Kansas and the Rocky Mountains from St. Louis to San Francisco. Both bills were defeated.

In 1841, young Lieutenant Frémont worked for J. N. Nicollet on the survey for a railroad from Charleston to Cincinnati. Later Nicollet took his protegee to meet Benton, where the young officer subsequently fell in love with and married Benton's daughter, Jessie.

During the Mexican War Frémont became involved in a dispute between General Stephen Watts Kearny and Commodore Robert Field Stockton. The latter, who had Frémont's support, lost. Frémont was convicted of mutiny. Although President Polk later pardoned him, he resigned from the Army.

Benton sent for Frémont. The Senator, determined to put through his Central Route project, induced three St. Louis business men to back him and hired Frémont to make the survey. By the fall of 1848 thirty-three experienced travelers, two-thirds of whom were veterans of the "Pathfinder's" previous expeditions, joined the party.

They left St. Louis on October 3 for Kansas Landing, up the Missouri. Prophetic of tragedy to come was Jessie's decision to accompany her husband, taking their only child, who was sick, and died enroute. Jessie left her husband at Kansas Landing and returned home.

Frémont, desperate in his determination to succeed, gathered supplies and pack mules and started via the Northern Santa Fe Trail to the Rio Grande. There the expedition headed up stream, intending to find a route over the summit. Progress was slow. Winter caught them in high barren ground.

Their supplies were depleted and they began to kill mules for food. Heavy snowfalls and fearful cold blocked further progress. Starved and frozen, men began to die. Survivors turned back, but only twenty-three reached the lower levels.

Of greatest importance and interest are reports by the leader; the diaries of Benjamin and Richard Kern; accounts of the struggle to survive by Thomas Martins, Micajah McGehee and the Breckenridges. Also letters to the families by some who died and others who survived.

This book is not for those planning a winter camping trip. It is, however, unsurpassed in the annals of courageous men determined to achieve success or die in the attempt. — *E. O. Sawyer, Jr.*

LOST OASES ALONG THE CARRIZO. By E. I. Edwards, with photographs and *Foreward* by Harold O. Weight. (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1961.) Pp. 126. \$12.50.

Mr. Edwards has brought back to life an important old trail that has been neglected and all but forgotten. It was the main route from the Colorado River both to San Diego and Los Angeles and was traveled by the gold seekers who came by the Southern Route. At that time it was well marked and was known throughout the nation. It became the route of the Butterfield Overland Mail in the late 1850's. Now it is a ghost trail. Mr. Edwards has dealt particularly with the section known as the Carrizo Corridor, a narrow canyon about fifteen miles long, through which the trail funnelled. It climbed from Carrizo to Vallecito in the Laguna Mountains east of San Diego, and was said to be the worst stretch in the entire trek.

The author points out other areas of much less historical interest — Death Valley, for example — that have won nation-wide attention because they have

been dramatized and publicized, while the Carrizo area has been neglected by historians and dramatists. He says his main reason for writing this book was to cast the light of publicity on this significant and deserving area of the Carrizo Corridor.

The Spanish leader and explorer, Pedro Fages, gave us the first written description of the Corridor when he went through it in 1782 on his journey from Mission La Concepcion on the Colorado River (near Yuma) to San Gabriel Mission, near the newly-founded pueblo of Los Angeles. He described two oases in the Corridor. The first of these is no longer in existence — probably washed away by a flood. The second, the author assumes to be the Palm Springs oasis, midway between Carrizo and Vallecito. (Not to be confused with the famous desert resort town of Palm Springs in Riverside County.)

The next important trek through the Corridor was made in November, 1846, by

Book Reviews

General Stephen W. Kearny at the head of his Dragoons of the Army of the West. Ragged, weary, parched with thirst after the waterless march across the Colorado Desert, Kearny's men did not ride their mules through the Corridor. They walked, and led or pushed the exhausted beasts over the rocks up the trail. Among the chroniclers of this journey were Colonel William H. Emory and Captain Abraham Johnston, both of whom described the Corridor and especially Palm Springs, the oasis midway through it. Captain Johnston was killed about a week later in the unequal battle of San Pasqual between the worn-out Dragoons and the superbly mounted cavalry of the Californians.

Less than two months after General Kearny's trek through the Corridor came Colonel P. St. George Cooke at the head of the Mormon Battalion, also in the War with Mexico. Colonel Cooke, in his *Journal*, gave an excellent description of the Palm Springs oasis. He said a fine, clear stream gushed out from steep embankments. There were several springs and twenty or thirty palm trees. Pedro Fages had recorded only four palm trees. However, the number could have increased from four to twenty in the intervening sixty-five years. The author points out the difficulty of the researcher in locating places by the variation in the descriptions of early journalists. Also, conditions in the same spot may have been different in different years.

In 1849, the gold seekers began pouring through the Corridor. Nobody knows how many thousands came by the Southern Route, nor how many unmarked graves border the trail. Certainly the route was odiferous with decaying carcasses of mules and horses. The author laments that where the emigrants traveled, the lovely palm trees usually disappeared. Only charred stumps remain today.

In 1849, also, Lieutenant A. W. Whipple and Lieutenant Cave J. Coutts made the journey through the Corridor from San Diego to the Colorado River; Whipple in charge of a surveying party, and Coutts at the head of the party's military escort. Both men contributed valuable information on the trail and its oases: Whipple in his *Report* and Coutts in his *Journal*.

Fortunately for the gold seekers, New River was flowing that year, giving the travelers blessed relief in the burning desert that lay between the Colorado River and the mountains to the west.

Lieutenant Coutts, along with Dr. Blake who came shortly after, were the first to give the correct explanation of the mysterious New River that flowed only occasionally — a branch of the Colorado, yet flowing in the opposite direction. An overflow river, it streams out of (not into) the Colorado, and returns to the ancient inland sea which is now the Imperial Valley. During the temporary flow of New River in 1849 and 1850, the emigrants varied their route slightly to take advantage of the precious water. In his *Journal*, Lieutenant Coutts said the appearance of New River that year seemed like "the work of an Invisible Hand to aid the thousands of distressed emigrants."

Dr. William P. Blake was a geologist who came over the trail and through the Carrizo Corridor with the first Pacific Railway Survey in search of a possible route for a future railroad to California. He, too, contributed information of historical and geographic value.

In 1858, the Butterfield Overland Mail service began. The company ran regular stages over the Southern Route and through the Corridor with stations at the southeastern end at Carrizo, Palm Springs about midway through, and at Vallecito at the northwestern end of the Corridor. The stage line operated until the Civil War terminated its existence. Then came the railroad to San Francisco and on down the coast to Los Angeles. The whistle of the steam locomotive was the death knell of the old Carrizo trail. It had served its day of usefulness. It was discarded, forgotten — became a ghost trail.

Today a good road runs through the Corridor and about midway, a post bears the sign, "To Mesquite Springs" — a name which the author feels degrades and defames the faithful old oasis that revived and comforted so many travelers in the past.

Mr. Edwards has done a scholarly piece of work. His research is thorough, yet the book is neither dull nor pedantic. It is delightfully entertaining. Of special interest is his *Bibliography* which is not merely a list of the books used in his reference work, but a brief review of each. He points out his reason for this departure from the conventional bibliography. It is to acquaint his readers with further literature on the subject, according to their particular interests. A most helpful idea. *LOST OASES ALONG THE CARRIZO* is a valuable book for the historian, the student, and the layman. — *Margaret Romer.*

PORTALS WEST. *A Folio of Late Nineteenth Century Architecture in California*, by E. Geoffrey Bangs. (California Historical Society, San Francisco, 1960.) Illus., pp. 86, cloth. \$10.00.

For many years, most of us have looked upon things Victorian as impure, imperfect, or slightly illogical. A house of this vintage was an ideal locale for spooks, psychological novels, or Charles Addams cartoons. But, *live* in one? Preserve one? *Never!* Fortunately, these views are rapidly becoming old hat. Well preserved Victoriana is excellent real estate; has long provided choice items for the antique dealer; and too often seems to be in the way of freeways, supermarkets, and projected parking lots.

PORTALS WEST is a leisurely photographic tour of buildings built during the latter half of the nineteenth century in Northern and Central California. A collection of thirty-six handsome photographs, they are the work of the author, who is by profession an architect. According to the *Preface*, this is but a portion of a larger collection — which we can hope, will lead to a second and similar volume in the future. Accompanying each plate is a page of text which is highly readable, and understandable.

Commonly one thinks of Victorian architecture in terms of its "gingerbread"

appendages, little realizing that this was but one phase of the period's moods. Some may view with surprise the timeless, but Victorian beauty of the Mendicino County Court House, or Volcano's St. George Hotel. Coupled with such are the more familiar rococco Governor's mansion at Sacramento, and several interesting "Gothic Revival" houses. Selection continues with business blocks, fire houses, churches, barns, covered bridges — located in such out-of-the-way places as *Timbucktoo, Volcano, Orinda, Bodie or Calistoga*.

Not to be missed is the grim warning, that already some of these fascinating buildings are nothing more than a photograph, a memory; that the sight is now occupied by a parking lot, or housing unit. The enormous population expansion in California should make some of us think seriously about what we hope will be here tomorrow. Progress is bound to take its toll, but is is tragic to see progress confused with a dollar sign in someone's bank account.

PORTALS WEST is for your enjoyment, and it can be a lodestar to an architectural tour of the northern reaches of the Golden State. — *J. Thomas Owen*.

LINCOLN AS LAWYER, by John P. Frank. (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1961.) Cloth. Pp. 190. \$4.75.

Had Lincoln died in 1860 in all probability his name would be unknown to us. This volume is the result of a seminar on Lincoln taught by Attorney Frank at Yale Law School. Although the Lincoln as lawyer theme has been critically covered before, Frank's clinical analysis of Lincoln's growth, his methods and techniques as a trial lawyer, and his appearance in two hundred fifty-three cases before the Illinois Supreme Court are skillfully handled.

The first ninety-eight pages trace Lincoln's growth and development. Forty-two pages are then devoted to the practitioner in public life, and cover his legislative experiences, his debates with Stephen Douglas, and his Cooper Union Address which made him a national figure.

The final twenty-five pages tend to relate how Lincoln's experiences as practitioner helped equip him to combat the many serious problems which confronted him as President. His literary masterpieces, his handling of men of conflicting political opinions, his treatment of con-

stitutional questions engendered by secession, the suspension of habeas corpus, the Draft Act, the Emancipation Proclamation and his manipulation resulting in the passage of the 13th Amendment — these can be traced to his career as attorney and legislator.

High on the list of Lincoln's professional skills was his capacity for effective expression, his talent of word choice, his clarity and appeal. The English language was to Lincoln a musical instrument on which he could hit the exact note he wanted.

His use of simple language in his presentations to rural juries was comparable to his appeal to the average voter during the term of his presidency. "Honest Abe" and "Old Abe" he was affectionately called when still a young man. This same affection and confidence which he instilled in the common man helped tide him over during his most troublesome hours.

Strangely, Lawyer Frank makes no mention of the Matson case in which Lincoln, as co-counsel, represented a slave owner

Book Reviews

who sought to have his slave returned from Illinois to Kentucky. An Appendix listing the names of the attorneys who were associated with Lincoln on the 8th Judicial Circuit, the roster of the Judges of the Illinois Supreme Court before whom

Lincoln practiced, and a bibliography would have been useful. Trial attorneys and those interested in constitutional problems will find this copiously annotated and carefully prepared volume of special interest. — *Justin G. Turner.*

LAST OF THE VAQUEROS, by Arnold R. Rojas. (Fresno, California: Academy Library Guild, 1960.) Pp. 165. \$3.75.

This small book is a piece of personal reminiscence by a ranch hand with long experience in California's southern San Joaquin Valley. Reasonably well-written, it is neither history nor chronicle, in either a professional or amateurish sense. It is, instead, a testimonial to a vanishing way of life in an era when housing tracts and freeways are crowding out the old rancho heritage.

Folklore, tradition, and the know-how of roping and branding form the backbone

of a narrative that will interest lovers of the open range, especially the California variety.

Whether Rojas, a Californian by birth of Sonoran extraction, has a legitimate claim to the title "Last of the Vaqueros" is, despite the publisher's blurb, a moot point. But, the sort of people who join the Westerners' Corrals and California's *Rancheros Visitadores* should especially enjoy his book and the chance to swap yarns with its author. — *Andrew F. Rolle.*

Activities of the Society

SEPTEMBER MEETING

The September meeting featured two speakers. President Gustave O. Arlt, after a few words of welcome to members and guests introduced Vice-President Justin G. Turner. Mr. Turner related some of his personal experiences as a manuscript collector. He stressed the importance of preserving private letters, family papers and records, regardless of whether some of its members were prominent on the local scene. Mr. Turner stated that after many years of study by a special committee set up by the American Historical Association, a national committee has been finally created for the purpose of preparing a National Union Catalogue similar to that of books and periodicals. It is expected that it will take from eight to ten years before publication. When completed, it will lessen the despair of researchers and authors in quest of historical primary material.

President Arlt introduced the next speaker. Mr. Eugene Vale, well-known author and lecturer. Mr. Vale is perhaps best remembered for his book, *THE THIRTEENTH APOSTLE*, which was on the best seller list throughout the country for many weeks and for which he won many very important awards. Mr. Vale spoke on "Historical fiction as it relates to mass audiences, motion pictures and best sellers." He stated the difference between the historian and the writer of historical fiction is that the historian's aim is very clear cut, he seeks the truth, but the audience interested in historical fiction does not truly seek the truth; instead seeks to discover it themselves.

Mr. Vale's novel, *THE THIRTEENTH APOSTLE*, took twenty-one years to write, his next novel dealing with Joshua was started fifteen years ago. Mr. Vale has written many important screen scripts. He

Activities of the Society

told of the amount of research that went into just one script dealing with the life of Luke. Mr. Vale's presentation of a workshop of a successful author in telling how he feels about the things he is doing was thoroughly enjoyed by members and guests present.

Through the kindness of Miss Ruth I. Mahood, curator of History at the Los Angeles County Museum, all were invited to see the *Civil War Exhibit* at the conclusion of the meeting.

At the coffee urns during the social hour were Mrs. Justin G. Turner and Mrs. Louis B. Slichter.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Many members having treasured ancestral keepsakes were impelled to give them to the Society because of the realization that in private possession they would, sooner or later, disappear or deteriorate, whereas, in the custody of the Historical Society of Southern California they will be preserved indefinitely.

MRS. MARCO R. NEWMARK, *Curator*

MRS. BEATRICE SABICHI MITCHEL — Spanish Prayer book given to Magdalena W. Sabichi, June 29, 1865. Printed in Paris, velvet and gold binding. Native Sons of the Golden West regalia belonged to Frank Sabichi when he was Grand Trustee. Bill of sale Ville de Paris. Advertisement: Wolfskill & Morris Real Estate Brokers, 1883.

ADRIAN K. ROBERTS — Painted plate of First Presbyterian Church of Encino.

MRS. FRANK S. BAILEY — Book: "CALIFORNIA MEMORIES," by Jackson A. Graves.

ANONYMOUS — Books: YEAR BOOK, Los Angeles High School, 1903. Bound copies of *Los Angeles Public Library Broadcaster*, Volume 1 — December 15, 1926, through Volume XIV, May, 1940; Volumes 23 and 24, 1949 and 1949.

New Members

Eleven new members have joined the Historical Society of Southern California during the last three months. The President and the Board of Directors take this opportunity to introduce the new members of the Society and to extend them a cordial welcome.

ANNUAL

Mrs. Nan Cotton
Spencer M. Crump, Jr.
Mrs. Ruth I. Fagin
Mrs. Mabel Foreman
Mrs. Dorothy Gleason
Jo Henderson
Mrs. J. Derry Kerr
Frank M. Parcher
Charles E. Shelton
Mr. and Mrs. Lamont L. Steele

STUDENT

Abe Hoffman

Correction, Please...

The photograph used to illustrate the cover of the June, 1961, issue of the QUARTERLY was identified as MARTIN AGUIRRE, FAMED SHERIFF. Society Director Eugene Biscailuz, former Los Angeles County sheriff, did not need the aid of his old detective bureau to discover the error. The handsome man pictured was William A. Hammel, the twenty-second sheriff of the county. The error was made through the transfer of valued gifts made to the Society by Miss Ruth Pico. They were identified as "*two* portraits of Martin Aguirre," instead of one portrait of Aguirre and one of Hammel. Unfortunately, we used the wrong picture.

In order that this error may be properly corrected we are printing a supplemental sheet, which accompanies this issue of the QUARTERLY, with the correct picture and caption. Will you please cut off the top portion of the gummed sheet along the dotted lines and paste it over the picture on the cover of your June, 1961, issue of the QUARTERLY?

Historical Society of Southern California

PUBLICATIONS

IN-PRINT ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Vol.	Part	Member Price	Non-Member Price
II	1 1891	\$4.00	\$5.00
III	4 1896	3.50	4.50
IV	1 1897	3.50	4.50
IV	2 1898	3.50	4.50
IV	3 1899	3.50	4.50
V	1 1900	3.50	4.50
V	2 1901	3.50	4.50
V	3 1902	3.50	4.50
VI	1 1903	3.50	4.50
VI	2 1904	3.50	4.50
VI	3 1905	3.50	4.50
VII	2-3 1907-1908	4.00	5.00
VIII	1-2 1909-1910	4.00	5.00
VIII	3 1911	3.50	4.00
IX	1-2 1912-1913	4.00	5.00
IX	3 1914	3.50	4.50
X	1-2 1915-1916	4.00	5.00
X	3 1917	3.50	4.50
XI	1 1918	3.50	4.50
XI	2 1919	3.50	4.50
XI	3 1920	3.50	4.50
XII	1 1921	3.50	4.50
XII	2 1922	3.50	4.50
XII	3 1923	3.50	4.50
XIII	1 1924	3.50	4.50
XIII	2 1925	3.50	4.50
XIII	3 1926	3.50	4.50
XIII	4 1927	3.50	4.50
XIV*	1 1928	3.50	4.50
XIV	2 1929	3.50	4.50
XIV	3 1930	3.50	4.50
XV	1 1931	6.50	7.50
XVI	1 1934	3.50	4.50

*Originally marked XIX in error.

OUT-OF-PRINT ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS

Year	Vol.	Part	Year	Vol.	Part
1884	I	1	1893	III	1
1886	I	2	1894	III	2
1887	I	3	1895	III	3
1888-1889	I	4	1906	VII	1
1890	I	5	1932	XV	2-3
1891	I	6	1933	XV	4

OUT-OF-PRINT QUARTERLY PUBLICATIONS

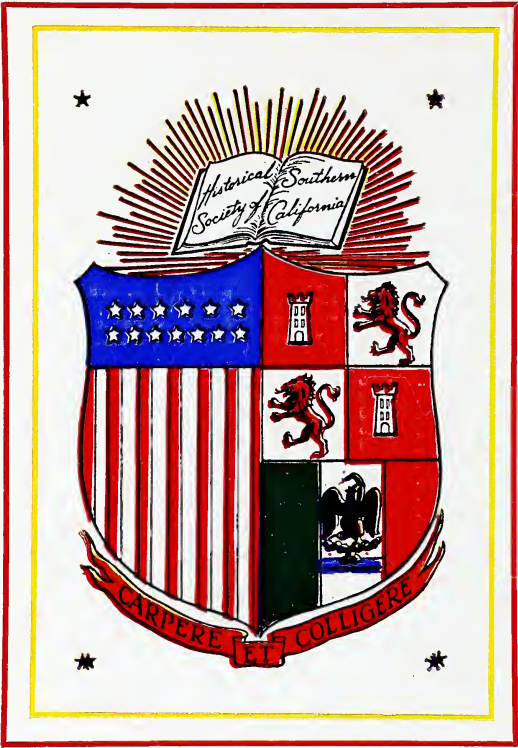
Year	Vol.	No.	Year	Vol.	No.
1935	XVII	1	1948	XXX	2
1935	XVII	2	1949	XXXI	1-2
1935	XVII	3	1949	XXXI	4
1935	XVII	4	1950	XXXII	1
1936	XVIII	1	1950	XXXII	2
1936	XVIII	2	1950	XXXII	4
1936	XVIII	3-4	1951	XXXIII	1
1937	XIX	1	1951	XXXIII	2
1937	XIX	2	1951	XXXIII	3
1940	XXII	1	1952	XXXIV	1
1940	XXII	2	1952	XXXIV	2
1940	XXII	3	1952	XXXIV	4
1941	XXIII	1	1953	XXXV	4
1941	XXIII	2	1955	XXXVII	2
1941	XXIII	3-4	1956	XXXVIII	1
1945	XXVII	4	1957	XXXIX	1
1946	XXVIII	2	1957	XXXIX	2
1946	XXVIII	3	1957	XXXIX	3
1947	XXIX	1	1959	XLI	1
1948	XXX	1			

IN-PRINT QUARTERLY PUBLICATIONS

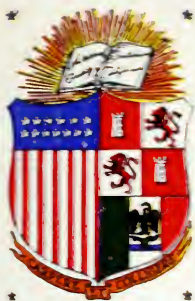
Vol.	No.	Date	Member Price	Non-Member Price
XIX	3-4	Sept.-Dec., 1937	\$4.00	\$5.00
XX	1	March, 1938	2.50	4.00
XX	2	June, 1938	2.50	4.00
XX	3	September, 1938	2.50	4.00
XX	4	December, 1938	2.50	4.00
XXI	1	March, 1939	2.50	4.00
XXI	2-3	June-Sept., 1939	4.00	5.00
XXI	4	December, 1939	2.50	4.00
XXII	4	December, 1940	2.50	4.00
XXIV	1	March, 1942	2.50	4.00
XXIV	2	June, 1942	2.50	4.00
XXIV	3	September, 1942	2.50	4.00
XXIV	4	December, 1942	2.50	4.00
XXV	1-2	March-June, 1943	4.00	5.00
XXV	3	September, 1943	2.50	4.00
XXV	4	December, 1943	2.50	4.00
XXVI	1	March, 1944	2.50	4.00
XXVI	2-3	June-Sept., 1944	4.00	5.00
XXVI	4	December, 1944	2.50	4.00
XXVII	1	March, 1945	2.50	4.00
XXVII	2-3	June-Sept., 1945	4.00	5.00
XXVIII	1	March, 1946	2.50	4.00
XXVIII	4	December, 1946	2.50	4.00
XXIX	2	June, 1947	2.50	4.00
XXIX	3-4	Sept.-Dec., 1947	4.00	5.00
XXX	3	September, 1948	2.50	4.00
XXX	4	December, 1948	2.50	4.00
XXXI	3	September, 1949	2.50	4.00
XXXII	3	September, 1950	2.50	4.00
XXXIII	4	December, 1951	2.50	4.00
XXXIV	3	September, 1952	2.50	4.00
XXXV	1	March, 1953	2.50	4.00
XXXV	2	June, 1953	2.50	4.00
XXXV	3	September, 1953	2.50	4.00
XXXVI	1	March, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVI	2	June, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVI	3	September, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVI	4	December, 1954	2.50	4.00
XXXVII	1	March, 1955	2.50	4.00
XXXVII	3	September, 1955	2.50	4.00
XXXVII	4	December, 1955	2.50	4.00
XXXVIII	2	June, 1956	2.50	4.00
XXXVIII	3	September, 1956	2.50	4.00
XXXVIII	4	December, 1956	2.50	4.00
XXXIX	4	December, 1957	2.50	4.00
XL	1	March, 1958	2.50	4.00
XL	2	June, 1958	2.50	4.00
XL	3	September, 1958	2.50	4.00
XL	4	December, 1958	2.50	4.00
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XLI	3	September, 1959	2.50	4.00
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XLII	2	June, 1960	2.50	4.00
XLII	3	September, 1960	2.50	4.00
XLII	4	December, 1960	2.50	4.00

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California



DECEMBER, 1961 — Vol. XLIII — No. 4



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
QUARTERLY

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— Photo courtesy Mrs. Alice C. Martin

LINCOLN BEACHEY

*Pioneer ballonist who performed at Dominguez Air Meet in 1910.
See AMERICA'S FIRST INTERNATIONAL AIR MEET — page 369.*

GENEALOGY DEPARTMENT

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed an unbroken record of continuous activity and growth. Commencing in 1884, and each year until 1934, the Society issued an ANNUAL Publication. In 1935 the QUARTERLY was initiated. It is published each March, June, September and December. Our other publications include a complete BIBLIOGRAPHY and a complete TOPICAL INDEX of all our published works through 1957.

It is the aim of the Publications Committee to make the QUARTERLY a publication of general historical interest. All persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history of the West.

The Society's Purposes and Objectives are:

- To sponsor and encourage observances of historic dates and anniversaries;
- To preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest with particular stress on Southern California;
- To assist in the marking and restoration of landmarks which inspire interest and respect for events, persons and customs of the past;
- To promote activity in the conservation of public records, historical documents, newspapers, museum material and related Californiana;
- To preserve, as an aid to business and industry, business records, industrial and transportation history and the use of historic material in public relations;
- To encourage the increased use of history in the schools, to the end that there shall be developed a greater interest in, respect for, and loyalty to our American institutions;
- To publish material of permanent historic interest and significance;
- To assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities;
- To hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles (except during the summer months) at which persons of recognized authority in their respective subjects appear as guest speakers, followed by refreshments and a social hour;
- To gather at least once each year in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

The Society is a public non-profit corporation. Its principal sources of revenue are from membership dues, contributions and bequests. It renders a needed public service and is worthy of your support.

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*Membership dues and contributions to the Society are deductible income tax items.
* Available only to bona fide students under 25 years of age.*

Articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to the Editor. Other correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARGARET J. CASSIDY, *Executive Secretary*

1909 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles 18, California

Telephone REpublic 4-2823

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FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

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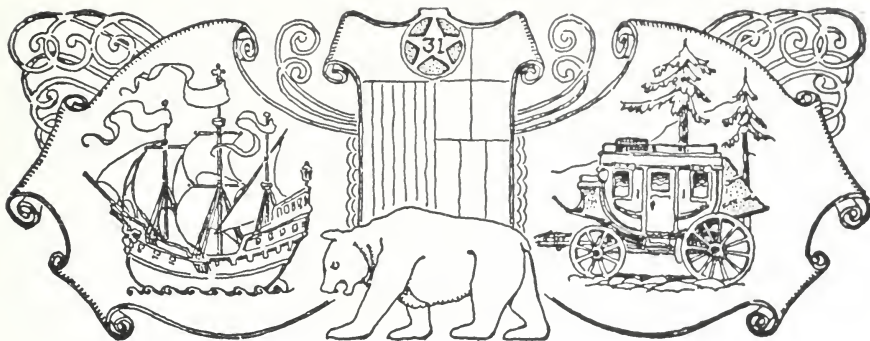
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MRS. STAFFORD L. WARREN, *Associate Editor*

The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY, DECEMBER, 1961

AMERICA'S FIRST INTERNATIONAL AIR MEET

By J. Wesley Neal



AMERICA'S FIRST INTERNATIONAL AIR MEET, held January 10-20, 1910, on table-topped Dominguez Hill, a little more than half-way between Los Angeles and the Pacific Ocean, was a thrown-together, circus-like affair which astounded both its promoters and the public with its color and appeal. It also presaged the revolution which converted Los Angeles from an agricultural and touristic center to a major industrial city.¹

The whole thing began, you might say, at St. Louis, Missouri, in October, 1909, where Albert Bond Lambert, a leading industrialist and aviation enthusiast, had engendered sufficient interest and financial backing to attract outstanding American aeronauts.² The chief performer was Glenn H. Curtiss who, as the lone American entrant at the International Aviation Meet at Rheims, France, in August of that year, had won the Gordon Bennett Cup Race and the Prix de la Vitesse.³ Curtiss had received a guarantee of \$5,000.00 to fly his record-making biplane, the "Golden Flyer," at St. Louis.⁴

Highlight of the event was Curtiss's early-morning flight during Veiled Prophet Week, Missouri's Mardi Gras, when thousands of St. Louis Citizens turned out to watch the skilled pilot soar over trees and fields. The public's interest in Curtiss's flights moved Roy Knabenshue, one of America's pioneer balloonists and dirigible operators, to remark, "The aeroplane is here to stay."⁵

Knabenshue, who promoted and managed many of the aviation events at which he appeared as performer, gathered a group of aviators, who were present at St. Louis, including Curtiss, and discussed the possibility of capitalizing upon the growing interest in aviation, especially heavier-than-aircraft. Their concensus called for the immediate scheduling of a first-class meet featuring aeroplanes and as many famous aviators as possible. Although name performers would carry the burden of responsibility for the show's success, open competition would be encouraged. Knabenshue had ballooned in Los Angeles as early as 1904. This fact, plus the approach of winter and the need for quick action, made Los Angeles the choice for a meet to be held in January, 1910.⁶

By late 1909, Los Angeles was looking for the stimulus which such an event could provide. The city, which had shown promise early in the century, had gone through a series of ups and downs which had climaxed in the famous, but localized, economic plight of 1908 still referred to, by remembering Angelenos, as "the year of the scrip."⁷ After-effects of this situation still prevailed in 1909 and no man in the community was in a position to know this better than Max Ihmsen, general manager of the Los Angeles *Examiner*.

Ihmsen was sitting in his Los Angeles office one day in 1909 when Dick Ferris walked in and introduced himself as the representative of Knabenshue and the other St. Louis aviators. Ferris, an early-day Billy Rose, had been charged with the responsibility for making contacts in Los Angeles and getting the ball rolling. Ihmsen was enthusiastic. He would be glad to organize local support and give the event every possible encouragement. He had, however, one suggestion: why not make the meet international in scope? "Let's bring in Europe," he said.⁸

Ihmsen cabled Edmund Cleary, an American acquaintance who was in Europe acting as manager for the French aeronaut, Louis Paulhan.⁹ Cleary agreed to bring Paulhan for a fee of \$50,000.00.¹⁰

There existed, in early 1910, a distinctively different viewpoint between Americans and Europeans regarding aviation. Ballooning and dirigible development still occupied the chief interest on this

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side of the Atlantic. Save for a few pioneers, who had achieved fame, and a sprinkling of amateurs whose abilities were, as yet, unproved, the only Americans who could assert claim to competency and experience with heavier-than-air craft, both as builders and pilots, were Glenn H. Curtiss and the Wright brothers.¹¹ Ironically, Curtiss had achieved his greatest reputation as an aviator on the European Continent. The Wrights had seen their ideas incorporated into several European designs, but, except for token gestures, the United States government had shown little interest in the possibility of the aeroplane.¹²

By contrast, through December, 1909, Europeans had achieved varying degrees of success.¹³ Huge cash prizes for outstanding aeroplane performances, plus encouragement from several European governments had fostered this development. Louis Paulhan, specialist in the daring or unique and one of the most colorful aviators on the Continent, was a product of this trend.

Louis Paulhan, born in France around 1884,¹⁴ was working as a ten-dollar-a-week tight-rope walker in a circus early in 1909. During the summer he found employment as a mechanic in the expanding Voisin aeroplane plant at Paris.¹⁵ Paulhan had married and was prepared to settle down to a career as a factory laborer when he was inspired to submit an entry in an aeroplane design competition which the aeroplane manufacturers, Voisin and Farman were sponsoring. Paulhan won first prize which was a new Farman biplane.¹⁶

About the same time, the Gnome engine manufacturers were looking for someone who would test and publicize their product.¹⁷ Paulhan accepted this responsibility, a happy choice. On August 25, at Bethany, France, soon after he had learned to fly, he set a dual distance and endurance record of eighty-three and seven-tenths miles in two hours, forty-three minutes, twenty-four and four-tenths seconds. The feat made him world famous.¹⁸

Paulhan a small, delicate man with a slight, Gallic moustache, his wife Celeste, Edmund Cleary, and two aviation associates, Didier Masson and Eduard Miscalrol, arrived in New York on January 3, 1910.¹⁹ Paulhan's aeroplanes consisted of two Bleriot monoplanes and two Henri Farman biplanes.²⁰ These were the only foreign machines to be seen at Dominguez.²¹ But they were probably representative of the highest development of European aeronautical science to that date. This was especially true of the Farman which was the first widely used aeroplane on the Continent.²²

Paulhan and his retinue found a rather strange reception com-

mittee awaiting them at the New York dock. For some time, Glenn H. Curtiss and the Wright brothers had been involved in a dispute which centered around the Wrights' claim that Curtiss was using, on his aeroplane, a stabilizing device — the aileron — which was a Wright invention, protected by patents.²³ The Wrights had also projected their claims into the field of European litigation, including France, where they insisted that the Farman aeroplane was likewise an infringement upon their patents.²⁴

The Wrights had sued Curtiss as early as September 30, 1909, in an effort to preclude his making or selling aeroplanes in violation of their patent rights.²⁵ Upon hearing of the California meet, in which Curtiss was to take part, they sought to prevent the event from taking place.²⁶

Paulhan and his company had just set foot on American soil, when Cleary was handed a summons directing Paulhan to appear in the United States Court of Appeals on the first Monday in February.²⁷ This action also originated with the Wrights who felt that Paulhan's Los Angeles appearance would cause them commercial damage.²⁸

The aviation committee exchanged telegraphic correspondence with the Wrights in which it was explained, not altogether truthfully, that the Los Angeles affair was to be a public service enterprise, free from the taint of commercialism.²⁹

A legal turn of affairs, however, worked to the advantage of the Dominguez Meet. On January 8, in Buffalo, New York, a Federal Court granted an order suspending, pending final action, the temporary injunction obtained by the Wrights prohibiting the manufacture and sale of aeroplanes by the Herring-Curtiss Company (Curtiss's factory at Hammondsport, New York). The suspension, which also brought temporary relief to Curtiss for his alleged patent infringement, was conditioned on the filing, by Curtiss, of a \$1,000.00 bond which would be forfeited in the event that damages were awarded to the Wrights. The order also gave Curtiss specific liberty to make flights at Los Angeles, and elsewhere, during the time the patent action was in litigation.³⁰

The most active of all Los Angeles bodies working in support of the meet was the ticket committee. Organized in twenty-four hours, this group soon had ready for distribution 416,000 tickets ranging in price from fifty cents for grandstand space to one dollar for box seats. For the privilege of parking and viewing the aviators from the comfort of their automobiles, citizens were also to be charged one dollar.³¹

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Nor were the tub thumpers lacking in ingenuity. Curtiss's business associate, J. S. Fanciulli, released an announcement to the effect that he had consulted back issues of the local newspapers and had discovered that January winds in Los Angeles averaged three miles an hour.³²

The possibility of macabre accidents was suggested. Details of prior air mishaps were a feature of daily press stories: Santos-Dumont, the daring Brazilian aeronaut whose wing snapped, throwing him into fierce somersaults;³³ Mme. de la Roche, the French lady dare-devil, who hit a tree while flying near Chalons, France;³⁴ poor de La Grange, one of France's bravest and most distinguished pioneers aviators, whose machine came apart — alas — sixty-five feet in the air, throwing the unfortunate fellow to the ground where his head was smashed beneath the weight of his own engine.³⁵ As if this and photographs of wrecked flying machines were not sufficient to attract the most morbid, a note was published which mentioned that ambulance and emergency equipment would be on the grounds at all times.³⁶ The desired results were forthcoming. Boxes sold like half-price haircuts, some to patrons as far away as San Francisco and the Middle West.³⁷

Los Angeles businessmen also showed originality by linking their advertising campaigns to the approaching air meet. Real estate salesmen encouraged prospective buyers to own a home on Mount Washington where the view is like soaring "in a balloon."³⁹ One department store claimed to soar "above them all" in the quality of "bust forms, self-reducing corsets, silk suspenders."⁴⁰ Ads featured aeroplane radiator caps for the gentleman's automobile.⁴¹ Field glasses for a "study" of the "air monarchs at close range" were offered at bargain prices.⁴² Newspaper copy promoting women's blouses "suitable for Aviation Week"⁴³ ran side by side with a printed promise that the Woman's Aviation Club would sponsor a "Ladies' Day" at the meet.⁴⁴ Even the comic strips seemed to catch the spirit of the times as the current favorite, "Little Nemo," floated across the daily funny page in his giant dirigible.⁴⁵ One ominous news item, though, warned Angelenos to be on lookout for extra-clever crooks from the East "who have descended on the city to take advantage of us."⁴⁶

Two favorite entertainers of the day, each a giant in his field, Harry Lauder, stage performer, and Barney Oldfield, racing driver, were in town to hawk their respective talents, but the crowd was for the aeroplanes.⁴⁷ Five thousand San Diegans arrived for the meet,⁴⁸ marching bands and pennant waving thrill seekers swelled the town.⁴⁹

Professor Twining, a Los Angeles Polytechnic High School instructor and aviation experimenter, who had entered a craft in the meet, stated, in an interview, that four or five books on the subject of aviation were the most any one library could boast.⁵⁰ Newspapers published an article over Professor Twining's signature which gave the correct pronunciation for the unfamiliar but now popular words "aeroplane" and "aviation."⁵¹ Twining's interest in aviation was probably responsible for his students' request for a two-day vacation during Aviation Week.⁵² In Long Beach, the Board of Education recommended that pupils be dismissed from school and encouraged to attend the meet, in the interest of education.⁵³

Dominguez Hill, a table-like elevation, was selected by the aviation committee as the locale for the meet because of its suitability for flying conditions and its proximity to the railroad. Promoters remembered that at Rheims, France, spectators had to walk from three to five miles from the train to the air field.⁵⁵ No such hazard to good attendance was to be permitted at Los Angeles. Aviation Park, as the site was named, stood one-half mile from the Pacific Electric station at Dominguez Junction⁵⁶ where a two hundred-foot-long platform was built, designed to accommodate a train every two minutes.⁵⁷

Scraped level, the flying field ran in a north-south direction with a slight incline toward the south,⁵⁸ the area equal to an average townsite.⁵⁹ To protect the public from falling aeroplanes, a three-mile long wire fence separated the closed flight path from the spectator area.⁶⁰ More than twelve hundred, sixty bales of sawdust were scattered to provide a safeguard against muddy feet.⁶¹

Original plans called for the aeroplanes to fly an irregular, pentagonal flight course, one and three-fourths miles in perimeter.⁶² But experiments showed that this layout would carry the aeroplanes dangerously close to the grandstand.⁶³ To avoid this, it was suggested that the aeroplanes circle wide, flying a greater total distance than the prescribed track.⁶⁴ It was pointed out, however, that this arrangement would jeopardize official record attempts.⁶⁵ Consequently, the pattern was made hexagonal in shape with straight-aways in front of the gallery and on the opposite side of the field.⁶⁶

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FOUR-PAGE DAILY PROGRAM

The Dominguez Air Meet officials published an official program for each day of the meet. The facsimile program on the following four pages is reproduced through the courtesy of Honnold Library, Claremont, California.

Official Program Friday, Jan. 14
1 9 1 0

FIRST IN AMERICA
AVIATION MEET

LOS ANGELES

JANUARY
10-20
1910



American & Foreign
Aviators
DAILY FLIGHTS

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DAY
PRICE 10 CENTS

OFFICERS OF THE MEET

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

D. A. HAMBURGER	CHAIRMAN
F. J. ZEEHANDELAAR	SECRETARY
P. F. WEIDNER	TREASURER
DICK FERRIS	M. C. NEUNER
	FRED L. BAKER

AVIATION COMMITTEE

DICK FERRIS	CHAIRMAN
CORTLANDT F. BISHOP	EDWIN CLEARY
	JEROME S. FANCULLI

JUDGES

CORTLANDT F. BISHOP	CHAIRMAN
H. LAV. TWINING	VICE CHAIRMAN
M. C. NEUNER	PAUL W. BECK
	DICK FERRIS
	WM. C. STEPHENS
	ALTERNATES—A. L. SMITH
	GEO. B. HARRISON
	W. H. LEONARD
	SEC'Y TO JUDGES

PROGRAM

All Aviators before starting must notify the judges for which prize they are about to compete. The time of starting will be taken when the aeroplane crosses the line between the two posts opposite the grandstand in flight. All aeroplanes must make a complete circuit outside of the pylons and there will be a judge stationed at each end of the field to see that no aeroplane passes inside the posts. All aeroplanes must proceed in a direction contrary to the movement of the hands of a watch; that is, from left to right down the hill and around the course. If for any reason aviators desire to stop they should, if possible, proceed inside the course in order to remain out of the track of other aeroplanes. Aviators must not fly over the grand stand or any place where a crowd is assembled without permission of the judges. Aviators violating this rule will be penalized. In contests for height prizes, aviators must start in the usual direction, proceed around the course, and then pass over a balloon which will be suspended somewhere near the judges stand. Arrangements will be made to calculate the highest altitude gained at or about a point above the balloon mentioned. They must then proceed across to the course and around, always in the same direction.

Aviators who do not make a flight every day between the hours of two and five o'clock p. m. of one complete circuit of the course in competition for the speed or endurance contests will be penalized five per cent of their best time for the prize. The length of the course is one and sixty-one one-hundredths (1.61) miles.

For the various prizes offered an aviator is at liberty to compete at any time after two o'clock on the days of the Meet. He can make as many attempts as he wishes to lower his record and the prize will be awarded on the basis of the classification made at the end of the Meet on January 20th.

Competitors have the right of appeal for fifteen days to the Aero Club of America from any decision of the judges, and after that period the prizes will be paid to the winner.

The prizes will be awarded as follows:

A Speed Prize for the best ten laps during the Meet of \$3000, \$2000, and \$500.

Endurance Prize for the aeroplane covering the greatest distance in continuous flight \$3000, \$2000, and \$500.

Prize for the Highest Altitude Reached \$3000, \$2000, and \$500.

Passengers Carrying Prize for the aeroplane making the best time carrying a passenger for three laps of the course, the passengers to weigh one hundred and fifty pounds (any deficiency to be supplied by ballast), \$1000 and \$500.

A prize of \$500 will be awarded to the aeroplane which makes the slowest lap at any time during the Meet.

A starting prize of \$250 will be awarded to the aeroplane which leaves the ground in the shortest distance at any time during the Meet. Another prize of \$250 will be awarded to the aeroplane leaving the ground in the shortest time during the Meet.

A prize of \$1000 will be awarded for the fastest lap made by any aeroplane on any day during the Meet.

A prize of \$250 will be awarded to any aeroplane which starts from a rectangle twenty-five feet square, making a circuit of the course, and landing in the same rectangle.

Timing will cease one-half hour after sunset and no credits will be given for any subsequent performance.

AEROPLANES

NO.	AVIATOR	MACHINE	LAPS	TIME
1	PAULHAN	Farman Biplane		
2	PAULHAN	Bleriot Monoplane		
3	MASSON	Bleriot Monoplane		
4	MISCAROL	Bleriot Monoplane		
5	HAMILTON	Curtiss Biplane	1	33 3/4
6	CURTISS	Curtiss Biplane	1	32 1/4 22:02
8	KNABENSHUE	Wright Bros. Biplane with Curtiss Chassis		
9	WILLARD	Curtiss Biplane		
10	H. W. GILL	Gill D. Sh.		
11	HARMON	Curtiss Biplane		

DIRIGIBLE AIRSHIPS

NO	PILOT	DIRIGIBLE	ALTITUDE	DISTANCE	TIME
11	ROY KNABENSHUE	5500 Cubic feet.		2000	13:04 2/5
2	L. BEACHY	5500 Cubic feet.		1000	1:50
3	LIEUT. BECK (Gov't Dirigible).	20,000 Cubic feet.			

BALLOONS AT HUNTINGTON PARK

NO.	BALLOON	PILOT	LANDED	ALTITUDE	TIME
1	THE DICK FERRIS	KNABENSHUE			
2	CITY OF LOS ANGELES	GEO. B. HARRISON			
3	NEW YORK	C. B. HARMON			
4	PEORIA	FRANK J. KANNE			
5	CITY OF OAKLAND	J. C. MARS			
6	CO. A SIGNAL CORPS	CHAS. D. COLBY			
7	THE FAIRY	A. C. PILLSBURY			

Records for the above balloons may be taken from the newspapers the following morning

Official Records of Yesterday's Events

Glenn H. Curtiss, going ten laps around course in Curtiss Biplane. Time, 24 min. 54 2-5 sec. Average speed per lap, 2 min. 29 2-5 sec. Best time one lap, 2 min 21 2-5 sec. Average speed per hour, 38.8 miles.

Louis Paulhan, going ten laps around course in Farman Biplane. Time, 24 min. 59 2-5 sec. Average speed per lap, 2 min. 30 sec. Best time one lap, 2 min. 28 2-5 sec. Average speed per hour, 38.65 miles.

Louis Paulhan, carrying one passenger (Mme. Paulhan), three laps. Time, 8 min. 16 1-5 sec.

Chas. D. Willard left 20 foot square and was awarded 100 points, also landed in 20-foot square, winning the prize of \$250.

The fastest lap of the day was made by Glenn H. Curtiss. Time, 2 min 21 2-5 sec.



LOUIS PAULHAN

Who Smashed all records
Wednesday for Altitudes, attaining a height
of 4165 feet.

part of Wm. G. Holmes Hollywood



GLENN H. CURTISS

Who broke World's Record for
quick rising from standing start -
making it in 98 ft. Also set new
record for quick rise after start
ing engine in 6 2/3 seconds.

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Six, ten-foot towers, each surmounted by a flagpole and guarded by a horse-mounted deputy, marked the course.⁶⁷

Using one million board-feet of lumber and seven hundred thousand spikes, the F. O. Engstrom Company erected stands to seat twenty-six thousand people in a record five days.⁶⁸ At noon, during the construction, neighboring farmers brought sandwiches, home-made doughnuts, and hot coffee with country cream for the hungry carpenters.⁶⁹ Mrs. Victoria Carson, descendant of original settlers, entertained meet officials with "typical Spanish hospitality" at nearby Dominguez Rancho, the only dwelling within two miles of Aviation Park.⁷⁰

Back of the grandstand, the aviation center formed. Into the mechanical potpourri moved all the weird paraphernalia designed to conquer Southern California's gravity. Roy Knabenshue and Lincoln Beachey, pioneer balloonists, set up a gas plant complete with tanks, water, sulphuric acid, iron shavings, pipes, and sundry Rube "Goldbergiana."⁷¹ By January 9, there were on the grounds, or scheduled to arrive, four Curtiss biplanes, three Bleriot monoplanes, two Farman biplanes, besides various experimental models: triplane, multiplane, aerofoil, and ornithopter.⁷² Tents were set up to protect the flying machines.⁷³ These were guarded by around-the-clock patrols to prevent vandalism by "tramps and ruffians."⁷⁴

Gus Ericson, a laborer hired to help at odd jobs, was the first casualty of the meet. He was assisting with the unloading of Curtiss's machine from a box car when the aeroplane slipped, crushing his finger.⁷⁵ Attracted by the excitement, an elderly man approached Curtiss. "I'm eighty years old," he said. "I remember the first telegraph, I saw the first electric streetcar, and I want to fly before I die." Curtiss politely refused the venerable gentleman.⁷⁶

Paris scientists forwarded a somber warning to the Los Angeles aviators. It had been determined, said the Frenchmen, that many birds had died from fright and injury following the air meet at Rheims, the year before. There was every reason to believe that the aeroplane could bring about the extinction of all birds, and it was hoped that this possibility might influence those who were responsible for the Los Angeles event to abandon the project.⁷⁷

Deaf ears met this request. Local and out-of-town aeronautical inventors gathered at Aviation Park determined to display their handiwork. There was the multiplane, fantastic creation of Professor Zerbe, a Los Angeles attorney and would-be promoter.⁷⁸ The multiplane was described by one spectator as looking like the "bottom steps of the golden stairs."⁷⁹ Another citizen strapped two wings

to his arms and flapped around excitedly proclaiming, "I think I am on the right track . . . I intend to add small gas bags to the machine . . . and in a short time will be able to fly."⁸⁰ A Long Beach inventor announced, "I've got a machine that will put all others now at Aviation Field out of the running. They're just toys compared with mine."⁸¹ Unfortunately, this product was not publicly exhibited.

Flying machines of all sorts, including biplanes, triplanes, and butterfly monoplanes appeared from back yards and alleys all over the city.⁸³ Gates M. Fowler shipped a triplane all the way from Phoenix, Arizona.⁸⁴ A. H. McCarthy, of San Leandro, passed the word that he was building an aeroplane which would "solve the problem of aviation."⁸⁵

Most of these creations, though, were motorless models with little likelihood of flying.⁸⁶ One possible exception was the design of Richard G. V. Mytton, a graduate of Kings College, London. He had experimented in aviation since 1897. Working in secret on the west side of the city, he claimed to have perfected a model which incorporated automatic stability. "Throw it on its back and it will right itself like a cat," he said.⁸⁷ Probably the most disappointed inventor at the site was Boyd Dysart, a Long Beach lad who protested the fact that no models were to be shown at the meet, denying him the opportunity to exhibit his model revolving "aerodrome."⁸⁸

Except for the Wright brothers, who refused to participate in the meet, there was gathered at Dominguez what was probably the most representative collection of aviators in America at that time, both from the standpoint of numbers and ability. Charles Willard was there, Glenn Curtiss's famous pupil and the most experienced aviator in America.⁸⁹ Roy Knabenshue was on hand, a pioneer balloonist who had propelled a dirigible at the speed of twenty-five miles per hour.⁹⁰ There was Charles Hamilton, who was soon to gain fame for the first night flight in America at Knoxville, Tennessee.⁹¹ Young Lincoln Beachey was present. Already an experienced aeronaut, the nineteen-year-old Beachey could scoop a handkerchief off the field with his wing tip and later startled the world with his inverted flight, loop-the-loop and mad dash under the Niagara Bridge.⁹²

Lincoln's brother, Hillery, was also there, an uninitiated lad who was determined to fly, over the Dominguez fields, the new Gill-Dosh design.⁹³ Lieutenant Paul Beck, U. S. A., was present, on official duty. One of the greatest military signalling experts in the world, Beck was on hand to evaluate, for military purposes, the

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fast-developing flying machine.⁹⁴ Colonel Frank Johnson, a San Francisco financier and aviation enthusiast, was there with his newly-purchased Curtiss, intent upon flying despite his insurance company's threat to cancel his \$84,000.00 policy.⁹⁵

But America's leading representative at Dominguez was Glenn H. Curtiss, "G. H." to his friends.⁹⁶ Not yet thirty-three, Curtiss was already famous for his aeronautical motors and his aerial performances.⁹⁷ Curtiss had won the Gordon Bennett Cup and the Prix de la Vitesse at Rheims the previous year.⁹⁸ Curtiss had with him, at Dominguez, a precise copy of the "Golden Flyer,"⁹⁹ the racing plane which he had designed and built himself and in which he had set the world marks at Rheims.¹⁰⁰

A clean-cut, slender, sober-faced country boy with a modest, well-trimmed moustache, Curtiss appeared more like a scientist or college professor than a daring aeronaut.¹⁰¹ He was a deliberate performer, one who shunned spectacular feats for the sake of pure showmanship. He was deaf to a grandstand or a cheering mob. One witness described his flying as "sensational as a busy man leaving home in his auto for the office."¹⁰² Curtiss was strictly business and in spite of his aerial achievements, he was intent upon but one thing — selling aeroplanes.¹⁰³

January 10, the first day of the meet, dawned crisp and cold.¹⁰⁴ It had been raining during the night.¹⁰⁵ But twenty thousand spectators gathered early, coming in three-car Pacific Electric specials spaced minutes apart.¹⁰⁶ Spectators appeared on bicycles, afoot, and in private automobiles. A special Santa Fe railroad train arrived with flat cars carrying fifty automobiles belonging to San Diego aviation enthusiasts.¹⁰⁷ Direct telephone facilities were erected connecting Aviation Park to the *Los Angeles Examiner* news room where a wireless installation was set up for sending news bulletins to ships at sea, Catalina Island and listeners as far as eight hundred miles distant.¹⁰⁸

A makeshift automobile road, connecting the main throughfare from Los Angeles with the top of Dominguez Hill, was a muddy, slippery affair. Several automobiles mired down and the curses of teamsters who were hired to extricate the machines provided entertainment for the early spectators.¹⁰⁹

Ready in their one-half-mile-long lane, bordering the road up the hill, concessionaires, described as people who charge "ten cents for a five-cent coffee,"¹¹⁰ featured everything from human roulette wheels to sun glasses.¹¹¹ The latter huckster was particularly ingen-

ious. As the day began, his spiel warned spectators of the danger involved in watching the airships without eye protection. As the morning progressed, he modified his approach to suggest that the naked eye could not last half a day, unprotected. Later, the still unappreciative clients heard the frightful admonition, "one glance and your eyes will be gone."¹¹² Le Valley Smythe, a Harvard graduate who was in Los Angeles for his health, was one of the more successful, if less spectacular, hawkers of wares. Financing himself with borrowed capital, Smythe began selling water to the laborers who worked on the Aviation Park grandstand. Smythe added teams, wagons, a small lumber yard, a coffee and doughnut stand. When the meet began, he was doing business at a rate which was to net him \$1,000.00 by the end of activities.¹¹³

Prominent among the spectators on the first day were handsomely dressed Los Angeles ladies and gentlemen who were intent upon proving Southern California's social correctness to eastern visitors, including blue-blooded Cortland Field Bishop.

Bishop was the first president of the Aero Club of America, an organization founded in New York City soon after the turn of the century.¹¹⁴ Composed originally of some three hundred members interested in the science of aeronautics, the Aero Club had, from its beginning, been primarily interested in ballooning.¹¹⁵ The Club had early assumed the sole privilege of licensing pilots, sanctioning meets, etc.¹¹⁶ But the Aero Club had not been consulted regarding the Los Angeles event, and Bishop, who had not yet himself flown in an aeroplane, arrived in Los Angeles, on the evening of January 9, an uninvited guest.¹¹⁷

When it was learned that Bishop was in the city, committee members sought his approval for the meet.¹¹⁸ Bishop, a sporting man, was disdainful of the commercial flavor attached to the entire proceedings and declined the invitation.¹¹⁹ At last, though, after conferring with Curtiss and Dick Ferris, who promised him official recognition as a meet officer, Bishop consented to Aero Club sanction.¹²⁰ Then followed a novel arrangement. Bishop, who had never flown in an aeroplane,¹²¹ and who had pooh-poohed the possibility of a transcontinental aeroplane flight,¹²² was granted a major voice in formulating regulations for all the events at Dominguez which might seek Aero Club recognition.¹²³

Shortly after noon, the staccato sound of warming engines crackled over the grounds. Spectators took seats in the grandstand or stood at strategic points around the field. Others prepared to view

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the activities from their automobiles. Dick Ferris, general manager of the meet, appeared in front of the bleachers dressed in a spectacular, many-colored coat.¹²⁴ Behind Ferris walked a great hulk of a man, the giant, three-hundred-twenty-pound, six-foot, two-and-one-quarter-inch, R. D. Horton, the manager of a Long Beach theatre, who was hired from among all the big-voiced men of Southern California to be the "human megaphone" for the show.¹²⁵ Horton faced the stands, spread his feet and bellowed the announcement that Curtiss would fly a machine that had never before been flown.¹²⁶ The crowd gasped, hesitated, and broke into a roar of delight.¹²⁷

From its hangar, Curtiss's mechanics towed a khaki, skeleton-like biplane, the duplicate of the "Golden Flyer."¹²⁸ This was a six hundred pound machine with two hundred and fifty square feet of wing area which was covered by Baldwin patent cloth, a special fabric made from Chinese silk.¹²⁹ The aeroplane was twenty-nine feet long, twenty-six feet wide and utilized a wheel for elevator and rudder control.¹³⁰ The aileron tips on the wings, basis of the prolonged, Curtiss-Wright litigation, were actuated by an ingenious arrangement of Curtiss's own device. Fastened to these tips were control wires which ran to a leather harness which encircled but was not attached to the aviator's shoulders. As the aeroplane would rotate about its longitudinal axis, the aviator would incline his body toward the high wing tip. This would bring his shoulder into contact with the harness which would, in turn, move the aileron tips, thus restoring the aeroplane to level flight.¹³¹

The aeroplane was powered by a Curtiss engine, an eight cylinder, sixty horsepower, reciprocating, water-cooled model with magneto ignition and four-by-four bore and stroke.¹³² The propeller was also Curtiss's own design and construction, a two-bladed affair, each blade six inches wide by eighty-four inches in length.¹³³ The engine was designed to operate at an optimum rate of one thousand revolutions per minute.¹³⁴ Higher rotational speeds were possible. But at Rheims, Curtiss had discovered that greater engine speed resulted in serious vibration which produced such violent bucking that the aeroplane could be flown only with extreme difficulty.¹³⁵ Curtiss had, in fact, achieved his record performances at Rheims only by the sparing use of full power. Aeroplane chassis development, Curtiss had said, is far behind progress in engine design.¹³⁶

The Curtiss chassis was mounted directly on rigid axles with no shock-absorbing device. The landing gear was a tricycle arrangement with a brake attached to the single, front wheel. A long,

bamboo rod connected the brake to a pedal located near the aviator's right foot. Next to the brake pedal was another pedal, likewise operated by foot, which actuated the oil pump. This model carried other Curtiss-designed innovations, called for because of the muddy terrain: a leather, anti-skid covering for the tires and mud guards for the front wheel, the latter intended to prevent flying mud balls from shattering the propeller.¹³⁷

Paulhan's mechanics were more deliberate in preparing the huge Henri Farman biplane for flight. Still in the hanger but visible from the stands, this was a great grayish-white biplane built on the principle of the Voisin, box-kite aeroplane, one of the early, successful European types. Farman's primary models, first appearing in 1907, had incorporated the vertical, tail panels. But this machine, the 1909 version, omitted this feature and, except for the single, elevating plane in the front, and the wide, box-like tail, it resembled the other biplanes present.

The Henri Farman aeroplane was truly a remarkable machine for its day. It carried more than four hundred twenty square feet of wing area which gave it a fourteen hundred pound lifting power.¹³⁸ The fuel tank, with a four hundred ninety pound capacity, was the world's largest airborne variety of the time.¹³⁹ The thirty-two and eight-tenths foot wing span was less than that of the Wright aeroplane but greater than that of Curtiss's "June Bug" and with a length of forty-seven and four-tenths feet, longer than either.¹⁴⁰

The wheels were without brakes and the shock absorbing system consisted of rubber bands which connected the combination landing skids and wheels to the axles.¹⁴¹ A two-bladed propeller revolving at an optimum speed of twelve hundred revolutions per minute absorbed thrust from one of aviation's most unusual engines — the famous Gnome.¹⁴²

From its inception, the Gnome engine had gone through a number of changes. But Paulhan's Gnome was a fifty horsepower, seven-cylinder, four-cycle model.¹⁴³ The Gnome, machined like a delicate watch, was air-cooled and functioned without benefit of flywheel, timing gears, valves, or carburetor. Revolving cylinders and other peculiarities of construction and operation made it the most efficient aviation engine in the world in terms of power-per-pound of weight. It was also the most difficult to overhaul and maintain.¹⁴⁴

While the Frenchman's mechanics worked to make ready the Farman, Paulhan was working cultivating French-American rela-

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tions. Through interpreters, he expressed a desire to take "the beauteous, the charming, the fascinating, the adorable American women" for a ride.¹⁴⁵ Mme. Paulhan, however, failed to appreciate this gesture.¹⁴⁶ When reporters queried Paulhan regarding the Wright brothers' pending legal action, Paulhan replied, again through interpreters, that is a matter "which has neither lateral stability nor anything else."¹⁴⁷

Shortly before three-thirty, Curtiss wheeled up before the stands in his untried machine.¹⁴⁸ From the top of the stands, the aeroplane, rolling awkwardly along the ground, looked quite helpless and forlorn. One wag expressed what may have been a common reaction when he cried out that the machine must be of the deciduous variety, seeing as how it was quite bare of anything but a few strips.¹⁴⁹

Excepting the aviators, few persons in the crowd had ever seen an aeroplane in flight. There was an air of apprehension as Curtiss faced the machine into the wind.¹⁵⁰ Mechanics spun the long propeller blades. The engine coughed, sputtered, choked on the unpredictable gasoline, and died. Again the propeller turned. Again the engine sputtered, as if muttering protests. Curtiss played with the engine controls, coaxing forth the rough, unwilling power. The aeroplane strained forward. Curtiss opened the throttle, filling the air with a roar.¹⁵¹ The machine lumbered along, picked up speed, and then, the engine still behaving erratically, climbed gracefully into the air, directly in front of the stands. As one person, the crowd rose to its feet and howled with delight.¹⁵² The band leader, instructed to signal the event with a stirring march tune, stood frozen, gazing dumbfounded at the soaring machine, literally hypnotized by the sight. Dick Ferris, furious at the bandmen's inertia, ran screaming across the field, "What's the matter with that band?"¹⁵³

Curtiss's machine rose sixty feet into the air, then sank. The crowd groaned, fully aware of the aeroplane's dangerous reputation. Then Curtiss pulled up to sixty feet again. At this altitude, he started a turn. Three-fourths of the way around the course, the machine faltered. Curtiss was fighting for control now. Suddenly, he lunged earthward. The aeroplane struck the ground, splintering the propeller with a sickening crash, and bounced skyward. The crowd was hushed as Curtiss shut off the engine and glided to earth like a great bird. Then a great cry of acclaim filled the air. The crowd was congratulating the man who had just completed the first flight west of the Great Plains.¹⁵⁴

Curtiss replaced the propeller and made two other brief flights

to test the landing surface.¹⁵⁵ While he was thus engaged, Paulhan slipped his Farman out of the hangar and, within minutes, was airborne.¹⁵⁶ The crowd soon discerned the difference between the studied performance of Curtiss and the delightful antics of the Frenchman. Paulhan turned and soared his machine above the bleachers.¹⁵⁷ Ferris plodded across the field and Paulhan dove his machine at the unsuspecting promoter, forcing him into a run.¹⁵⁸ Paulhan smiled, waved his arms and skirted the earth. One spectator summarized his skill with the observation that the Frenchman did everything with his biplane but make it "sit up and bark."¹⁵⁹

In spite of the Hamburger Department Store's optimistic advertisement: "When we all fly we won't need a chiropodist any more, but under present conditions you'd best see our expert on the Second Floor";¹⁶⁰ and the generous spirit which prompted the Automobile Club of Southern California to provide a free team and teamster to pull stuck autos from the Dominguez mud,¹⁶¹ the next day was "Black Tuesday" for Los Angeles. Professor Zerbe initiated a chain of unfortunate events.

Mechanics towed Zerbe's lumbering machine across the field. Following behind was a tiny, homemade creation of Edgar Smith, described as a "rowboat that had sprouted wings."¹⁶² Smith had difficulty with his engine and retired to the rear of the stands, where he could work on his motor, leaving the center of the stage to Zerbe.¹⁶³

Zerbe instructed his mechanics to point the multiplane into the wind and took a seat amidships. Zerbe started the engine and the machine strained against the pull of the muddy soil. Finally, the affair began to move. Before it ever became airborne, however, sparks flew, smoke issued from deep inside the monster and a loud pop, like the explosion of a rifle, sounded across the stands. Slowly, one wheel lifted off the ground and the huge wings dug into the earth, depositing Professor Zerbe upon the ground.

The emergency ambulance raced across the field toward Zerbe, but the professor's humiliation was not yet complete. The ambulance did not stop for Zerbe but hurtled past him to the aid of Smith who had been struck in the head by a whirling propeller blade. Zerbe, shocked and dumbfounded but unhurt, lay amid the ruins of his dream, a pathetic sight.¹⁶⁴

Hillery Beachey attempted to fly, but his propeller blade threw a hub, shattering the controls.¹⁶⁵ Hamilton did get into the air but was forced down in a barley field one-half mile away from Aviation Park.¹⁶⁶

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Flying fever seized the town, though, with the close of the day's activities. San Diegans announced that a twelve hundred dollar prize would go to the first aviator flying a heavier-than-air machine from Los Angeles to the border city.¹⁶⁷ The University of Southern California declared that all departments would be closed the following day.¹⁶⁸ Los Angeles school board officials arranged a holiday, with full pay, for all teachers for the coming Friday, and Professor Twining was granted leave for the entire aviation week.¹⁶⁹ Paulhan won permanent friends among local business men when he was reported to have said that "airships would make of Southern California a terrestrial paradise."¹⁷⁰

The remainder of the country, however, was slow to realize what was taking place on the West Coast. In New York, Teddy Roosevelt's African game hunt was the front page story in the *American*.¹⁷¹ In the same issue, a passing reference to the Los Angeles meet was included in an editorial which reprimanded leaders of England, Germany, and France for thinking of aviation in terms of air warfare.¹⁷² There was, in this, a note of irony. Congress had, that day, appropriated one-half a million dollars for coastal defense.¹⁷³ While this legislation was being passed, Lieutenant Paul Beck was at Dominguez, just ten miles and minutes, by air, from San Pedro, site of a proposed coastal defense installation, busy taking notes and evaluating the military potential of the aeroplane.¹⁷⁴

On the next day, which, in terms of spectators, was a success,¹⁷⁵ more than twenty-two thousand people attended Aviation Park to watch the "man birds,"¹⁷⁶ a crowd equal to the entire population of Long Beach¹⁷⁷ where twelve high school boys played "hooky,"¹⁷⁸ not to carry water to the elephants but to help carry Mr. Paulhan's aeroplane.¹⁷⁹

Another large contingent from San Diego showed up on the scene armed with one thousand pennants and fifty thousand buttons advertising the proposed Panama-San Diego Exposition in 1913.¹⁸⁰

Disregarding the accidents and a high wind, Curtiss broke several world marks for minimum time and distance to get off the ground.¹⁸¹ He carried up J. S. Fanciulli, probably the first passenger to ride in the West.¹⁸² One spectator offered Curtiss two hundred fifty dollars for a similar performance.¹⁸³ Curtiss turned down the request though, preferring to utilize his time to take what was probably the first photograph to be made from an aeroplane.¹⁸⁴ But the colorful Paulhan was not to be outdone. Louis passed the word around that he would fly the Bleriot.¹⁸⁵

The aeroplane in question, the Bleriot No. 11, was temperamental and difficult to fly. In the first place, it was a fragile machine built for maximum performance. With a wing area of two hundred forty-two square feet, the No. 11 had a wing loading of four and four-tenths pounds per square foot as compared with a figure of four and one-tenth pounds per square foot for the Curtiss and three and nine-tenths pounds per square foot for the Farman. Its dragonfly appearance was heightened by its proportion — twenty-eight and twenty-eight hundredths feet in length by twenty-eight and forty-seven hundredths feet in width — and wheels which afforded clearance for the two-bladed propeller. The latter was eleven and two hundredths inches wide by seventy-eight and seventy-four hundredths inches long and rotated at eleven hundred revolutions per minute.¹⁸⁶

Later in the year of 1910, there were Bleriot No. 11's operating with Gnome, one hundred horsepower engines.¹⁸⁷ But Paulhan's machine was still using the Anzani.¹⁸⁸ This was a four-cycle, three-cylinder, twenty-two to twenty-five horsepower reciprocating, air-cooled affair with a four and thirty-seven hundredths inch bore and six and twenty-nine hundredths inch stroke with storage battery ignition.¹⁸⁹

Paulhan's wife wept tears of protest as mechanics towed out the tricky craft which Americans variously dubbed "Bleary Eyes," "Bleriot's Bug," or the "Dragon Fly."¹⁹⁰

But in spite of his wife's fears and the crowd's apprehension, Paulhan put on a capable performance. One Long Beach real estate operator was so impressed with the day's exhibition that he offered to trade a choice house and lot for "... a monoplane, biplane, helicopter or other ether-navigating machine ... of stable reputation and known qualities."¹⁹¹

By Wednesday, the meet was a popular hit. Attendance jumped to forty thousand¹⁹² with Long Beach sending two thousand spectators each day.¹⁹³ San Diego's representation grew to three thousand.¹⁹⁴ C. C. Stockton, a Bakersfield business man, closed shop and left for Los Angeles with the avowed purpose of flying.¹⁹⁵ Social barriers at Aviation Park were forgotten as the "... capitalist talks to the laborer, the society girl to the stranger ..." ¹⁹⁶ while the whole crowd was caught up in the magic of epoch-making events.¹⁹⁷ A Covina butcher wired his Los Angeles supplier, "Don't want any more meat. Covina inhabitants have all gone to the Aviation Meet."¹⁹⁸

Temperament, however, introduced a delicate element into

matters. The aviators assembled at Dominguez were keenly aware of the *prima donna* roles they played. And, better than all others, they knew the frailties of the craft they flew. There were times when, tinkering with wires and engines and wings, the birdmen deliberately ignored the crowd's impatient demand for action.¹⁹⁹

To keep the spectators happy, meet officials announced that all aeroplanes would be required to do some warm-up stunt each afternoon.²⁰⁰ Prizes were posted ranging from two hundred fifty dollars to three thousand dollars for the quickest start and the best speed for ten laps.²⁰¹ The new rules also included forfeitures and disqualifications for failure, on the part of the aviators, to keep some activity going at all times. It was a simple matter of blending emotion and economics. The crowd was willing to pay for a thrill; the aviators were prepared to provide the thrill if the wages were sufficiently high.

Curtiss was the first to come through with the spectaculars. He took to the air in his Rheims "Golden Flyer" and circled the course in record time.²⁰² Hamilton threw his machine into a wild, skidding, uncontrolled loop. The maneuver took him back of the stands, where the effect of the act was lost on all but a few of the spectators who were able to scurry to an unobstructed view.²⁰³ But in spite of these feats, the Frenchman came up with one which topped them all, literally as well as figuratively.

About four o'clock, workmen began setting up a strange-looking apparatus on the field opposite the stands — what appeared to be a surveyor's instrument.²⁰⁴ Few observed that Paulhan, who had been visiting quietly with friends, slipped onto the field, followed by his wife and aids, and made for the lower end of the course where his huge Farman was parked.

The first portent of excitement came when Paulhan's machine leaped into the air and began a climbing circle over the stands. The "Human Megaphone" electrified the crowd with the announcement that the Frenchman was going to try for an altitude record. Immediately, the band began to play and every eye riveted on the upward, circling aeroplane.

Horton announced Paulhan's height, periodically, as the men at the instruments relayed their readings. Sometimes, the Farman seemed to falter as it strained to reach into the sky. Minutes slipped into nearly three-quarters of an hour as the complex, powered kite nearly disappeared into the fading blue of gathering dusk.

After forty three minutes, sixteen and one-half seconds, Horton

announced that Paulhan had traveled a distance equal to twenty miles and was beginning his descent. Curtiss and Hamilton were in the air, at the time, circling the field, but they could have been in Greenland for all the attention they commanded during the Frenchman's five-minute glide toward earth.

The Farman's engine was smoking as the machine touched down and rolled to a stop. A mob was waiting to drag Paulhan from his seat. The aviator's wife wept and showered her husband with kisses. Strong hands bore him aloft and paraded him triumphantly toward worshippers in the stands.²⁰⁵

Paulhan's barometer read forty-six hundred feet but enthusiastic fans, disregarding warnings to the contrary, snatched the instrument from the Farman before officials could check it, thus voiding its recording.²⁰⁶ The level and transient, however, indicated that Paulhan had reached a height of forty-one hundred sixty-five feet, surpassing Latham's mark of thirty-three hundred twenty feet made in France ten days before.²⁰⁷

Although the performance was, primarily, an evidence of the sustained lifting power and efficiency, at altitude, of the Farman aeroplane, the public's fancy centered on the personal values involved.²⁰⁸ Paulhan's skill was acclaimed in London and Paris, the staid *Times* admitting that the Frenchman's flight had broken all official and unofficial records for height.²⁰⁹ In New York, it was finally recognized that something more than a cow pasture kite tournament was going on in Los Angeles. The *New York American* moved the Dominguez event to a feature spot with a photograph of Paulhan and his wife and a sketch of an aeroplane, underneath of which was the caption, "By holding this photograph overhead you will see exactly how an aeroplane appears to an observer directly beneath it."²¹⁰ It is perhaps significant that, in this caption, the word aeroplane lacked the customary umlaut above the "ë".²¹¹

Superlatives seemed incapable of describing Paulhan's flight.²¹² One editor compared his performance with the discovery of the North Pole.²¹³ Another asserted that this proved the limitless "... possibilities of the flying machine ..." as an engine of war and "... vehicle of travel and pleasure."²¹⁴

In Los Angeles, that evening, Paulhan delighted California-philés when, at a banquet, he said, "Ah, Southern California! It is beautiful. Today as I gazed down upon the beauties of your landscape, I thought I was flying over my native France. Nowhere in the world have I seen such wonder of climate in the winter time."²¹⁵

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All had not gone well that day, though. While Paulhan was making his record flight, Mytton attempted a take-off from a West Los Angeles street. Just why he chose this strange launching site is not quite clear. We do know that he planned to circle Pico Heights, fly cross-country and land at Aviation Park.

On take-off, Mytton slammed a wheel into a trolley track. The machine lurched, the chassis hit a curb and the whole affair tipped over with a crash. Mytton was not seriously hurt but his invention was smashed beyond repair,²¹⁶ and at Aviation Park, Hillery Beachey piled up the Gill-Dosh aeroplane in a litter of wreckage.²¹⁷

But the streets of Los Angeles were jammed that night with people laughing, talking, and fighting aviation.²¹⁸ Local butchers and bakers boosted prices to conform with the prevailing high consciousness. One cafe owner plugged a new drink called the "dirigible highball"²¹⁹ and claimed that a few of these caused one to make a "... mental ascension ..." ²²⁰ and steer with ease. A bicycle shop proprietor recommended that his customers avoid "... a crick in the neck ..." from "... rubbering at airships. Come where they wheel on the level. Do your flying on a good wheel." ²²¹

The fever of events, unfortunately, raised political temperatures. The mayor and the council of Los Angeles had been enjoying a honeymoon until the chief executive asked the council to grant city employees a half-holiday on Friday so they could attend the meet. The council claimed that city employees already enjoyed too many holidays. Whereupon, the mayor dictated a proclamation encouraging a holiday in spite of the rebuff. This miffed the council and a state of war was narrowly averted in this, "... the first disagreement between the mayor and the council. ..." ²²²

Surrounding communities were more generous. Redondo Beach merchants promised all their employees a holiday and established a stage line between that city and Aviation Park.²²³ The Santa Monica Board of Education declared that all pupils in the city might take off Friday for the meet.²²⁴ Anticipating, with this increased interest and activity, a much greater traffic load, the Auto Club issued a bulletin: "Look out for the cops. Twenty mile-per-hour speed limit between Los Angeles and Aviation Park." ²²⁵

Other than traffic, policemen were busy. Two crooks, who came to town to exercise their "lighter-than-air" fingers during Aviation Week, were invited to leave the city.²²⁷ Los Angeles merchants predicted a daily attendance of fifty thousand, and Secretary Zeehandelaar, of the Aviation Committee, announced "... not only will all

expenses be returned to subscribers but a small profit is likely.”²²⁸ Cortland Bishop reported to his Los Angeles associates that, according to recent information he had received from the East, aviation in that part of the country was at a standstill while the Dominguez meet was in progress.²²⁹ There were measured observations. The *Los Angeles Times* editorialized that “. . . the weight-carrying possibilities of an aeroplane are mathematically limited to slight burdens. Probably it can never be used commercially.”²³⁰

On Thursday, in spite of the fact that Paulhan set some kind of a mark by taking aloft a total of eight passengers in the space of two hours,²³¹ American entrants carried the day. Paulhan's Farman was struggling to remain airborne, with the Frenchman and two passengers aboard, when Curtiss overtook and passed the overloaded machine, probably the first time that a racing aeroplane overhauled and passed another machine traveling the same course.²³²

In a sixteen-mile race, Curtiss defeated Paulhan by five seconds.²³³ Hamilton, a brilliant performer, challenged the legality of the Wright suit by flying with his vertical rudder locked, thus endeavoring to prove that this control was unnecessary for making a turn.²³⁴ Knabenshue flew his dirigible to sixteen hundred fifty-nine feet, the highest mark of the meet for this type of craft.²³⁵ But Willard was the real hero.

On the field, with the aid of workmen, Willard laid out a huge, twenty-foot square. Willard then boarded his machine, rolled downwind from the square, faced into the wind and warmed his engine, while the crowd pondered his intentions. Willard applied power and the aeroplane moved forward. As the wheels touched the square, he pulled the machine into the air. He circled the field, flying low. He steered the aircraft toward the square as he completed three hundred sixty degrees, coasting toward the ground, power off. The crowd now saw that he was attempting to land within the square. Willard was short. He jockeyed the throttle, playing with the power. Now he was skimming the ground. He cut the power again, checking his momentum. He glided a hundred feet and landed on the exact spot from which he had taken off, moments previously.²³⁶

In those days of crude control, this was an outstanding exhibition of skill. It won Willard two hundred fifty dollars and proved that the aeroplane was capable of precise maneuvering.²³⁷ There is reason to believe that this feat of Willard's, coupled with Curtiss's demonstration of the short distance required for take-off, hastened the day of ship-based aircraft.²³⁸

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On Friday, fifty thousand spectators attended Aviation Park²³⁹ to see Cortland Field Bishop take his first ride in a heavier-than-air machine, thus making the aeroplane an official member of the Aero Club family.²⁴⁰ The Long Beach "Bachelor's Club," fourteen eligible young men who wore identifying black ties, appeared at Aviation Park. The ties, so the young men claimed, were for the purpose of warning any designing females that the Bachelors dared not flirt with members of the opposite sex, on pain of discipline.²⁴¹

There were other exciting events. The town of Monrovia distributed, to thirsty spectators, several thousand free oranges tagged with tiny "Monrovia" pennants.²⁴² Five-year-old Paul Calhoun caused a minor stir when he was discovered wandering across the middle of the flying field. Paul had peddled his tricycle several miles to "see the wings."²⁴³ Paul was rescued by a deputy who, upon hearing his story, introduced him to the crowd which adopted the boy as mascot for the day.²⁴⁴

J. H. Klassen saw the end of hopes for his Butterfield monoplane shortly after noon when leaking gasoline ignited on his hot engine, setting his aeroplane on fire.²⁴⁵ Firemen were "eating lunch"²⁴⁶ so Klassen called for help from the other aviators who helped him extinguish the blaze.²⁴⁷ To prevent similar accidents, the Aviation Committee "distributed"²⁴⁸ two chemical extinguishers at strategic locations.²⁴⁹

Glamour and greenbacks were brought to bear in a variety of unsuccessful attempts to win non-scheduled rides from Curtiss. A New York newspaperwoman begged Curtiss to take her up in his single-seated machine, offering to carry him on her lap. Curtiss refused.²⁵⁰ One man, among twenty-five who were ready to put up cash for a ride with Curtiss, waved two hundred fifty dollars under the aviator's nose.²⁵¹ Curtiss declined with the explanation that the extra-large fuel tank, plus other considerations, made it impossible for him to accept.²⁵²

The crowd was to see some unprecedented flying, however. Curtiss tuned his engine up to a steady hum, took to the air and circled the course in a record two minutes and twelve seconds.²⁵³ While he was still airborne, Paulhan maneuvered the Farman skyward, headed South and disappeared in the direction of the sea.

In this, the first flight over the Pacific Ocean, Paulhan skimmed two hundred feet above the water, circled the hills surrounding the seaport, sailed over the town, and docks and ways. The Frenchman dipped his wing to salute a revenue cutter which was anchored in

the harbor and received, in reply, answering blasts from the steamship's horn.²⁵⁴

This seemingly impromptu flying was a significant event. On the day before, the United States War Department had purchased land at San Pedro on which to construct coastal batteries.²⁵⁵ Paulhan had flown over the very site where the big guns were to be mounted.²⁵⁶ His demonstration, dramatic in itself, was made more so when, upon landing at Aviation Field and discussing the feat, he announced that his big Farman, which had already proved its weight-carrying possibilities, was capable of transporting at least three hundred pounds of high explosives.²⁵⁷ In Washington, President Taft let it be known that he wanted the country's next aviation event to be conducted in the capital city so that he, personally, might observe the aeroplane's war potential.²⁵⁸

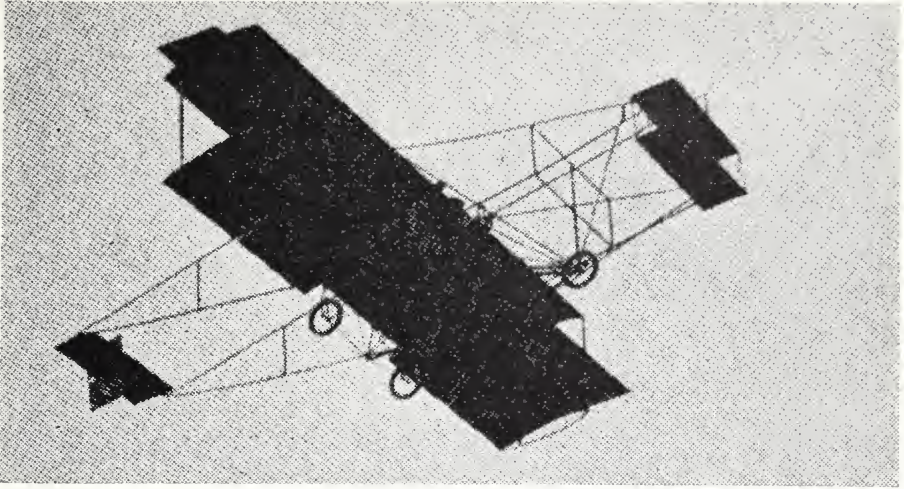
In further development of the day, C. W. Parker, an Abilene, Kansas, shooting gallery magnate, peeled off seventy-five hundred dollars from a roll of bills for the down payment on a Farman biplane.²⁵⁹ Colonel Johnson closed a contract with Curtiss for establishment of the first California agency of the Herring-Curtiss aeroplane company, requesting delivery of eight machines "... as soon as possible"²⁶⁰ and accepting the first aeroplane at Dominguez for the cash price of five thousand dollars.²⁶¹

Sunday's weather broke cold and windy.²⁶² J. S. Fanciulli, the faulty weather forecaster, took some comfort in the fact that Death Valley reported snow for the first time in history.²⁶³ More comforting was the sight of sixty thousand people²⁶⁴ who showed up for the day's events, boosting the Pacific Electric's passenger total, to date, to five hundred thousand persons.²⁶⁵

Beachey and Knabenshue raced their dirigibles in gusts which rocked the craft like crows' nests in an Atlantic gale.²⁶⁶ Hamilton fought winds which flung his machine around like it was a piece of paper. He attempted a turn in front of the crowd, struggled to bring his plane around, overshot the maneuver and thundered beyond the bleachers in a wild bank.²⁶⁷

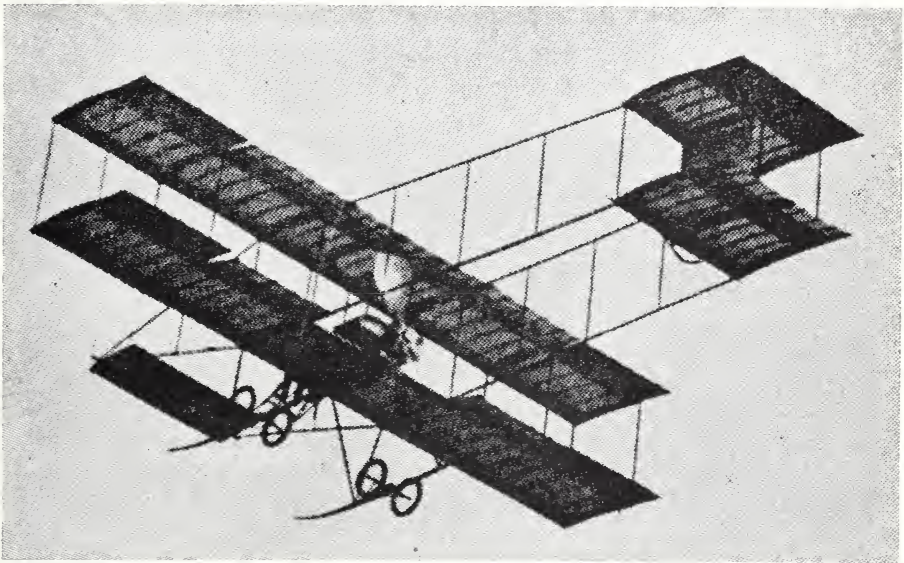
Paulhan took two passengers aloft. He careened against the wind and turn southward toward the ocean. Presently, he approached the field, low above the ground. Like a runaway express, the heavy machine rocketed past the stands, the passengers hanging on for their lives, Paulhan smiling, waving to the crowd.²⁶⁸ It was typical Paulhanian, demonstrating the Frenchman's self-acclaimed skill which he described in a ghost-written story under the title "Why They Pay Me \$250,000.00 a Year to Steer an Aeroplane."²⁶⁹

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GLENN H. CURTISS FLYING HIS PLANE

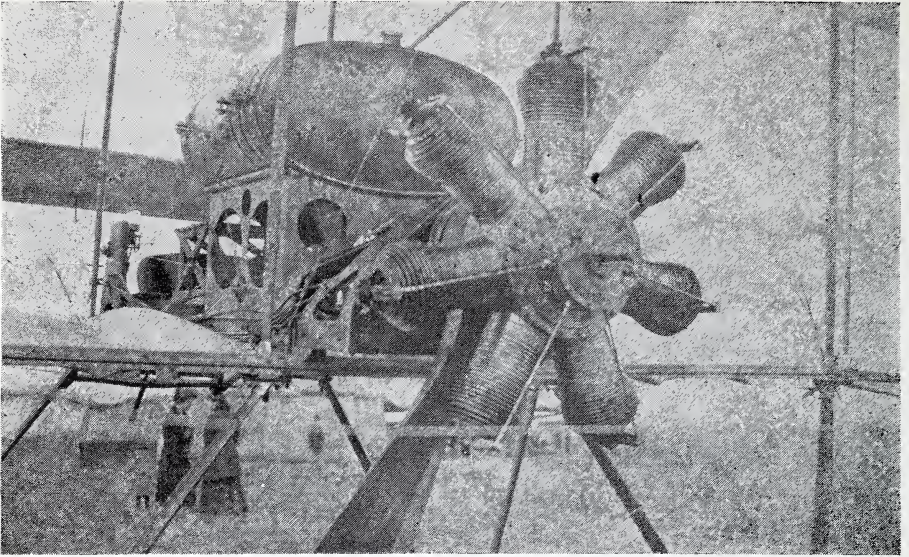
This photograph, taken at the Dominguez Meet, shows Curtiss in his "Golden Flyer" model in which he established new records for take-off and speed.



— Photos from SKY TRAVEL, by A. Ralph Romer and Margaret Romer, the first elementary school text book on aviation

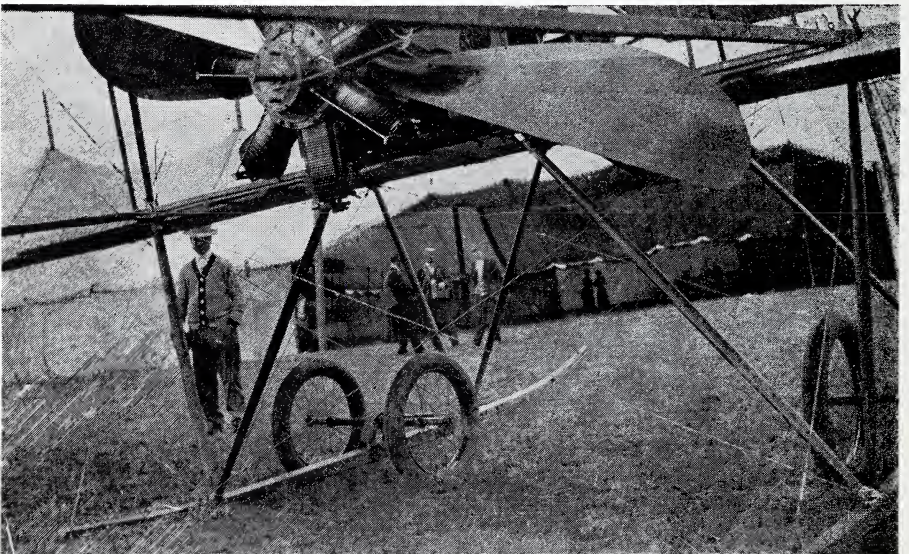
LOUIS PAULHAN IN HIS FARMAN PLANE

This photograph was made of the flight in which the daring Frenchman set a new altitude record.



TWO VIEWS OF PAULHAN'S FARMAN PLANE

Upper photograph shows a close-up of the Gnome rotary motor. Lower photograph shows the landing gear assembly. Photos were made by Charles F. Walsh who, at the time, had his own plane under construction in San Diego.



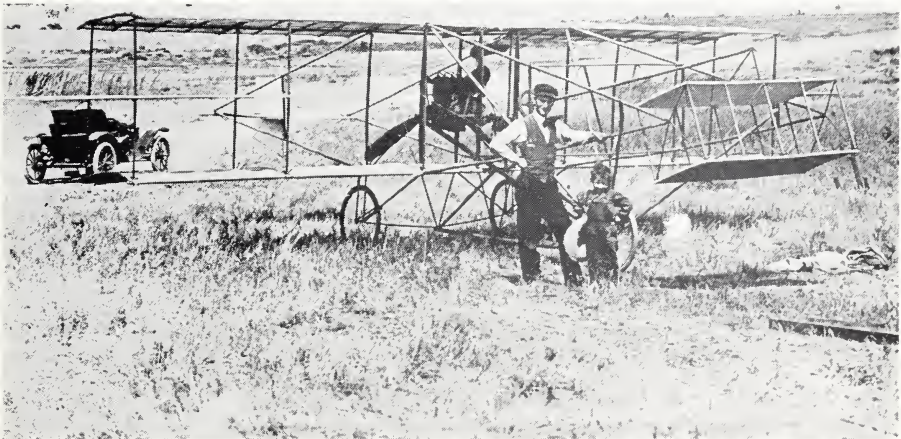
— Photos courtesy Mrs. Alice C. Martin

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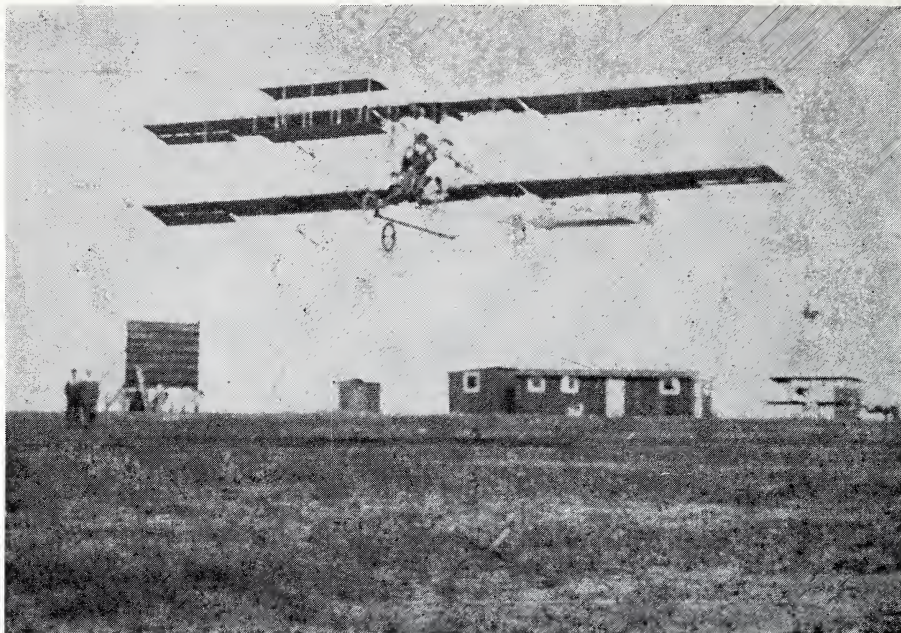


FAMED CALIFORNIA AVIATOR CHARLES F. WALSH

One of the most ardent aviation fans from San Diego was Charles F. Walsh, who would have participated in the Dominguez Meet in his own airplane, had he been able to obtain a motor. His plane, shown below, was sitting in a hanger in San Diego during the time of the meet. However, he was instrumental in getting C. K. Hamilton to take one of the Curtiss planes from the meet to San Diego where the top picture was made on January 23, 1910. Hamilton is the pilot on the left; Walsh, ready for his first instructional flight, is on the right. The automobile in the rear of the lower photograph is a Brush. The boy in the picture is Walsh's son, Kenneth. It is interesting to note that the wing fabric for this plane was of unbleached muslin and it was hand sewn by Mrs. Walsh.



— Photos courtesy Mrs. Alice C. Martin



— Photos courtesy Mrs. Alice C. Martin

THE WORLD'S FIRST "FAMILY OUTING" BY AIRPLANE

Charles F. Walsh, who is credited with being the first man in California to build a practical flyable airplane, finished construction on his plane in San Diego less than one month after the close of the Dominguez Meet. As a consequence he received Pilot's License No. 1, issued by the Aero Club of California. On February 20, 1911, Walsh was an experienced "barn-stormer" when he visited Dominguez Field to carry sight-seers. Here he is shown flying his wife, now Mrs. Alice C. Martin, and their two children, Kenneth, on his father's right, and Juanita, sitting calmly on her mother's lap without benefit of a safety belt. It was a twelve-minute "outing." Walsh and his family "barn-stormed" the United States and Canada, shipping their plane by rail-way between cities and towns where he flew at fairs and aviation meets. He was killed in a crash of his plane on October 3, 1912, at Trenton, New Jersey, on a final test flight before a planned ride by Presidential Candidate Woodrow Wilson.

PILOT'S LICENSE No. 1

Mrs. Alice C. Martin (formerly the wife of Aviator Walsh) still holds the original pilot's license which was issued to her husband.

Aero Club of California
Los Angeles

No. 1

This Certifies that

Mr. Chas. F. Walsh

having fulfilled the conditions
required by the
Aero Club of California
is hereby granted a license as

Aviator
Geo B Harrison President
Van M. Griffiths Secretary

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The wind increased in intensity. Black clouds swept in from the horizon and brisk gusts sent dust and hats blowing. But Curtiss was not to be outdone by the Frenchman. He brought out his machine and flung in into the storm. Low, across the field from the stands, he maneuvered. Then, heading back toward the crowd, he racked the machine up into a steep turn which caused the wings to form a right angle with the earth.

Leveling again, Curtiss swung into a flat, mad dash which took him directly in front of the stands. Every onlooker seemed conscious of the fact that he was seeing history written as Curtiss gathered speed. The machine skipped ahead of the wind as if prodded by the Furies. With a rocket-like swish, the "Golden Flyer"²⁷⁰ hurtled past the spectators. Curtiss shut off power and attempted to land, but he overshot the desired spot by two hundred yards before he could bring his aeroplane to a halt. Reckoning from the distance he had exceeded his intended landing site, Curtiss estimated his speed at sixty miles per hour. To an inquisitive fan, he said, "Sixty miles an hour is about as fast as a man wants to travel by any means of locomotion."²⁷¹

Monday's biggest thrill came when a balloon party, which had ascended from Aviation Field, was reported drifting out over the Pacific Ocean. The alarm proved false, though, and the balloonists returned safely to the park, quite unaware of the stir they had caused.²⁷² Hillery Beachey, yet determined, managed to get the repaired Gill-Dosh off the ground, making this the fourth type of aeroplane to fly at Dominguez.²⁷³ Hillery claimed some kind of a record for himself, asserting that this was the first trial of a machine built by "novices."²⁷⁴ Paulhan added his usual, flamboyant touch: amid great fanfare, he took up Curtiss's aeroplane. This was the first time in America, perhaps the world, that an American machine had been flown by a non-American.²⁷⁵

On Tuesday, the high wind prevailed again.²⁷⁶ Edgar Smith, his cracked head still bandaged, started up his aeroplane's engine, intent on flying. The ill-fated machine threw its propeller which ripped through the framework, wrecking the craft.²⁷⁷ Paulhan's earliest appearance on this January Tuesday was unimpressive.

Accompanied by his wife and a small poodle, Paulhan rode into Aviation Park in a sleek automobile, a proper chauffeur at the wheel. Paulhan dismounted, assisted his wife out of the vehicle, then proceeded to ignore the crowd in favor of the dog. For minutes, he seemed more upon teaching the dog how to carry a basket than on flying. Impatience rustled through the grandstand.²⁷⁸

Paulhan finally sauntered toward the tents where the aeroplanes were housed. In view of the strong gusts, it seemed only reasonable to assume that neither the Frenchman nor the other airmen would take to the sky. Suddenly, however, the huge Farman leaped into the air. Big Horton rumbled to the center of the field to bellow the news that the Frenchman was on his way to Santa Anita, an incredible twenty-three miles away. Horton's announcement was almost drowned out by the sound of Paulhan's automobile which speed off in pursuit of Louis; the chauffeur, grim at the wheel; Madame Paulhan clutching the handholds.²⁷⁹

The roads were not only primitive, they were muddy. In spite of Madame's tears and cajoling, the aviator pulled away into the distance, headed for the Lucky Baldwin ranch.²⁸⁰

To an unidentified resident of Monrovia, nearby to Santa Anita, came a telephone message that Paulhan was on his way. The message was relayed to a newspaper reporter in the latter town. This was before the days of one hundred thousand dollar handicaps, but the reporter jumped on a horse and engaged in a spectacular but relatively unknown race between aeroplane and beast. The reporter arrived at the old Santa Anita racetrack just in time to see Paulhan circle at two thousand feet and head back for Dominguez. Three other citizens, who had hurried to the track, completed the audience.²⁸¹

When Paulhan returned to Aviation Park, the crowd stampeded onto the field.²⁸² The flight, which covered a total, round-trip distance of forty-five miles, required one hour and three minutes — thirty minutes with the wind, thirty-three minutes against the wind.²⁸³

Reaction was varied. The *Los Angeles Times*, which predicted that Paulhan would receive a ten thousand dollar prize for his Santa Anita trip, said the flight was a marvelous demonstration of the value of air travel when roads were impassable.²⁸⁴ One Los Angeles citizen recommended that the city honor the Frenchman's skill by establishing a municipal aviation field where young inventors could try out their machines.²⁸⁵ The *London Times* hailed the flight as a world record.²⁸⁶ Cortland Field Bishop, with his customary reserve, said that Paulhan's greatest accomplishment lay in the fact that he came back at all.²⁸⁷

On Wednesday, newspapers announced that Thomas Edison had invented a battery which would be the answer to the needs of aerial engines.²⁸⁸ A San Francisco soldier ran down the street from

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the Presidio hospital shouting, "I'm an aeroplane."²⁸⁹ But trouble brewed at Dominguez.

On a complaint that some of the two hundred special deputies had insulted unattached females, the "inefficient"²⁹⁰ officers were replaced by men of known character. These included thirty-five mounted officers, eight motorcycle patrolmen and three women deputies who were detailed to patrol the women's comfort station. Order was restored and but one arrest followed this timely reorganization.²⁹¹

Hillery Beachey managed to get the unpredictable Gill-Dosh into the air again but was unable to shut off the engine. Paulhan was circling the field at the time. Beachey took off in pursuit of the Frenchman and was on the point of overtaking him when he ventured too close to the ground. The machine struck the field, driving the chassis into the soft earth. The impact strained the forks, the truss rod slipped a bolt and the left, lower wing collapsed, snapping two uprights and ripping the fabric. Beachey was unhurt but understandably perturbed.²⁹²

Paulhan's versatility seemed limitless. It is debatable whether his succession of brilliant feats stemmed from a fertile imagination or from the fact that he was working in a virgin field. When he took his wife for a twenty-two mile flight to Redondo and over the Pacific Ocean, "without life belts or other safety devices,"²⁹³ a Reuters reporter commented: this is the "... best performance on record for a cross-country flight with a passenger."²⁹⁴ What was probably the most significant event of the day received only passing notice.

Paulhan took up, in the Farman, Lieutenant Paul Beck. Climbing to a height of two hundred and fifty feet and cruising at forty miles per hour, Paulhan maneuvered Beck over a pre-arranged target laid out on the field. Beck dropped three, small bags of dirt to demonstrate the practicability of bombing gun emplacements. Two United States Coast Artillery officers, who made minute observations, pronounced the experiment a distinct success.²⁹⁵

Paulhan also carried aloft William Randolph Hearst. This signal occasion, duly reported by a bevy of writers and photographers, was probably the most widely publicized such event of its time.²⁹⁶ Paulhan received a petition from Whittier school children asking him to fly over their town.²⁹⁷ A jubilant Aviation Committee announced that investors would receive a return of one dollar and twenty-five cents for every dollar which had been provided to guarantee the meet.²⁹⁸ In Fresno, police curtailed the activities of a street

corner hypnotist who claimed that he could charm whole mobs at a time because his body absorbed mysterious power from the sun.²⁹⁹

On the last day of the meet, a huge crowd appeared for a final look at the aeroplanes.³⁰⁰ Harmon maneuvered his balloon to eleven thousand feet, but on the descent, a high wind dashed the basket into a Hollywood chimney, ripping the bag and scratching the occupants.³⁰¹ Knabenshue, Twining, and Klassen were determined but unsuccessful in their efforts to get their machines off the ground.³⁰²

Hamilton was hurtling along in a Curtiss machine, seven hundred feet above the ground, when a crankshaft snapped. Hamilton glided a horizontal distance of five hundred feet and landed gracefully in a field, demonstrating the feasibility of landing with the engine dead.³⁰³

Paulhan was in the air for a final flight when Curtiss overtook him in the Rheims racer. Maneuvering expertly on the turns, the American passed the Frenchman, to the delight of the crowd. This impromptu affair proved to be the world's first real air race, pitting aeroplane against aeroplane.³⁰⁴

After overtaking and passing Paulhan, Curtiss continued to circle thirty laps, a distance of forty-eight and three-tenths miles in the elapsed time of one hour, sixteen minutes and thirty-nine seconds.³⁰⁵ Prior to this time, ten laps had been the record.³⁰⁶ It is probable that Curtiss would have continued until his fuel supply was exhausted except for the fact that darkness forced him to land.³⁰⁷

While Curtiss and Paulhan were staging their great finale, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association presented a denouement of their own, a tableau appropriately entitled, "From Ox-Cart to Aeroplane."³⁰⁸ Featuring a history of transportation, the parade included an ox-wagon, a burro, a horse, an automobile, a dirigible airship, and an aeroplane.³⁰⁹ It was a fitting climax and successful save for one, minor mishap: the burro tried to chew the wing off the aeroplane.³¹⁰

In comparison to the 1909 Rheims, France, air meet, where thirty-six aeroplanes made successful flights, out of a total of thirty-eight which entered the trials,³¹¹ and the October, 1910, Belmont Park, New York, aviation competition which outshone the Los Angeles meet, from the standpoint of attendance, participating aircraft, and interest which it created,³¹² the Dominguez Air Meet must be considered of secondary importance. Nevertheless, stand-

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ing, as it does, between these two events, the Dominguez Meet ranks as a significant factor in the birth of America's air age.

Until 1910, aviators and aeronauts had been classified, for want of professional status, along with contortionists, dog trainers, organ grinders, and wire walkers.³¹³ This was soon to change. It can be assumed that the Dominguez Meet had no small part in bringing this about through its influence upon the teen-age young men who were to become the aviation leaders of the nation.³¹⁴

The United States is indebted to the impetus which the Dominguez Meet provided for Glenn H. Curtiss. Curtiss's inventive genius, administrative ability, and technical skill were waiting for the financial backing which his feats at Los Angeles brought him. Following Dominguez, Curtiss organized aeroplane manufacturing on a sound and continuing basis. In 1913-14, he introduced the flying boat into Brazil, Russia, Austria, Italy, and Germany.³¹⁵ By 1916, the Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation had four manufacturing plants and five fields.³¹⁶ Its plant at Buffalo, New York, which covered a seventy-two acre site and boasted thirty-one acres of buildings under one roof, was the largest such operation in the world.³¹⁷

In 1919, in co-operation with the United States Navy, Curtiss built the flying boat which made the first crossing of the Atlantic.³¹⁸ The world lost the services of a talented man when Curtiss met a premature death on July 23, 1930.³¹⁹

It was inevitable that Dominguez should excite world-wide curiosity in the possibilities of military aviation. Lieutenant Beck's bomb-dropping experiments were watched by every war office in the world.³²⁰ Beck played the role of prophet when he predicted ship-based, scouting aircraft.³²¹ Beck was the first United States Army officer assigned to take the pilot training course at Curtiss's first flying school which was opened at Hammondsport, New York, in September, 1910.³²²

Before the Dominguez Meet was finished, European newspapers announced that an aviation service was to be established in connection with the first three Turkish Army Corps.³²³ In this country, Signal Corps appropriations for aviation rose from two hundred fifty thousand dollars in 1909-10,³²⁴ three hundred seventy-five thousand dollars in 1911-12,³²⁵ to six hundred thousand dollars in 1914-15.³²⁶ Dominguez was also instrumental in proving the superiority of the biplane, a fact which influenced aeroplane development around the world. All of the great warplanes of World War I were biplanes, with the exception of the Morane.³²⁷

Dominguez, where it was demonstrated that an aviator could earn twice the salary of a United States Senator,³²⁸ proved the commercial possibilities of aviation. More than one-half million persons paid a total of one hundred thirty-seven thousand, five hundred twenty dollars and thirty cents in gate receipts to see the aeroplanes in action.³²⁹ Sponsors of the meet declared a sizeable profit. Although this amount was tied up in litigation, pending outcome of the Wright suit, Californians planned a second air meet at Los Angeles.³³⁰

On the basis of the large number of aviation records which were broken at the Dominguez Meet³³¹ and the public interest this created, the International Aeronautical Federation announced, in Europe, a total of twenty-four aviation contests which would be held during the year for a total of one hundred fifty-one thousand English pounds. Of this amount, ninety thousand pounds was to be distributed in France alone.³³²

Of all the events which resulted from the impact of the Dominguez Meet, however, the most noteworthy relate to the effect which the affair had on Los Angeles and Southern California. This, of course, was the motivation behind the original support which Los Angeles businessmen lent to the whole project. That the outcome was as good for Southern California as it was must be attributed to a fortuitous combination of circumstances as much as to the prophetic insights of the promoters.

Chief among these were the five thousand to ten thousand words of aviation publicity which issued forth, each day, from Los Angeles.³³³ Moving pictures of the air activities were exhibited around the world.³³⁴ Nearly every popular periodical in the country played up Los Angeles as the coming aviation center³³⁵ and the influential Cortland Bishop did not hesitate to announce that California was far ahead of the East in aeronautical development.³³⁶

Prior to the close of the meet, telegrams from all over the world were pouring into Los Angeles, asking for movie prints. These, possibly, were included in the first newsreel program which *Pathé Weekly* inaugurated in November, 1910.³³⁷ The aviators were still packing their equipment when a vanguard of actors and technicians representing the New York Biograph Company arrived in Los Angeles to begin operations.³³⁸ Hollywood's first studio, a converted barn, appeared the following year.³³⁹

The regular manufacture of aircraft began in Southern California in 1912 when the two Loughhead brothers, Allen and Malcolm, built and flew their three-place seaplane.³⁴⁰ In 1913, Glenn L. Mar-

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tin built, in Los Angeles, what was to become the first American-made aircraft to be used in a wartime bombing operation.³⁴¹ Two of Martin's promising employees were Lawrence Bell³⁴² and Donald Douglas.³⁴³

Douglas formed his own aircraft company in the Los Angeles area in 1920.³⁴⁴ By the time of World War II, aircraft plants in California employed three hundred thirty thousand workers,³⁴⁵ more than the entire population of Los Angeles in 1910.³⁴⁶ By 1911, Los Angeles was well on the way to forgetting the "scrip" days of 1908. City valuation increased fifty million dollars over the previous year,³⁴⁷ bank clearances jumped more than one hundred and eleven million dollars,³⁴⁸ and immigration boomed. In the ten years following Dominguez, Los Angeles's population swelled from three hundred nineteen thousand, one hundred ninety-eight to five hundred seventy-six thousand, six hundred seventy-three an increase of more than a quarter of a million persons.³⁴⁹

Of the Dominguez aviators, Hamilton continued to make exhibitions for several years.³⁵⁰ Willard, likewise, remained active in the industry until his retirement in Los Angeles, where he now lives.³⁵¹ Knabenshue served in various commercial phases of aviation and resided, until his recent death, in Arcadia, just a short distance from Paulhan's 1910 Santa Anita destination.³⁵²

Lincoln Beachey drowned in San Francisco Bay in 1915 when his machine plummeted into the water.³⁵³ Paulhan left Los Angeles nineteen thousand dollars richer than when he arrived.³⁵⁴ Following a short tour of the United States, he returned to Europe where he won the *Daily Mail* prize for the London to Manchester flight on April 27-28, 1910.³⁵⁵ In 1912, flying a Curtiss biplane, he placed third in the first Monaco Hydroaeroplane race.³⁵⁶ Paulhan made his last flight as a pilot in 1930, the year that Curtiss died.³⁵⁷

The first international aviation meet in America is, perhaps, best summed up in an editorial of January 13, 1910: "Whatever the history of Aviation, two towns will be famous in connection with its beginning — Rheims and Los Angeles."³⁵⁸

NOTES

1. J. Paul Goode, *School Atlas* (New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1949), *passim*. Cf., *World Atlas* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1944), pp. 141, 207.
2. Personal interview with Mr. Roy Knabenshue.
3. *Who Was Who in America: 1897-1942* (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company, 1943), I, 237.
4. Personal interview with Mr. Roy Knabenshue. Knabenshue said Curtiss flew the "June Bug" at St. Louis, and probably, Curtiss flew the "Golden Flyer" at St.

- Louis, the same machine which had set records in France and which was also called, "Rheims Racer." Cf., Alden Hatch, *Glenn Curtiss* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1942), pp. 119-77.
5. Interview with Roy Knabenshue.
6. *Ibid.*
7. I first ran across the term during a casual conversation with a friend and long-time Los Angeles resident, Mr. Orville Burton. A serious business panic in 1908 which required banks to pay their deposits in scrip for a period of several months is described in J. M. Guinn, *A History of California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1915), I, 375.
8. Personal interview with Mr. Roy Knabenshue.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. An examination of the current literature of the day fails to reveal any save Curtiss and the Wrights who could claim equal experience as aeroplane manufacturers and operators.
12. U. S. Congress, Senate, "Army Appropriations Act," *Appropriations, New Offices, etc.*, Vol. 57, U. S. Senate, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 655, on H. R. No. 15,384, March 23, 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 62.
13. H. Barber, *The Aeroplane Speaks* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1917), appendix.
14. The *Los Angeles Times*, in its issue of January 10, 1910, and the *Los Angeles Examiner*, dated January 4, 1910, give Paulhan's age as twenty-six. This would establish 1884 as the approximate year of his birth. However, the *London Times* for April 28, 1950, states that he was sixty-seven years of age at that time. This would make 1883 the likely year of his birth.
15. *Long Beach Press*, January 15, 1910.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Paulhan's progress as an aviator seems almost fantastic. His first recorded flight was on July 10, 1909, at Douai, France. By November 1 of that year he had made nineteen flights, each of them a significant undertaking. The reputation, based upon this record, brought him the invitation to appear in America. *Long Beach Press*, January 15, 1910; *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910, and J. Reimbert (Ed.), "Annuaire," *Annuaire de L'Aéronautique* Paris: Rouffé, 1929), Titre 12, 190.
19. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 4, 1910; *World Today*, March, 1910, 272.
20. The *Los Angeles Times* for January 17, 1910, gives rather complete data for these machines in addition to statistics on the other types of aircraft which were at Dominguez.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Barber, *op. cit.*, index.
23. Archibald Black, *The Story of Flying* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1940), p. 93. Black points out that a suit, instituted by the Wrights to restrain Curtiss from making and selling aeroplanes, was the first legal action in aviation.
24. The French felt that the Wrights, because of their patent claims, were attempting to strangle the aviation industry in France. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 10, 1910.
25. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Cf., *Scientific American*, March 22, 1913, p. 273.
26. The Wrights based this action on the assumption that Paulhan's and Curtiss's performances in California would satisfy public curiosity and thus limit the appeal of their own, future appearances. *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1910.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. The text of this correspondence is reproduced in the *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1910. In fact, the Dominguez Meet was a promoter's dream from the start. The Aviation Committee was the useful and not unprofitable front which secured local support.
30. *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910.
31. *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1910. Cf. also *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 9, 1910.
32. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 4, 1910.
33. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1910.
34. *Ibid.*

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35. *Ibid.* Cf., Frank Moore Colby (Ed.), *New International Year Book: 1910* (New York: Dodd, Nead & Company, 1911), p. 10.
36. *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1910.
37. By January 8, one half of the box seats had been sold. Delegates from Indiana made the trip for the specific purpose of witnessing the air meet. There were spectators from Canada, Mexico, and Germany, as well as representatives from France. With the probable exception of the French, the Europeans were travelers who were in the United States on other business. *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 1910; *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910; *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1910; *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 3, 1910.
39. *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 1910.
45. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1910.
46. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.
47. Harry Lauder, who was "knocking 'em over," probably supplemented the Dominguez events. Some indication of the aviation meet's popularity may be ascertained from the fact that Dominguez outdrew Oldfield who was driving his 120 horsepower, German Benz over the Ascot Park track at speeds hitherto unknown on the Pacific Coast. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 9, 1910.
48. *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1910.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1910.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Long Beach Press*, January 10, 1910.
54. *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 270.
55. *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 1910.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, January 7, 1910.
58. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1910.
59. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1910.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. These towers, originally, were to have been thirty feet high. They were lowered because of the risk to the flying aircraft. *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 9, 1910. Cf., *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 270.
68. *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 1910.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.
71. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1910.
72. The *Los Angeles Times* for January 9, 1910, gives a rather complete listing of the various types of aircraft which were scheduled to appear or were on the grounds, with the names of the inventors, owners, builders, exhibitors or aviators connected with each machine.
73. *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 1910.
74. *Ibid.*, January 7, 1910.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.
77. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 4, 1910.
78. *Los Angeles City Directory*, 1910 (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Company), p. 522. Cf., *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910. Also *Sunset*, March, 1910, p. 248.
79. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
80. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 9, 1910.
81. *Long Beach Press*, January 13, 1910.

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82. *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 13 and 17, 1910.
83. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1910.
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 8, 1910.
86. *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910.
87. *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.
88. *Long Beach Press*, January 11, 1910. In the early days of aviation, the term aerodrome was frequently used as a synonym for aeroplane. Cf., Barber, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
89. The *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910, is the basis for this statement. Roy Knabenshue, who was associated with the Wright brothers at the same time Willard flew for them, says that Willard was selected to become part of the original organization which was set up to fly and promote Curtiss's first aeroplanes. Knabenshue also says that Willard taught himself to fly and was the first American aviator to maneuver an aeroplane through a complete turn.
90. Roy Knabenshue provided this information concerning himself.
91. *Chronicle of the Aviation Industry in America: 1903-1947* (Cleveland: Eaton Manufacturing Company, 1948), p. 11.
92. Knabenshue, who worked closely with Beachey, gives Beachey's age as nineteen at the time of the Dominguez Meet. The other data concerning Beachey may be found in Henry Ladd Smith, *Airways: the History of Commercial Aviation in the United States* (New York: 1942), p. 25 and *Chronicle of Aviation Industry in America: 1903-1947*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14, 15.
93. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 20, 1910.
94. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1910.
95. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 7, 1910. Cf., *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910.
96. Interview with Roy Knabenshue.
97. *Who Was Who in America*, *op. cit.*, I, 237.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 1910. Cf., *Who Was Who in America*, *op. cit.*, I, 237.
100. *Who Was Who in America*, *op. cit.*, I, 237. Cf., Frank Moore Colby (Ed.), *The New International Year Book: 1909* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1910), p. 5.
101. Personal interview with Roy Knabenshue. Cf., *Sunset*, March, 1910, p. 248.
102. *Sunset*, March, 1910, p. 248.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 11, 1910. Cf., *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
107. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
108. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 11, 1910.
109. *Long Beach Press*, January 11, 1910.
110. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
111. Some concessionaires paid \$4,000.00 for the privilege of doing business at the meet. *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 270. Cf., *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 11, 1910.
112. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Chronicle of the Aviation Industry in America: 1903-1947*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
115. *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1910.
116. Personal interview with Roy Knabenshue. Cf., *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1910.
117. Knabenshue points out that those responsible for promoting the Los Angeles meet would have been more than happy if Bishop had not put in an appearance. Bishop, who considered aviation a sportsman's domain, in contrast to those who saw the commercial possibilities of flying, moved into Los Angeles and proceeded to give out orders and generally take over direction of the meet.
118. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Ibid.*, January 11, 12, 1910.

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121. Bishop was to make his first aeroplane trip on January 14, 1910, at the Dominguez Meet. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 15, 1910.
122. Bishop's pessimism concerning transcontinental air travel is recorded in the *Los Angeles Times* for January 11, 1910. He could hardly have been expected to foretell the rapid development of aviation which would result in Calbraith P. Rodger's amazing Atlantic-to-Pacific flight completed on December 12, 1911. Cf., *Long Beach Telegram*, ca. April 4, 1912.
123. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
124. *Ibid.*
125. Information concerning Horton appears variously in the *Long Beach Press*, January 11, 13, 1910 and the *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
126. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
127. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.
128. *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 11, 1910.
129. *Ibid.*, January 17, 19, 1910.
130. *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910.
131. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1910.
132. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1910.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910. Cf., *Scientific American*, January 29, 1910, pp. 105-106.
136. *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910.
137. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1910.
138. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1910. Cf., Hamilton Wright, "With the Bird Men at Los Angeles," *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 273.
139. *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 273.
140. *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910.
141. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1910.
142. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1910.
143. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1910.
144. The Gnome engine is a machine worthy of closer analysis than may be given it here. Some data is to be found in Glenn D. Angle, *Airplane Engine Encyclopedia* (Dayton, Ohio: Otterbein Press, 1921), pp. 210 ff.; *Scientific American*, January 23, 1909, p. 82; *Scientific American*, February 20, 1909, p. 117; Earle L. Ovington, "The Aviation Motor," *Scientific American*, August 5, 1911, pp. 116-118; Earle L. Ovington, "The Gnome Rotary Engine," *Scientific American*, September 14, 1912, pp. 218 ff.; A. Hyatt Verill, "On Aeronautical Motors," *Aeronautics*, February, 1913, p. 53; *Aeronautics*, April, 1913, p. 154; Emil Berliner, "Revolving Cylinder Motor," *Aeronautics*, November, 1913, pp. 165 ff.; *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 14, 1910. Cf., E. Charles Vivian, *A History of Aeronautics* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921), pp. 428 ff.
145. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.
148. *Ibid.*
149. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1910.
150. *Ibid.*, January 10, 14, 1910.
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.
153. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1910.
154. The incident is described in detail in *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1910.
155. *Ibid.*
156. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1910.
157. *Ibid.*
158. *Ibid.*
159. *Ibid.*
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 12, 1910.
162. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
163. *Ibid.*
164. Zerbe was experimenting with aircraft at least one year prior to the Dominguez Meet. Cf., J. S. Zerbe, "Among the Aeronauts in Southern California," *Los Angeles Herald*, December 20, 1908. His unhappy attempt to fly is described in the *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 12, 1910.

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165. Spare parts were scarce. Beachey proceeded to make a new propeller and rebuild the wrecked controls in time to fly on January 19. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 19, 1910.
166. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910.
167. *Ibid.*
168. *Ibid.*
169. *Ibid.*
170. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.
171. *New York American*, January 11, 1910.
172. *Ibid.*
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1910. Beck's primary assignment, at Dominguez, was to make extensive observations for the Signal Corps, U. S. Army.
175. *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1910.
176. *New York American*, January 12, 1910.
177. *Long Beach Press*, January 12, 1910.
178. *Ibid.*
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1910.
181. Curtiss's series of short hops in front of the stands led one man to say, "That guy can't fly — he can't even get off the ground." Shortly after this, Horton announced that Curtiss had broken the world's record for quick take-off. *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 13, 1910.
182. *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1910.
183. *Ibid.*
184. A negative, part of the "Transportation-Air-Early" collection of the Security First National Bank, Los Angeles, California, bears the caption, "First photograph made from an aeroplane in flight, by Glenn Curtiss." Curtiss, who had been a professional photographer, passed off as a fake an assertedly earlier photograph supposedly made by De Lambert while circling the Eiffel Tower.
185. *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1910.
186. The statistics are based on data from the *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910. Because of the fact, however, that aeroplane construction in 1910 was a custom operation, and because builders were constantly incorporating design changes into successive models, it is difficult to draw general conclusions concerning specifications, even for aeroplanes bearing the same name and model number. The *Times*, on different dates, varies, by several feet, in the published length of the Bleriot. *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 11, 13, 17, and 19, 1910. Cf., Barber, *op. cit.*, *passim* and appendix; Frank Moore Colby (Ed.), *The New International Year Book: 1910* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1911), p. 5.
187. Barber, *op. cit.*, appendix.
188. *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910.
189. *Ibid.*
190. *Ibid.*, January 12, 13, 1910.
191. *Long Beach Press*, January 12, 1910.
192. *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.
193. *Ibid.*
194. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1910.
195. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1910.
196. *Ibid.*
197. *Ibid.*
198. *Ibid.*
199. *Ibid.*, January 12, 13, 1910.
200. *Ibid.*
201. *Ibid.*
202. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1910.
203. *Ibid.*
204. *Ibid.*
205. The record altitude flight and the accompanying excitement it created are described in the *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910; *New York American*, January 13, 1910; *London Times*, January 13, 14, 1910; *Sunset*, March, 1910, p. 252; and *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 274.
206. *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.
207. *Ibid.*
208. *Ibid.*

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209. *London Times*, January 13, 1910.
210. *New York American*, January 13, 1910.
211. *Ibid.* Aeroplane, a word derived from the Greek, incorporated the umlaut over the "e" in most early spellings. This cited omission of the umlaut, whether accidental or intentional, was typical of the effect of usage which saw the word gradually transformed, at least on the American continent, to airplane.
212. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 13, 1910.
213. *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.
214. *Ibid.*
215. The quotation, probably a translation from the French, is found in *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.
216. Mytton had worked in secret for more than a year to build his machine. It is possible that this desire for secrecy prompted him to wheel the aeroplane out of the shed where it had been built and try for an immediate take-off rather than move to an open area. The open area would have provided a safety factor but it would have exposed his design to inquisitive eyes. *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.
217. *Ibid.*
218. *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1910.
219. *Ibid.*
220. *Ibid.*
221. *Long Beach Press*, January 13, 1910.
222. *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.
223. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1910.
224. *Ibid.*
225. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1910.
226. *Ibid.*
227. *Ibid.*
228. *Ibid.*
229. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 13, 1910.
230. *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.
231. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1910.
232. *Ibid.*
233. *Ibid.*
234. This was most likely a stunt aimed at the Curtiss-Wright litigation rather than a scientific experiment. Even at this early date, aviators were discovering that both rudder and aileron control were necessary to achieve what we now call a co-ordinated turn. Cf., *Scientific American*, January 29, 1910, p. 106.
235. *Los Angeles Times*, January 14, 1910.
236. *Ibid.*
237. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1910.
238. At the turn of the century, military planners were envisioning the aeroplane as an extension of the scouting function of the army. Naval strategists were anxious to take advantage of the aeroplane's possibility in this respect. But the well-known instability of the aeroplane seemed to rule out the prospect of ship-based aircraft. Willard's feat was but the forerunner of developments which led, within a year of the Dominguez Meet, to the first aeroplane landing on a ship — Lieutenant Eugene Ely's alighting on the deck of the U.S.S. "Pennsylvania" in San Francisco harbor on January 18, 1911, Cf., Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
239. *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1910.
240. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 15, 1910.
241. *Ibid.*, January 13, 14, and 15, 1910.
242. *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1910.
243. *Ibid.*
244. *Ibid.*
245. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1910.
246. *Ibid.*
247. *Ibid.*
248. *Ibid.*
249. *Ibid.*
250. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1910.
251. *Ibid.*
252. *Ibid.*
253. *Ibid.*

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254. *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 16, 1910. Cf., *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 243, and *London Times*, January 17, 1910.
255. *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1910.
256. *London Times*, January 17, 1910.
257. *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1910.
258. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 15, 1910. Taft made it clear that he wanted to observe aircraft performance, but that he, himself, would not fly.
259. Parker did not intend to fly himself but had, in his employ and present at Dominguez, aviators who would use the aeroplane to attract customers to Parker's carnivals. The established price for a Farman was sixty-five hundred dollars F.O.B., Paris, or twenty thousand dollars, delivered in Los Angeles. *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1910.
260. Johnson, proprietor of the Johnson Mercantile Co., San Francisco, was a colonel on the staff of the governor of California. The arrangement with Johnson was but one instance of the success of the Dominguez Meet as an effective sales promotion device. In addition to sales to Johnson, Curtiss sold aeroplanes to A. P. Warner, Beloit, Wisconsin; F. M. de Riemsdyke, Paris, France, who planned to enter his newly-purchased machine in the aviation competition at Cairo, Egypt; James E. Plew, a prominent automobilist of Chicago and the Aeronautical Society of New York. In addition to these actual sales, Dominguez prompted hundreds of inquiries concerning aeroplane performance and prices. *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1910.
261. *Ibid.*
262. *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910.
263. *Ibid.*
264. *Ibid.*
265. At twenty cents the round trip. *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 16, 17, 1910.
266. *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910.
267. *Ibid.*
268. Curtiss and Willard had both refused to fly because of the dangerous winds. Paulhan's skill with the Farman, which seemed to possess unusual stability, moved the spectators to scream themselves hoarse. *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910.
269. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 16, 1910.
270. *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910.
271. This statement, which was attributed to Curtiss by a reporter writing for the *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1910, hardly seems in character for Curtiss, a former motorcycle racer who was no doubt familiar with the tremendous speeds which were being achieved on the automobile tracks of the country. Curtiss's comment regarding speed may have stemmed from his concern for the manner in which the aviators at Dominguez were forced to maneuver their aircraft at high speed within a limited flying area — a marked contrast to the larger flight pattern which existed at Rheims. Cf., *Who Was Who in America*, op. cit., I, 237.
272. *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1910.
273. Beachey's use of the term "novices" is somewhat difficult to interpret, in view of the small number of persons who had experience either building or flying aircraft. Gill and Dosh, who had built their machine along the lines of Curtiss's aeroplane, probably made no claim to professional standing. *Ibid.*
274. *Ibid.*
275. *Ibid.*
276. *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1910.
277. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 19, 1910.
278. *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1910.
279. *Ibid.*
280. *Ibid.* Cf., *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 275.
281. *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1910. Cf., *London Times*, January 19, 1910; *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 275.
282. *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1910.
283. *London Times*, January 19, 1910.
284. *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1910.
285. *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1910.
286. *London Times*, January 20, 1910.
287. *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 275.
288. *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 20, 1910.
289. *Ibid.*

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290. *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 1910.
291. *Ibid.*
292. *Ibid.*
293. *London Times*, January 21, 1910.
294. *Ibid.*, January 20, 21, 1910.
295. *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 1910. *Cf.*, *Sunset*, March, 1910, p. 228.
296. *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 1910.
297. *Ibid.*
298. *Ibid.*
299. *Ibid.*
300. *Scientific American*, January 29, 1910, p. 106.
301. *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1910.
302. *Ibid.*
303. *Ibid.*
304. *Scientific American*, January 29, 1910, p. 106. The significance of the event lies in the fact that the aviators flew competitively, rather than against time, and that the race was staged before an audience assembled for the specific purpose of observing aerial flight.
305. *Ibid.* *Cf.*, *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1910.
306. *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1910.
307. *Ibid.*
308. *Long Beach Press*, January 19, 20, 1910.
309. *Ibid.*
310. *Ibid.*
311. Frank Moore Colby (Ed.), *New International Yearbook: 1909* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1910), p. 4.
312. *Literary Digest*, February 3, 1911.
313. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Index to Occupations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), pp. 398-99.
314. *Who's Who in Aviation: 1942-43* (Chicago and New York: Ziff-Davis Publishing Company, 1942), *passim*. Nearly a score of future American aviation leaders, including Roscoe Turner, Carl Spaatz, John Northrop, and James Doolittle, to name but a few, were between the ages of thirteen and nineteen in 1910.
315. *Who Was Who in America*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
316. *Aircraft Yearbook* (New York: Manufacturers Aircraft Association, Incorporated, 1919), p. 111.
317. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
318. *Who Was Who in America*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
319. *New York Times*, July 24, 1930.
320. *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 1910.
321. *Sunset*, March, 1910, p. 253.
322. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
323. *London Times*, January 20, 1910.
324. U. S. Congress, Senate, *Appropriations, New Offices, Etc.*, Vol. No. 34, U. S. Senate, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 951, on H. R. No. 25,531, August 24, 1912 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 79.
326. U. S. Congress, Senate, "Army Appropriations Act," *Appropriations, New Offices, Etc.*, Vol. No. 12, U. S. Senate, 63rd Congress, 3rd Session, Document No. 993, on H. R. No. 20,347, March 4, 1915 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 38.
327. F. Cunningham, *Sky Master* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1943), facing pp. 80, 81.
328. *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 270.
329. *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1910. *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 270, quotes the amount as \$141,520.00.
330. *Los Angeles Examiner*, December 17, 1910.
331. The list includes marks for height, distance, endurance, speed for various distances, flights with passengers, slow flight, short take-off, quick take-off, and weight. *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1910. *Cf.*, *Sunset*, March, 1910, p. 245; *World Today*, March, 1910, p. 271.
332. *London Times*, January 20, 1910.
333. *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1910.
334. *Ibid.*
335. *Ibid.*
336. *Long Beach Press*, January 18, 1910.

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337. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 298. *Cf.*, *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 19, 1910.
338. *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 1910.
339. Fernand Loyer and Charles Beaudread (Eds.), *Le Guide Francais de Los Angeles et Sud de La Californie*, 1932, p. 103.
340. *Research Reveals the 60 Year Progress of Los Angeles*. (Los Angeles: Prepared by The Research Committee, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, October 15, 1948), UNP.
341. *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1913. *Cf.*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, August 21, 1937, pp. 30, 32, 58, 60; *The New Yorker*, December 5, 1942, pp. 26-34; *Popular Science*, September, 1941, pp. 51-58; *Collier's*, June 3, 1933, pp. 25, 47-49.
342. *Aircraft Yearbook, op. cit.*, pp. 157-159.
343. *Ibid.*
344. *The Sixty Year Progress of Los Angeles, op. cit.*, UNP.
345. *Ibid.*
346. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1950* (Seventy-first edition; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 58.
347. Guinn, *op. cit.*, I, 375.
348. *Ibid.*
349. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1950* (Seventy-first edition; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 58.
350. Interview with Roy Knabenshue. Hamilton flew in Knabenshue's employ for some time following Dominguez. *Cf.*, *Chronicle of the Aviation Industry in America: 1903-47, op. cit.*, p. 11.
351. Interview with Roy Knabenshue. Willard was, at one time, chief engineer for Glenn Martin in Martin's Los Angeles plant. *Cf.*, *Aircraft Yearbook, op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
352. Interview with Roy Knabenshue.
353. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
354. *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1910.
355. M. J. B. Davy, *Interpretative History of Flight* (London: 1937), p. 145. *Cf.*, *London Times*, April 28, 1950.
356. *The World Almanac and Encyclopedia* (New York: The Press Publishing Company, 1913), p. 408.
357. *London Times*, April 28, 1950.
358. *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1910.

THE ADOBE DE PALOMARES

By Roy Hoover

Host-Curator, Adobe de Palomares



LITTLE DID I THINK IN 1912 to 1915 when I rode a bicycle past and old adobe house in northeast Pomona that sometime I might be living in that house. Neither did such thoughts enter my mind when in the spring of 1926 I, for the first time, entered that same house and talked with the tenants. At those times this was just one of a number of similar places that had been built for many years and were out of date and whose repairs had been neglected. Now, for nearly two years, a part of this same house has been my home.

How I wish these old walls could talk more than they do — for they do talk at times, or at least they help to direct one's thoughts along certain lines that may lead to some long forgotten or little known facts. How unfortunate it is that so many of the early settlers of all parts of our country could neither read nor write and the only record of their activities has come to us as it was passed on verbally from one generation to another; with the inevitable variations resulting from such a process. I also understand that many of the early Spanish pioneers of California thought that their family history and day-to-day activities were of interest only to themselves and they sometimes went out of their way to keep vital information from others. How right they were at the time but how unfortunate for us today.

But to get back to this old home which for many years has been fondly known as the *Adobe de Palomares*, located at 491 East Cucamonga Avenue — soon to be known as the Arrow Highway — in the City of Pomona. While there is some difference of opinion regarding certain facts and dates, I shall attempt to relate what seem to be generally regarded as the true facts. This property is now owned by the City of Pomona and has been restored to near its original appearance. The contents are owned by the *Historical Society of Pomona Valley* and the whole is open to the public as a museum, illustrating life in the romantic days of early California, primarily that period from 1850 to 1875.

One Cristobal Palomares apparently was born in Spain and was the first of his family to come to the new world, sometime before the year 1800. He travelled northward from the Sonora, Mexico, area and finally arrived at the state capital of Monterey. Later he moved his family to Santa Barbara and then to Los Angeles. It was while they were living in Monterey that a son, Ygnacio, was born in 1811, one of thirteen children. While serving in the army of Mexico, Ygnacio Palomares and Ricardo Vejar became good friends and decided that when they left the army they would be partners in the raising of cattle, at that time the major industry of California.

As soon as they could, they rented a part of a 4,000 acre rancho owned by a Spanish señora which was located between what is now Beverly Hills and Santa Monica. While in partnership in many other ways, each of them had his own herd of livestock and it was not too long before they felt crowded and in need of a larger place. They had heard of available land a few leagues to the east of San Gabriel Mission in what was known as the San José area.

Accompanied by friends they rode out on an inspection trip, camped near what is now Ganesha Park and the Los Angeles County Fair Grounds, liked what they saw and soon petitioned Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado for a land grant. This was in the spring of 1837 and by August of the same year they were in possession of two square leagues of land, some 15,000 acres.

Governor Alvarado signed the papers for the land grant on April 15, 1837, and the two partners brought their families and all their possessions to the San José soon after, although the final and binding survey was not completed until early in August of the same year.

Both partners built small temporary homes of adobe which they occupied while they constructed larger homes nearby. Ricardo Vejar built his home near the present site of the Humane Society in the western part of Pomona. Some seven years later he felt the need of a larger home and built one of twelve rooms near the present City of Walnut. Both of these places have long since been destroyed. Ygnacio Palomares built his five-room house near their first camping ground and several of those rooms are now included in the ten room house located at 1569 North Park Avenue. Without making a survey or building fences, the partners divided the San José Rancho between them, Vejar taking the southern part and Palomares the northern; the dividing line being close to present-day Holt Avenue.

The Adobe de Palomares

Some years later Don Ygnacio and Doña Concepción needed a larger home and started planning what they referred to as their "dream home." About this time one daughter, Teressa, decided to marry Ramón Vejar and her parents started to build a home for them on the Camino San Bernardino less than two miles northeast of the parent's home. Don Ricardo had a similar idea and he started to build a two-story home for the young couple on the site now occupied by the Pacific State Hospital in the extreme western part of present-day Pomona. When Teressa saw the two-story house she chose it in place of the one being built by her father.

Since the rejected house was located in the area where Don Ygnacio wished to live, he proceeded to build the "dream house" by adding to the part already completed. He moved his family from the five-room house to the seven small completed rooms and lived in them while the remainder of the thirteen-room home was being built, construction being completed in 1854 — three or four years after the first part was started. This home had an area of some 3,500 square feet with about half that much more being included in the wide vine-covered corridors, by far the largest house in this area.

The first seven rooms included a parlor, sitting room, kitchen, storage room and three bedrooms, all with floors of adobe. The floors were covered with brick some years later. The balance of the house included five large rooms — the sala, two bedrooms, a new kitchen, a dining room and a small windowless storage room. Probably during 1854 the four original rooms to the south — parlor, sitting room, kitchen and storage room — were vacated. The partition between the parlor and the sitting room was removed and the enlarged room was used as the tienda for more than twenty years. The kitchen and storage room were available as additional bedrooms when needed.

During the years from 1837 to 1864 the Palomares family prospered despite the fact that they had to solve many problems common in the undeveloped country. However they were generally happy and took their part in all the activities of the area. This was the period referred to as the *Days of the Dons*. Both Palomares and Vejar were highly respected by all who knew them and each was given the honorary title of Don.

Don Ygnacio passed away in 1864 after having lived through the severe drought of the preceeding several years. Doña Concepción sold the family home with some 2,100 acres in 1875 and moved a short distance away to a smaller adobe which she had constructed.

During the years between 1875 and 1937 the property was in

the hands of various owners and renters. During the first half of this period the home was kept in very good repair and continued to be the center of much of the early activity due to the influx of many new settlers into the developing valley. In the latter years the occupants of the adobe were farther removed from contacts with the old pioneers and had little interest in maintaining places of historical interest, so it is not surprising that finally the mellowing old home was abandoned and started falling apart.

Just one hundred years after the original land grant was completed, the Water Department of the City of Pomona bought, on July 1, 1937, some two and two-thirds acres of the old rancho which included what remained of the old *Adobe de Palomares*. The purchase was made as the site for a much needed water reservoir. I am certain it was not due to chance that this particular site was chosen, since the Superintendent of the Water Department was a very active member of the *Historical Society of Pomona Valley*. Suffice it to say that the civic wheels for restoration started turning at once; an action that led to the repairing and restoring of the old adobe and its grounds so that today they appear almost as they did when construction was finished in 1854.

Various committees were formed, funds were solicited, and an enormous amount of research was conducted. All persons who had had any contact with the Palomares family in the early days were interviewed. Much digging was done in various parts of the grounds, especially about those parts of the old home that were largely destroyed. Some of the old foundations were located, as was the exact location of the seven-mile water ditch which was dug during the drought years of the early 1860's.

All information received was put on paper and compared with old photographs. Finally plans were drawn and the work of repairing and rebuilding was started. All of the original material that was still usable in any way was again used. For the wrecked parts of the home, new adobe brick were made from soil brought from near the site of the older five-room home as was originally done, for the soil at the present site was too sandy for good adobe brick.

In the early days, Don Ygnacio and Doña Concepción had given to all who wished them, seeds, plants, and cuttings from their own trees, shrubs, vines and flowers. Wherever possible these families were contacted and many seeds, plants, and cuttings were secured from the original growth or its descendants. These came back "home" and where planted in the same spots as the originals. Per-

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mission was given to take cutting from the same grape vine at Mission San Gabriel from which the original cuttings were taken.

The old home was known as the *Casa de Madera* due to the large amount of lumber used. Luck was with the rebuilders and shakes were found that were almost exact duplicates of those originally used. Some square nails were found in an old barn west of Pomona and these were used as far as they would go and may be seen in the floor of the central rooms. After careful search, material was found and used that had the same number of threads to the inch as that first used for the cloth ceilings. It was decided to restore the south and central wings of the T-shaped house as they were when the house was finished in 1854, both inside and out. But the north wing was made into a modern apartment, while retaining the exterior as it was originally except for changes in a couple of windows so as to make the apartment more livable.

A search was made for furnishings of all kinds from the period 1850 to 1875 so as to accurately illustrate those years when the adobe was the home of the Palomares family. Both the Palomares and Vejar families contributed much and this was supplimented from other sources, most of it coming from other old rancho homes. When the formal opening was held on April 5, 1940, the rooms were rather sparcely furnished but many additions have been made through the years so that now all of the rooms are quite completely furnished.

One of the grandsons of Don Ygnacio and Doña Concepción, Porfirio Palomares and his wife, Hortensia Yorba de Palomares, were persuaded to occupy the apartment and they served as very gracious host and hostess for the remainder of their lives.

While the grounds are always open, the visiting hours for the museum are Tuesday forenoons and the afternoons of Wednesday through Sunday. It is open on all holidays except Thanksgiving and Christmas. It is closed on Mondays except when a holiday falls on Monday. Arrangements can be made to take care of groups making advance reservations for other than the above periods. There has never been an admission charge, however, small donations to the Historical Society are accepted. Every effort is made to have the visitor feel that he is back in the *Days of the Dons* as he walks through the gate in the rail fence, past the caretta, and wanders through the various rooms. Even the old blacksmith shop appears much as it did when the ring of the hammer on metal was an everyday sound.

As I write this in the apartment of the old adobe it is not too

hard to go back by imagination many years to the time of flickering candles, the ox carts, the gay fiestas. Those people lived in a pioneering time and life may not have been as easy in some respects as we feel ours is today but, to them, it was a very satisfactory life. They were sincerely religious and they built a civilization in an undeveloped country that laid the very foundation of the California we have today. As Don Ygnacio was accustomed to say "*Gracias a Dios*" every morning for his blessings, we can do the same for the rich heritage these pioneers left us.

Camping on the BUTTERFIELD TRAIL

*Being an Account of a Trip by Wagon
from Imperial Valley to Los Angeles
in November, 1903*

By Norris Bostwick



MORE THAN FIFTY-EIGHT YEARS AGO the writer, then nearly thirteen years old, travelled with his father, mother, eleven-year-old sister and baby brother from the Imperial Valley to Los Angeles. Eight days were spent on the road. We travelled in a canvas-covered farm wagon drawn by four animals, a team of mules on the pole with a span of gray horses as leaders.

Irrigation water had been brought into the desert region of Imperial Valley only two years earlier, when the California Development Company had completed a canal starting from the Colorado River below Yuma, extending along a route passing through a portion of Mexico, and back into the United States at Calexico.

My father had filed on a homestead near New River, southwest of the present city of El Centro, and we had moved there from San Diego with the intention of becoming farmers. We had heard of the lush crops of wheat, barley, alfalfa and Egyptian corn that were being raised on the rich new land.

The water company had not yet extended its canal system to the area of the homestead, so my father went to work for a contractor who was building a large canal west of Brawley. We had to ford New River to reach the construction camp. It was a fearful crossing because the water was deep and muddy.

The canal work consisted of driving four horses on a fresno scraper, then the latest thing in earth moving equipment. The driver filled and dumped his own scraper.

The work was hard, the weather hot, and the unfiltered canal water made us all sick with dysentery. My parents decided to leave the valley and go to Los Angeles where my oldest sister was teaching school.

The Automobile Club of Southern California had not yet begun to mark the roads and furnish travel information, but we talked with a teamster who had made the trip from Los Angeles to Imperial Valley with a contractor's wagon train. He told us the names of the water holes along what we now know as a portion of the Butterfield Trail. He also told us the distances between these watering places and advised us to carry five gallons of water for each animal for the first day of travelling across the desert.

We left New River early in the morning. It was on or near the first day of November. After travelling twenty-seven miles we reached the ruins of the old stage station on the banks of Carrizo Creek.

It was after dark when we arrived. My sister and I were awakened from an early nap by the screeching of the brake as we descended a short declivity. We saw moonlight shining on a ribbon of water that we found, on the following morning, to be only an inch or two in depth.

During the forenoon of the second day we travelled nine miles to Old Palm Springs, where we watered our stock. As I remember, there was at that time a palm tree standing on the mud hillside just above the lonely watering trough. During the morning, we had met a bearded little man, travelling in a wagon drawn by four strangely assorted animals. He was hauling apples and grapes from Julian to Imperial Valley. Before the settlement of the valley, he had been freighting his fruit all the way to Yuma. I believed that the grapes we bought from him were the best that we had ever tasted. In the afternoon we made another nine miles up the sandy wash and camped at Vallecito. The old stage station there was then in a fair state of preservation. We had passed near the springs of Agua Caliente without being aware of their existence.

On the third day we climbed the very steep hill near the present Campbell Ranch, where a more modern grade along the hillside has replaced the rutted wagon tracks that can still be seen going straight up the slope.

At the top of the hill we stopped at the Mason Ranch and bought a bale of hay from Mr. Mason. I understand that he had

Camping on the Butterfield Trail



THE BOSTWICK COVERED WAGON

This is the wagon in which the Bostwick family made their "Butterfield Trail" trip. Lee Bostwick, the father, is shown beside the wagon.



— Photos courtesy Norris Bostwick

THE STAGE STATION AT VALLECITO

On December 23, 1928, the author retraced the trail he had previously traveled in a covered wagon. This photograph was made at that time.

been in charge of the Vallecito Station in earlier years. We also secured some vegetables. He told us that he had a garden "... around the corner in the canyon."

Crossing Mason Valley we climbed up through narrow Box Canyon where Captain Cooke had difficulty in getting the wagons of the Mormon Battalion through in January, 1847. The mule-drawn army ambulance was held up in the narrow space between the encroaching rock walls until his men, using axes and bars, widened the passage. The present road does not pass through this defile. It was moved in the 1930's to a nearby location on the hillside to the northwest. We camped that night on San Felipe Creek where the Butterfield Trail crosses State Highway No. 78, extending from Julian to Kane Springs and the Salton Sea.

On the morning of the fourth way while breakfast was being prepared, I ran with youthful exuberance around a large clump of willows and came face to face with a wild looking white-faced cow. We both whirled and ran away.

From this camp we visited a ranch north of Banner known as the Page Place. Here we purchased some apples. My mother recognized them as the "snow apples" that her father had raised on the farm in Michigan. Returning to the main road leading up through San Felipe Valley we crossed Warner Pass and entered the Warner Ranch. We passed two adobes but did not know that one of them had been a Butterfield Stage Station.

Crossing the road that leads from Santa Ysabel to Warner's Hot Springs we continued straight on northwesterly across the upper reaches of the Lake Henshaw basin. The road did not detour as at present to pass the Hot Springs resort. The old road is still marked, I believe, by a row of telephone poles and a line of cottonwood trees. Many cattle covered the low round hills, where green grass was growing.

At nightfall we reached Oak Grove, where the old Butterfield Stage Station still was in good repair and occupied. Here a U. S. Forest Fire Guard, at the station that still exists, repaired the faulty cocking mechanism of my father's semi-hammerless Remington shotgun, that had fired prematurely as he was preparing to shoot a rabbit from the wagon. On the fifth day we watered our animals at Dripping Springs at noon and reached Temecula by nightfall.

Temecula was then at the southerly end of a branch of the Santa Fe Railway, and the town was on the opposite side of a stream

Camping on the Butterfield Trail

from its present location. After establishing camp we crossed a bridge and bought some bakery goods, including bread. On all the rest of the trip we ate bread that my mother baked in the oven of a sheet-iron camp stove. Brushwood served as fuel.


The morning of the sixth day was cold, with frost on the ground. We started early, and did not build a fire and eat breakfast until the sun had brought its warmth. We were delighted to see Lake Elsinore. That year it contained quite a large amount of water.

Continuing down Temescal Canyon we passed through Corona and camped on the north side of the Santa Ana River, near the present Prado Dam. A row of eucalyptus trees still stands along the old road in the present reservoir area, just as they stood years ago. I recall that the morning of the seventh day was very foggy. We drove through Pomona, where we noticed electric street cars, and continued by way of Valley Boulevard past the sleepy villages of Puente and El Monte to the eastern outskirts of Los Angeles, where we made our final camp beside the railway tracks.

On the next day we reached our destination. Coming from a city of 15,000 to one with a population of 150,000 was exciting to me. The flourishing interurban system of electric trains running along narrow Mission Road at Lincoln Park astonished us, and their shrill whistles terrified the horses. In the vicinity of New Chinatown on North Broadway we saw many oil wells pumping, for the Los Angeles oil field was then in full production. Many wells occupied a narrow band along a fault extending from a point north of MacArthur Park to a point on North Broadway at Bernard Street. All the oil was being hauled in tank wagons from the numerous back-yards wooden tanks to the refinery. My father was soon to be engaged in this occupation.

LIBRARIES IN PROVINCIAL CALIFORNIA

By J. N. Bowman

N GATHERING DATA on provincial California agriculture, especially of a statistical nature, in the mission documents and in Bancroft Library, and in visiting the missions for copies of printed books on agriculture, many items were also gathered on the libraries in the province and on their conditions in 1942. The first libraries in California were those of the missions, but the first books to reach the land arrived long before 1769.

The first books to reach the present California were probably those used in the religious service by the priest of the Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo expedition during the winter of 1542-1543; there is no direct evidence of this as a fact but it may be inferred from known data. Cabrillo's three vessels sailed along the coast from San Diego to the northern part of the later province, made landfalls occasionally for wood and water, and spent almost two months on the Island of San Miguel off the Santa Barbara coast. It was here that Cabrillo died and was buried. There was a priest aboard, and no doubt during the stay on the Island he used the missal, breviary, if it was bound separately from the missal at that time, and perhaps a ritual and a martyrology. The account of the voyage mentions no religious services, but whether any were performed ashore or not Cabrillo was buried on land and it may be taken that he was given a Christian burial with the use of at least of the missal.¹

So far as known the first book to reach California was the Bible, and very probably the English Prayer Book, brought by Drake's expedition, in the middle of June, 1579. It was brought ashore to the temporary camp made on the bay where the *Golden Hind* was undergoing repairs. While the repairs were in progress, the account of the voyage mentions "prayers, singing of psalms, and reading of certain chapters in the Bible."² Though the account mentions this only once it may be inferred that several services were held during the thirty-nine day sojourn on California soil. Which particular

Bible was used is not mentioned. That it was read to the men from aboard ship it may be assumed to have been an English translation; and because of congested accommodations on ships in those days and for convenience in carrying ashore, the Bible was very probably the Geneva Edition of 1560 rather than the bulky Bishop's Bible of 1568. Since the account also mentions prayers it may also be assumed that they used a copy of the Prayer Book then in vogue in England.

The next book to reach California was also of a religious nature. On December 17, 1602, Vizcaino landed on the shores of Monterey Bay and gave it its name. A "church under the shade of a large oak" was arranged and Friar Antonio said Mass.³ No mention of a book is made, but it may be assumed that the book, or books, then in general use was, or were, used at this service.

It is quite probable that the Spanish ships sailing the California coast before 1769 had books aboard when they reached California waters but nothing has been found to indicate that this was the case or that any volumes were brought ashore.

The next entry of books into the province was in 1769 with the beginning of the colonization of Alta California. No mention has been found as to books at this time, but again it may be assumed that Crespi and Serra brought with them the books necessary for the religious services. This would imply at least the missal, the breviary and perhaps a few others. From the several references to Bueno and to Vizcaino by Crespi in his diary of the Portolá Expedition from San Diego to San Francisco Bay in 1769, it may be inferred that he had with him copies of these works. In the passage through Baja California the padres gathered from the various missions religious utensils and equipment for the new mission services, among them three missals, a silver stand for the missal, and the Gospel of St. John.⁴ In 1773 at Loreto among the supplies for the new missions was "a package of books."⁵

As the later mission libraries were known, they contained books other than those used in the church services — missals, breviary, ritual, music books, and others. Just when and where the first mission library, in this sense, began in California is unknown. The earliest reference found as to a mission library was in the annual report of San Antonio in 1774, which noted among the "fábricas" of that year "a book shelf with drawers for the library." In 1777 both San Diego and San Carlos mention new books received during that year.⁶

Mons. James H. Culleton, chancellor of the Bishopric of Monterey-Fresno, who has made a special study of the San Carlos library, has learned that Serra brought a few books with him to Monterey in 1770. The first library in California was at Monterey in 1770, and was founded by the founder of the missions.

The earliest reference found as to the San Diego Mission library was in the report of 1777 which lists about twenty-five volumes received from Mexico, among them *La Mística Ciudad de Dios*. In 1780 the report mentions thirty-one new books received.⁷ The books which Serra took with him to Monterey in 1770, evidently were aboard one of the ships which carried them from Baja California to Monterey without being placed in the new mission at San Diego. *Alta California* had an account in 1858 which stated that many books were lost between 1777 and 1781, and that about 1781 some thirty-six volumes were received.⁸ No further reference to the library was found until 1848.

During the intervening years a sizeable collection had been made, for in that year Colonel Stevenson occupied the mission and in the inventory for his lease it was mentioned that "the library was very large, consisting of works in Latin and Spanish chiefly, with a few in French. There were some parchment manuscripts very old and magnificently illustrated."

At the end of the next year Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord reported to Major Canby in a letter that "the library should be placed in charge of some one interested in its preservation."

J. R. Bartlett, in 1852, implied from his statement, "but five years ago its ancient library and its priests still remained," that the library had disappeared wholly or in part.

In 1942 none of the old library books remained; in the mission were only the three parroquia books — baptisms, marriages, interments. What became of the books is unknown.⁹

San Carlos, founded in 1770, had the first library in California. Aside from the necessary religious books for the church services, Serra brought a few books with him, which formed the nucleus of the foundation library. In 1772, twelve volumes were received from Mexico; by 1784, the year of Serra's death, the library had about fifty volumes.

La Perouse in 1786 left two or three volumes at the mission; and later Governor Borica presented one volume and later still Governor Sala presented another. Between 1798 and 1803 Lasuen catalogued the books according to the old European system: by

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shelves and by volumes on each shelf. The shelves were designated in black Roman numerals on a white square on the back of each volume, and the volumes were designated by Arabic numerals under the shelf numbers. Monsignor Culleton, who has made a careful study of this library, gives the last numbered volumes of the four shelves as they were in 1942: Shelf I, 79; II, 121; III, 113; IV, 75, or a total 388.¹⁰ This is the first library cataloguing known in California. In 1833 Taylor estimated the number of volumes at 2,000 and states that in 1852 they were "terribly mutilated and stolen," but does not indicate where they were located at that time. Monsignor Culleton, however, from his study of the library, is unable to determine the exact number of volumes in 1834 when the secularization occurred, but estimates the number as probably about 400. An inventory of 1842 lists 315 volumes.¹¹ Evidently books were taken from Carmel to other mission libraries; in 1777 some of the new books received at San Diego were from San Carlos. After 1834 the books were somewhat scattered. Through the interest of Monsignor Culleton almost 200 volumes from other libraries and from individuals have been returned; in 1934 fifty volumes were transferred from Mission Santa Cruz. In 1942, the mission library contained 460 volumes which may be counted as very probably of the mission days. Many of the books bear Serra's signature; many came from San Fernando College in Mexico or were marked as the property of the parent mission, and many were presented by individuals. The library in 1942 was in the rectory of the presidial church in Monterey.

San Antonio, the third mission, founded in 1771, evidently had a library already in 1774; the annual report of that year mentions "a set of shelves with drawers for the library," and Palou is more specific in noting "a library with five shelves and fourteen small drawers."¹² In 1835 the inventory listed thirty-one volumes valued at \$84.50; the inventory of 1842 mentions 219 volumes, and Pico's inventory of 1845 gives the number of volumes as 101 and lists separately twenty-one volumes and many papers belonging to Soledad.¹³ After the secularization the books were widely scattered. In 1942 no books were at the mission; five of them were found at San Miguel.

San Gabriel, the fourth mission, was founded in 1771; undoubtedly it had a library early but no documentary reference to it has been found. In 1942 Father Prado, of the Mission, stated that the present library contained about 200 volumes, all, or nearly all, of the mission days.

San Luis Obispo, the fifth mission, founded in 1772, had a library at a very early date, for in 1774 three books were added.¹⁴ An inventory of 1836 appraised the library at \$510.00 but without giving the number of volumes. Based on an average appraisal value of \$2.75 per volume, as found in the inventories of other missions during 1835 and 1836, this would indicate about 185 as the probable number of volumes.¹⁵ After the secularization, the books were lost or scattered; in 1942 there were only a very few books in the mission library and it is doubtful if any of them were of the library of the mission days.

San Juan Capistrano was founded in 1775. No reference to the library was found until the inventory of 1835 gave the appraised value of an unmentioned number of books, of \$1,490; Engelhardt, however, gives 209 as the number of volumes, citing the documents in old Spanish archives, burned in 1906, and which Bancroft failed to abstract in his California Archives. In 1942 there were about eighty volumes in the mission library but it is very doubtful if any of them were of the library of the mission days.¹⁶

Mission Dolores was founded in 1776, but no reference to the library was found until the inventory of 1835 which gave an appraised value of \$522.00. On the basis of the appraised value per volume of the 1830's, this would imply about 190 volumes.¹⁷ After the secularization the books were scattered or lost; in 1942 only a very few books were in the mission and it is very doubtful if any of them were of the mission days.

Santa Clara was founded in 1777, but no reference to a library was found until 1841 when Wilkes reported 600 to 700 volumes. In 1851 Father Real made a careful inventory of the mission property when it was turned over to Father Nobili, of the Jesuit order, and 242 volumes were reported. In 1942 all of these volumes were in the museum of the University of Santa Clara.¹⁸

San Buenaventura, founded in 1782, undoubtedly had a library but no documentary reference has been found of its existence. In 1942, 132 volumes in the mission library were counted, including more than twenty volumes which were used in the church services. Of the 110 volumes it is very probable that a few belonged to the library of the mission days. These mission books were catalogued at an unknown date in the same manner as were those at San Carlos.

Santa Barbara was the tenth mission, founded in 1786, but the earliest reference to its library was in the inventories of 1834 and of 1835, which report for both years an appraised value of \$152.00 for

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about eighty-three volumes.¹⁹ The secularization of 1834 did not affect Santa Barbara as it did the other missions; it is very probable that the library remained intact or at least very nearly so. It could be inferred that the books of the old mission library now form part of the present mission library of about 1,000 volumes. The present library is composed of books sent from other missions after the secularization and during later decades. Father Maynard Geiger, the archivist, states that it would be an exceedingly difficult task, if at all possible, to determine which of the books belonged to the original Santa Barbara Mission library.

Purísima Concepción, founded in 1787, undoubtedly had a library during the early mission days, but no reference to it has been found until the inventory of 1835, which appraised 139 volumes at the high value of \$655.75.²⁰ After the secularization, the mission early fell into ruins, and the books were either transferred to other missions, probably Santa Inés, or were lost. What books were found in the restored mission in 1942, had been recently collected and were not part of the old mission library of the 1830's.

Santa Cruz was founded in 1791 but no reference to its library has been found until the inventories of 1835 which gives 152 volumes valued at \$386.75; and in 1842 an inventory listed 162 volumes. The fate of the library after secularization has not been learned, but during the following century some of the books of the San Carlos library found their way to Mission Santa Cruz, for in 1934 Monsignor Culleton returned fifty volumes to the original library now in Monterey.²¹ In 1942 none of the old library books were at Mission Santa Cruz and none other were known to exist.

Soledad, founded in 1791, had a library but nothing has been learned of it until 1835 when the fifty-one volumes were valued at \$186.75. After the secularization, the mission began to fall in ruins and the books were scattered; in 1845 Andrés Pico listed twenty-one volumes together with some papers, from the Soledad library in San Antonio.²² In 1942 the mission was totally in ruins.

Mission San José was founded in 1797 but the earliest reference to the library is the statement of 1833 when forty volumes were listed, among them *Bouset's Sermons* and his *Meditations*; Spanish, Latin, French, and English dictionaries; Kempis; *Reflecciones sobre la Revolución Francesa*; and a book on practical medicine.²³ In 1942 none of the books of the old library were at the mission.

San Juan Bautista was the fifteenth mission to be founded, in 1797, but the earliest reference found to the library was in 1835

when the inventory valued 182 volumes at \$591.00.²⁴ In 1942 there were 107 volumes in the mission library but the number belonging to the old mission was very difficult to estimate; some of them very probably were of the mission days.

San Miguel, founded in 1797, undoubtedly had a library but no reference to it has been found. In 1942 in the restored mission thirty-seven volumes were counted, which probably were of the library of this or of some other mission; seven were signed as coming from, or belonging to, the Colegio de San Fernando and five were signed Mission San Antonio.

San Fernando was founded in 1797 but the earliest reference to its library is the inventory of 1835 which valued 191 volumes at \$417.00. In 1838 another inventory listed fifty volumes, and still another of 1849 gives 216 volumes.²⁵ In 1942, no volumes of the old mission were found at the present mission.

San Luis Rey was founded in 1798 but no reference to its library has been found. Between 1849 and 1892 the mission was abandoned, but in the latter year the Zacatecan Franciscans took over the mission and brought books from that province. Some thirty years later, the mission was again transferred, this time to the California Franciscans, and part of the Zacatecan library remained. Some of the books of the present library belonged to the old mission library, for some of the volumes are marked "for the use of Fr. Ant. Peyri."²⁶

Santa Inés, founded in 1804, undoubtedly had a library at an early date, but the first reference to it, so far found, was the inventory of 1836 when sixty-six were appraised at \$188.50. In 1845 another inventory by Andrés Pico, gave seventy-five volumes but without an appraised value.²⁷ In 1942 none of the old mission volumes were in the present mission.

At Santa Inés was also the Seminary which acquired, by grant and patent, the Rancho Cañada de los Pinos or College Rancho. The Seminary first occupied a new building just west of the church and later moved to the rancho. Its library was separate from that of the mission. An inventory of 1853 mentions 744 volumes, and in 1874 Bancroft visited the seminary and found about 600 volumes. When the seminary closed in the early 1880's the books were moved to Los Angeles where they remained until the founding of St. John's Seminary, when they were transferred to the library of this institution.²⁸ Father Richardson, the 1942 librarian, estimated their number at between 200 and 300 volumes. It is quite probable that some

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of the books came from the missions, especially San Fernando and Santa Barbara, and the remainder are from the original Seminary library. A sampling examination of the volumes revealed none from Mission Santa Inés.

San Rafael was founded in 1817 but the first reference to its library was found in the inventory of 1835 when seventy-five volumes were valued at \$108.37.²⁹ In 1942, there were no books of the old library at the mission.

Sonoma was the last mission founded, in 1823. An undated inventory, probably of 1835, noted thirty-one volumes, among them a Latin Bible, a Spanish grammar, and the *Life of St. Francisco de Solano*.³⁰ In 1942 none of the old library books were in the mission.

None of the books of the mission libraries were found in offices of the Bishop of Monterey-Fresno, or of the Archbishops of San Francisco and Los Angeles. In St. Patrick's Seminary, Menlo Park, are a number of books of the old Diocesan Library of San Francisco, but nothing was found definitely to indicate mission origin; one book was labeled "Mission San Josef" and one other, though unlabeled, might be from a mission, but regarding even these two books doubts may be raised; Monsignor Culleton, however, reports a copy of Palou's *Vida de Serra* with Archbishop Alemany's statement on the flyleaf that it had been borrowed from Mission San Juan Bautista.

Outside of the missions and the seminary, libraries or books of a library character were known to have existed in provincial California. In the governor's office it may be assumed that some books existed, such as the *Novísima Recopilación*, the *Colección de Decretos*, and other volumes of a legal and governmental nature.

In the offices of the *alcaldes* also were some books: Colton, first American *alcalde* in Monterey, stated that "the laws by which an *alcalde* here is governed, in the administration of justice, are the Mexican code as compiled in Febrero and Alvarez — works of remarkable facility of application. They embody all the leading principles of the civil law, derived from the institutes of Justinian." Salvador Vallejo, as *alcalde* in 1840, used two law books — *Novísima Recopilación* and the *Colección de Decretos*; he also stated his copy of Galvan's *Ordenanzas de Tierras y Aguas* he lost "during the war with the United States. I bought it from the late Francisco De Haro who was the *alcalde* at the time at the Mission of Dolores, who had several copies."

Aside from these offices and officials some private individuals

also possessed books. In 1824 Hartnell, recently arrived in the province on the opening of California to foreign trade, was reported by Padre Sarria as having in his possession a copy of some of Voltaire's works.³¹ In 1841 Wilkes reported the statement of the alcalde of San José that "some half dozen books were all they owned in the pueblo." Alvarado later stated that Francisco Castro had some religious books in his home of San Pablo, which he "used to read." Engelhardt recounts the interest of the young "políticos" of 1830's — Alvarado, Vallejo, Bandini, the Picos, and others — as much interested in the works of Rousseau and Voltaire. And Hittell gives some additional data drawn from the old Spanish Archives, burned in 1906 and which Bancroft omitted to abstract in his California Archives.

Governor Sola supplied books to young Alvarado, later governor, among them *Don Quixote*. The spreading of books, except those of a religious nature, was not encouraged by the missions. In 1824 Sarria burned three volumes of Voltaire found in the home of Hartnell. General Vallejo wrote that on Padre Durán's orders, presumably in the 1830's, his library was burned; but Engelhardt questions this statement. Governor Alvarado, in the San Pablo litigation, testified that "I think there were some religious books in Francisco Castro's house, which he used to read; but I don't believe any of the men of that class had any books of a literary or scientific character, because the missionaries would prosecute and prohibit people from having that kind of books. I, myself, was excommunicated for reading *Telemaque*, and in the year 1834 the library which Dr. Alva brought from Mexico was burned by the priests in the Plaza. General Vallejo was also excommunicated. He and I did what we could to instruct ourselves, and Carrillo and José Castro followed our example; but besides those I don't think there were any more who did so."

Some question may be raised regarding the mission censorship and the statements and testimony of Vallejo and Alvarado. Only one of Fenelon's books was on the *Index of Forbidden Books* at that time and it was not the *Telemaque*; of all of Voltaire's numerous writings only ten books together with the "works" of or before 1723 were forbidden, and of Rousseau's works only five were on the *Index*. If Alvarado is correct regarding *Telemaque* it is probable that the padres in their solicitude for the welfare of the laity could have confused the names of Fenelon's books or could have extended the interdict of one book to cover all the books of the author. The titles of Voltaire's books in question and of the books in Vallejo's

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library are not known; they may have been on the *Index* or they may have been forbidden by the blanket condemnation extended from the forbidden books to the author.

After 1834 the padres "lost a great deal of their power" over the people. All this implies that even during the mission period books were entering the province and spreading slowly among a few of the people, and that books of a general nature were in possession of and read by some of the younger generation in the face of mission opposition.³²

In the accompanying table is listed the number of volumes, as reported in the inventories or based on them, together with the number of volumes in 1942. The inventories of 1835 and 1836 give the most complete indication of the number of volumes in any given year. The inventory number for 1835 is 1,144; the number reported, or estimated for 1836, may be assumed to have hardly existed the preceeding year; this gives a total of about 1,585 for 1835. From the data already presented above an estimate of the number of volumes at the other eight missions may be placed at about 2,300. This gives an estimated total of about 4,135 volumes in the mission libraries in 1835. The books in the pueblos and private hands could not have been large. Between 4,500 and 5,000 volumes may have been the probable number of printed books in California at the date of secularization. By 1846 the number of volumes in the missions had undoubtedly been decreased somewhat, by transfer among the missions, lost, or passing into private hands; a probable number would be between 2,500 and 3,000. The probable total number of volumes in the province could be about 5,000.

In 1942, about 1,000 to 1,200 of the old mission books were still in existence in the missions. Many of the old books were undoubtedly in private hands or in private collections, but since the books were unlabeled, except at San Carlos, and most of them without signatures, there is no ready way of identifying them from the volumes themselves.

The first cataloging of library books in California was done by Lasuén at San Carlos between 1798 and 1803. The books were labeled on the backs. At the other missions, excepting Ventura, no such labels or signatures are known. Many of the old books have *Colegio de San Fernando* written on the title page or fly leaf, indicating that they came from that establishment. Some have the name of the local mission written on one of the first pages, and some have the name of the padre who especially used the book.

MISSION LIBRARIES OF PROVINCIAL CALIFORNIA

	1803	1833	1834	1835, or about	1836	1838	1842	1845	1849	1851	1853	1874	1942
San Diego.....								large					—
San Carlos.....	388						315						460
San Antonio.....				31			219	170					—
San Gabriel.....													200
San Luis Obispo.....					185 (?)								—
San Juan Capistrano..				209									—
Dolores.....					190 (?)								—
Santa Clara.....									242				242
San Buenaventura.....													few
Santa Barbara.....			83	83									100 (?)
Purísima Concepción..				139									—
Santa Cruz.....				152			162						—
Soledad.....				51				21					—
San José.....		40											—
San Juan Bautista.....				182									few
San Miguel.....													few
San Fernando.....				191		50			216				—
San Luis Rey.....													few
Santa Inés.....					66			75					—
San Rafael.....				75									—
Sonoma.....				31									—
Seminary, Santa Inés.											744	600	—
	388	40	83	1144	441	50	696	266	216	242	744	600	about 1000 to 1200

The books in the mission libraries, as would be expected, were primarily of a theological nature, with sermons predominant. There are various lives of the saints, a variety of what may be called religious literature, very few church histories, a few Bibles, some grammars and dictionaries, and a few volumes of general literature. Hittell gathered from the reports in the Spanish Archives, burned in 1906, and which were not abstracted by Bancroft in his California Archives, some additional data on the general character of the mission libraries. In Mission Dolores the library included a geographical dictionary, *Laws of the Indies*, and Chateaubriand. In San Juan Bautista there was a copy of *Gil Blas*; and in San Luis Obispo there were twenty volumes of travels and twenty volumes of Buffon's *Natural History*. San Gabriel had a *Life of Cicero*, *Lives of Celebrated Spaniards*, Goldsmith's *Greece*, Venegas' *California*, *Don Quixote*, *Exposure of the Private life of Napoleon*, and Rousseau's

Libraries in Provincial California

Julie.³³ Aside from the references to the works of Rousseau, Voltaire, and a few others already mentioned, nothing has been learned as to the character of the private libraries.

The first book written in provincial California was the *Diary* by Crespi; it was written at odd times during the expedition from Baja California to San Diego, from San Diego to San Francisco Bay, around the Bay, and up the coast; it was not published, however, until 1857 in Mexico. The second book written in California was Palou's *New California*, written at Mission Dolores during his incumbency as head of the mission from 1776 to 1784, and the earlier part no doubt was written at Carmel before coming to Dolores. It was not published until 1857 in Mexico in the same *Documentos* with Crespi's *Diary*. The third book was also written wholly or mostly at Dolores — Palou's *Life of Serra*; in his words, "I wrote it among the heathen surroundings of the Port of San Francisco in that new Mission."³⁴ It was published in Mexico in 1787. The Galvez *Extracto de Noticias del Puerto de Monterey*, the Constan's *Diario*, and the Fages *Continuación*, were all written in Mexico and published there between 1770 and 1775. Parts of the various diaries of the Anza expedition were undoubtedly written at various camp spots in California, but their publication was long delayed.

The first printing press in the province arrived with Figueroa in 1833, and that year saw the first printing, although some printing, evidential made with a stamp, was done as early as 1830. The first printing was letterheads, heads to official papers, "sealed paper," proclamations, decrees, and official broadsides. The first book, as such, appears to be the *Reglamento Provincial para el Gobierno Interior de la Ecnio Diputación Territorial de la Alta California*, early in 1834, which contained 16 pages. The next year, 1835, saw the second book, Figueroa's *Manifiesto*, with 183 pages. Before the end of the Mexican regime about a dozen books had been printed in Monterey and Sonoma.³⁵

In 1942, many of the missions had libraries; San Diego had only the few books in its museum. San Luis Rey had over 1,000 volumes, which had been collected since the mission days. San Juan Capistrano had about eight volumes, but they also had been collected in recent years. San Gabriel had a sizable library with the old mission books as the nucleus. San Fernando had no books other than the few in the museum. Ventura had about 132 in the museum of which about 110 were of a library nature. Santa Barbara had about 1,000 volumes, gathered mostly since the secularization.

Santa Inés had no library, nor had Purísima except as they were gathered since the restoration. San Luis Obispo had a few volumes in its museum; and San Miguel was beginning its new library and now had about 300 volumes. San Antonio and Soledad were in ruins. The San Carlos library was in the presidial chapel rectory in Monterey. San Juan Bautista had 107 volumes, Santa Cruz had none. Santa Clara had the library as it was in 1851. Mission San José had no volumes, and Dolores had only a few in the mission church. Both San Rafael and Sonoma were without any books. These libraries, as noted, were somewhat in the nature of the old mission libraries, and did not include the recent books collected for current use.

The libraries of the province until the middle 1830's were those of the missions. Private libraries began at an unknown date, probably with the few books of some of the governors. After the secularization the mission libraries decreased in number and in number of books, but not so rapidly nor to the extent of the missions. The books in the provincial libraries were dominately theological and religious with a very few, in the mission, of what may be called lay or general literature. The private libraries seem to have reversed this order and even contained works not sanctioned by the padres. The active libraries at the end of the regime were those in private hands as in the earlier days they were those in the missions.

An intensive and systematic study of each volume of the various mission libraries would undoubtedly reveal the identity of a great number of the volumes as to their origin and location, and aid in correcting or corroborating the above data.

NOTES

1. H. R. Wagner, *Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo*, (San Francisco, 1941), pp. 55, 57. *U. S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian*, (Washington, 1879), VII, p. 311. The priest was along the whole voyage; had he died it would have been mentioned as was the death of a sailor.
2. Sir Francis Drake, *The World Encompassed*, (London, 1854), pp. 124, 222.
3. Torquenada, Juan de, *Monarchia Indiana*, (Madrid, 1722), I, p. 715.
4. H. E. Bolton, *Palou's New California*, (Berkeley, 1926), I, p. 55f; *Crespi*, Berkeley, 1927), pp. 228, 250, 245, 246.
5. *Ibid.*, III, p. 333.
6. A. S. Mosk's personal copy of the report, made in the Archivo Nacional, Mexico. Report in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, written by Palou. *The Register*, 1933, p. 3f.
7. Santa Barbara Mission Archives.
8. *Alta California*, Feb., 4, 1858, p. 2, ed. 2.
9. Judge Hayes *Emigrant Notes*, I, p. 154, in Bancroft Library. Hayes states that the inventory is now lost (1855). Congressional Documents, 31 Cong., 1 Ses., X, (47), p. 122. Monsignor Culleton states in a letter to the writer that in 1924 he found, in the hall of the San Diego rectory, about twenty-five or more of the Mission San Diego books; an effort to locate these books at present has not been successful.

Libraries in Provincial California

10. Monsignor Cullerton, *The Register*, 1933, p. 3f, and letter to the writer. *Annual Report*, San Diego, 1777, in Mission Santa Barbara Archives.
11. A. S. Taylor, *Discoverers, Founders and Pioneers*, II, p. 175, MS in Bancroft Library. Inventory, 1842, in Chancery at Fresno.
12. Annual Report, 1774, in Mosk's personal copy made in the Archivo Nacional, Mexico. Mission Santa Barbara Archives.
13. California Archivo p. 50, V, p. 52; Pico, Papeles, both in Bancroft Library. Inventory, 1842, in Chancery at Fresno.
14. Archivo de Santa Barbara, I, p. 138.
15. Inventory quoted in Zephyrin Engelhardt's *San Luis Obispo*, (Santa Barbara, 1933), p. 133.
16. California Archivo, p. 50, V, p. 40. Inventory quoted in Zephyrin Engelhardt's *San Juan Capistrano*, (Los Angeles, 1922), p. 115. Letter from Father Hutchinson of the mission.
17. California Archivo, p. 50, VI, p. 20. Zephyrin Engelhardt's *San Francisco*, (Chicago, 1924), p. 241.
18. C. Wilkes, *Exploring Expedition*, (Philadelphia, 1844), V, p. 218. Inventory of 1851 in Mission Santa Barbara Archives.
19. California Archivo, p. 50, V, pp. 47, 50. Mission Santa Barbara Archives.
20. *Ibid.*, V, p. 44; also given in Zephyrin Engelhardt's *Purísima Concepción*, (Santa Barbara, 1922), p. 57.
21. California Archivo, p. 50, V, p. 54; VI, p. 40. Letter from Monsignor Culleton. Inventory, 1842, in Chancery in Fresno.
22. California Archivo, p. 50, V, p. 57. Pico, Papeles, San Antonio inventory, in Bancroft Library.
23. Mission Santa Barbara Archives. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, V, p. 222.
24. California Archivo, p. 50, VI, pp. 10; 17, gives the value as \$461.10. Letter from Brother Daniel of the Mission.
25. California Archivo, p. 50, VI, p. 23; VIII, p. 140. Inventory of 1838 and 1849 quoted by Zephyrin Engelhardt in *San Fernando*, (Chicago, 1927), pp. 59, 147.
26. Letter from Father Finbar of the mission.
27. California Archivo, p. 50, VI, p. 27. Pico, papeles.
28. H. H. Bancroft, *Personal Observations*, (San Francisco, 1874), p. 165f, MS in Bancroft Library. Letter from Bishop McGucken, Los Angeles.
29. California Archivo, p. 50, V, p. 58.
30. Mission Santa Barbara Archives. Zephyrin Engelhardt in *Missions and Missionaries*, (San Francisco, 1908), IV, p. 709f.
31. Sarria to Argüello, San Carlos, February 11, 1824, in Taylor's documentos in in chancery of San Francisco archbishop, IV, part 2, p. 692; also in Archivo de Arzobispado, IV, p. 86. None of Voltaire's novels are on the *Index*; Sarria, quite evidently, had extended the prohibition of some of the works to cover all the books of the author as a whole.
32. W. Colton, *Three Years in California*, (New York, 1850), p. 249. U. S. Circuit Court Case No. 129, and land case No. 396 ND in U. S. District Court in San Francisco Archivo de Santa Barbara, IV, part 2, p. 86. Taylor, *Documentos*, III, p. 692 item No. 1,592. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 171, 543f; IV, p. 778. Vallejo, *Historia de California*, III, p. 407, in Bancroft Library, C. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, V, p. 222. T. Hittell, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1885), II, p. 236. Emeric vs. Alvarado, Transcript, (San Francisco, 1875), 1350. José de los Santos Martínez, after whom the town was named, may have had a very few books before the end of the Mexican regime; later, however, he acquired a library of about 200 volumes. Before the death of his last two children the remains of this library was purchased by the Bancroft Library as an illustration of the library of a ranchero. A few of the books of the Martínez library, acquired previously by the writer, will later be added to the collection.
33. Hittell, *California*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 237.
34. Palou's *Serra*, *Prologue*, translated by G. W. James, (Pasadena, 1913).
35. H. E. Cowan, *Bibliography of the Spanish Press of California*, (San Francisco, 1919). C. L. Harding, *Don Agustín Zamarrano*, (Los Angeles, 1934), 199f, pp. 202, 207; *Census of California imprints*, in California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. XII, p. 125f. Bancroft, *Essays and Miscellany*, (San Francisco, 1890), p. 595; *California*, *op. cit.*, III, p. 252.

LA CASA DE CARRION

By Florence Traweek



AN ACCURATE HISTORY of *Casa de Saturnino Carrión* was given to us by Louisa Carrión, daughter of Saturnino, when she visited us some years ago at the adobe. She has since passed away.

In 1843, when Saturnino Carrión was a boy of 11 years of age, he received as a gift from his uncle and aunt, Señor Ygnacio Palomares and Concepción López de Palomares, a portion of *Rancho San José de Arriba* containing 380 acres, located two miles southeast of San Dimas on Pudding Stone Drive, which at that time was called Mountain Meadow Road.

According to the census of 1850, Saturnino was living with his parents, Casiano and Josefa Carrión at Paredón Blanco in Los Angeles. Near the family lived Cayetano Varelas, Tomás Rubio and Francisco López, with their families.

For twenty years after receiving the gift of land from his uncle, Saturnino continued to live near the pueblo of Los Angeles, in the present Boyle Heights district.

In the Spring time of 1863, the year of the big drought, livestock owners had to seek richer and better grazing land in the surrounding country. It was then that Saturnino Carrión, now grown to manhood, finding his acreage rich and fertile, and an ideal place for grazing, decided to bring his herds to the Rancho San José. Shacks were built for his two vaqueros, José Navarro and Francisco Lugo, who drove the large herd and had full charge of it, while Carrión continued to live near Los Angeles.

However, the following year, he saw such possibilities in his land that he decided to build a home upon it and bring his family to the rancho. He hired an architect and started plans for the construction of the adobe house. Building materials, doors, windows and such had to be brought from Los Angeles, 20 miles to the west. The structure was completed in 1868 and Carrión moved his family from their former home at Paredón Blanco.

La Casa de Carrion



HISTORICAL PLAQUE MARKS LA CASA DE CARRION

This marker, placed on a terrace above the driveway entrance to the adobe, commemorates the adobe as an official historical site.



— Photos courtesy Paul Traveek

LA CASA DE CARRION

The adobe, which is not open to sight-seers, as it appears today, after more than fifteen years of restoration work.

The family at that time consisted of his wife, Dolores Navarro de Carrión, and three sons, Ramón, Julián and Francisco. Later five daughters were born in the adobe home. Dolores had been a lifetime neighbor of the Carreón family before her marriage.

Saturnino farmed his level land and let his cattle graze upon the hills, raising abundant crops, while his herds of cattle and horses continued to increase in number. So accustomed was Carrión to his own way of farming that more modern methods did not interest him, all his work being done with oxen and carretas, even after some of the more up-to-date inhabitants were using horses and wagons.

At one time while working with his oxen and hauling a cart load of hay, his cousin Francisco Palomares, asked him, "Why don't you buy a wagon and use horses?"

"Oh," answered Saturnino, "when wagons come down to one dollar each, then I will buy one."

Later on, there was a lottery drawing, the lucky number winning the wagon, each chance selling for one dollar. Carrión bought a chance and won the wagon. So he really did get his first wagon for one dollar.

Ramón the eldest son, married Ricarda Alvarado, a near descendant of Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado of California. Rosa married Ramón Vejar, a grandson of Don Ricardo of *Rancho San José de Abajo*.

This eldest son of Don Saturnino is declared to have been a great horse-trader, and when his sisters drove out of a Sunday afternoon to ride among the San José hills, it was always behind the finest horses of the valley.

This adobe home which boasts one of the finest sites among all Southern California landmarks with its pristine landscape and surrounding hills stands on a slight elevation, with higher hill to the west looking down upon Pudding Stone Dam and Lake which are bounded by the low hills. Here the natural flora has remained undisturbed. Sage brush and cactus cover the hills with aromatic schmizl covering the plains, here and there one can see a silver-limbed sycamore or two.

The adobe itself is surrounded by tall eucalyptus and olive trees. It is an L-style structure, a story-and-a-half in height, with a low attic under the gabled roof, to which there is no stairway.

La Casa de Carrión

The main portion of the above text is quoted from the *Historical Society of Southern California ANNUAL*, (Vol. XIV, Part 2 — 1929), which reported on the condition of many adobes then in existence. The Carrión adobe was in use as a chicken and turkey house at that time, the then current owners having little regard for its historic value.

However, by 1945, the property was in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Fuller. The deterioration had continued through the years until these new owners decided to restore the old house and make it livable once again. The Fullers began the task of restoration with great enthusiasm but by 1948, Mr. Fullers failing health forced them to abandon their project. It was from them that my husband, Paul, and I purchased this exceptionally attractive place that year.

There are many details of interest in the building, among them a window equipped with a grille of small wooden bars, with the original home-made wooden-pegged shutters still in place. In the den there is a hole-in-the-wall fireplace which we have changed a bit by adding a brick front and placing a beautiful hand-carved black walnut framed mirror over the mantel. This mirror was purchased from an antique dealer who claimed it was a very old piece bought from one of the old homes in Los Angeles.

In 1950 we moved into the adobe. We immediately put on the roof of the left wing and wired the entire house with the conduit under the floors.

The floors were wide boards lying on the earth, supported by redwood beams. We replaced these boards with new flooring of three-quarter inch oak which we placed on top of pine sub-flooring covering rock and cement between the redwood beams, leaving air space to prevent rot.

One of two windows remained intact, but the rest were mere gapping holes in the walls. Doors were long-since destroyed or taken, except for those Mr. Fuller replaced so they might close up a room to store their supplies and tools, as they did not live here all of the time.

We hired a man to help us cement the wall of the outside and fill in the adobe which had been washed away with the ravages of time. We then placed new windows in new frames cemented into the old ports.

We refaced the small fireplace in the den, with the brick.

We scraped the termite and dry rot from the beams in the den and restained them in a dark brown, their original color. A new fireplace of used brick was built in the enclosed porch, which made a delightful living room, facing the mountains toward the east.

Five large plate glass oval-topped windows fifty-four by sixty-five inches were purchased from an old church and installed in this room; we added double glassed-topped doors for exits.

A modern bathroom was added, also a bedroom to the rear of the house which opens out into a patio under a large shady pepper tree with other trees and shrubs nearby. The patio is in complete shade during our hot summer days.

Cupboards were placed in a new pullman kitchen and a utility and breakfast room was added, including one of the large church windows for a grand view of the western sunsets and Pudding Stone Lake. We also placed a ceiling of wide boards in the large front bedroom.

There never had been a ceiling in this room as the family, we were told, used cloth over the beams in the winter months to keep in the heat from a small stove that was also used for cooking. We built a clothes closet across one wall, as there were no closets in the entire house. The interior of the adobe is painted white to reflect the light.

Many early American pieces of furniture adorn our rooms, including lamps, chairs, chests, divans, and love-seats, old cabinets and a square rosewood piano which is in excellent condition. We also have some interesting pieces of cut glass and china and old pictures set in their deep frames.

The master bedroom set is early American with the long mirror and high-top bed in black walnut with marble top furniture. Inasmuch as the rooms are large, they can accommodate these heavy pieces.

The two front porches which were of cobblestones, so badly used they were impossible to walk upon, were cemented over to make level floors on which to place porch furniture.

A large window was cut into the end of the main parlor, as light was an important factor. A double door was cut between this room and back parlor to make it more accessible.

The walls were re-surfaced in all the rooms where vandals had shot them full of bullet holes. These walls are twenty-one inches thick.

La Casa de Carrión


The top and lower terraces were landscaped in trees, vines, roses and shrubbery. It was partially fenced but we revamped the front entrance with a natural cedar gateway and fenced the road to the turn. The horseshoe driveway is covered in crushed rock. The landscaping is in pastel colored rock, cactus of different varieties, and juniper bushes.

No one could realize the insurmountable work involved to rebuild this place "in the old original way" as we wanted to keep the feeling of its historic tradition. It was certainly a labor of love. It gradually took shape and is now a "living monument" to the work involved.

In recognition of our restorative work, the Native Daughters of the Golden West, No. 307 Rancho San José Parlor, and the California State Park Commission presented us with a beautiful bronze plaque, which stands cemented in an old rock at the entrance to the top terrace. The plaque was dedicated on August 9, 1959.

THE PARISH SCHOOLS of Our Lady Queen of the Angels

By Sister Rose Emanuel, I.H.M.

HE HISTORY OF THE GROWING METROPOLIS OF LOS ANGELES has been for many writers a great challenge. Because of the phenomenal growth of Los Angeles, the importance of the school system cannot be over-emphasized. "Next to the Church there is nothing dearer to the Catholic heart than the parochial school."¹ Realizing the role of well-informed citizens as a guarantee for progress in the future, the city of Los Angeles was vitally concerned with the development of its educational system. It is the purpose of this paper to present the history of the different schools of Our Lady Queen of the Angels Parish from 1852 to 1960.

Certainly a name like "*Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles*" is extremely thought-provoking. The site of the parish church is located at 100 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles 12. It has the significance of being "the oldest parish church on the Pacific Coast now in use."² One factor which has contributed to the history of the parish is that of the different schools it has conducted through the years. Before 1846 fifty-four teachers had been imported to California. "Most of them remained only a short time evidently becoming discouraged with the prospects or dissatisfied with life on the frontier."³ In Los Angeles, itself, the educational needs were taken into consideration by a City Council. From among the members of this City Council, a school committee was appointed in 1850. They were to act as a school board.

Mexican Governor M. Micheltorena had previously endeavored to improve the moral, educational, and spiritual conditions in California by trying to procure more priests for the growing population. "Long before it became known that a Bishop had at last been appointed, he had invited both the Picpus and the Jesuit Fathers to establish educational institutions."⁴

In 1847, Father Louis Maigret "became the first Vicar Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands and resided at Honolulu as Bishop.

The Parish Schools

In 1850, several priests of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, commonly known as the Picpus Fathers, were sent to California. The first boys' school in the parish of Our Lady Queen of the Angels was made at that time. The *Catholic Directory* of 1852 states that the Picpus Fathers opened a school for boys which was located in a building near the church. "This school for boys lasted from 1852 to 1853."⁵ Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, in *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, briefly refers to the school. Bishop José S. Alemany, O.P., reported to the *Catholic Directory, 1852-1853*, as follows: "Boarding and Day School at Los Angeles under the direction of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary."⁶ When the Picpus Fathers left in 1856, the parish was surrendered to the Bishop.

The Most Reverend Thaddeus Amat, D.D., C.M., also, realized the need for the establishment of a school at Our Lady Queen of Angels parish. He was instrumental in obtaining the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul from Emmitsburg, Maryland. On October 18, 1855, six Daughters of Charity arrived. The leader of the group was Sister Mary Scholastica Longsdon and she was accompanied by "Sisters Ann Gillen, Clara Sisnero, Angelita Membardo, Marie Corsina, and Francisca Fernández."⁷ They sailed from New York to San Francisco. These sisters were conducted to the house of Don Ignacio del Valle until a house was purchased for their convent.

The residence purchased for the first convent and school has an interesting history. "This building, purchased for an asylum and school, enjoyed the rare distinction of having been a great traveler. Senator Wilson, the owner, had the house transported in sections from the East, for in those times timber was scarce in the land of the giant Redwoods."⁸ The building materials were shipped around the Horn in a sailing vessel from the Empire State.

In the *Los Angeles Star*, December 22, 1855, the following news was recorded:

Citizens were called to a public meeting at the Parochial House by the Reverend Thaddeus Amat, Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles, to consider establishing the Sisters of Charity of an orphanage and of a young ladies finishing school. After deliberations the citizenry present voted Don Manuel Requena, Treasurer . . . The residence of Benito D. Wilson was considered at \$8,000 one half cash and balance in twelve equal payments. (Twelve acres of land in a fine state of cultivation and a two story frame house.)⁹

It was not long before more building facilities were required in order to accommodate the children of the town as well as those of the surrounding ranchos. In 1856-1857 brick buildings were con-

structed on the same site. "The Institute under the care of the Sisters of Charity has been opened for two weeks with twenty girls."¹⁰ On Saturday, June 7, 1856, Honorable F. R. Raimerez, editor of *El Clamor Público*, visited the Sisters of Charity School and found it in excellent condition, there being one hundred and twenty children in attendance. In a short while the first families of the Southland soon recognized the advantage of sending their daughters to avail themselves of the gentle arts of fine sewing, painting, music and voice.

The daughter of Mrs. María Luisa Alaniz, a former pupil of this school, related the information told her about this first institute. Some of the names of the roll call were the Misses Franquilina and Chonita Sepúlveda, daughters of Don José Sepúlveda of Rancho Sepúlveda, Merced Reyes, Carlota Feliz Valencia, Rudecindo Sepúlveda, Mary Meyer, Luisa Alvarez and others. "Soon the Sisters of Charity found possibilities in the various talents of their pupils. Señorita Carlota Feliz Valencia was able to take over the piano lessons in school and in private."¹¹ She later married Mr. R. E. Wishing and their son, Carl Wishing, became an outstanding civic leader of the city of Los Angeles.

Though this school on the corner of Macy and Alameda Streets played a vital part in the history of the parish, it was not more than six years before the advent of the sisters that the first three American families had settled permanently in the city. At this time, parents and guardians were desirous of procuring for their daughters and wards the advantages of a good education.

In addition to the school for girls, there was a school for boys under the charge of the Sisters of Charity, and it was known as the Parish School of Our Lady of Angels. "Under the guidance of Reverend Peter Verduguer, this school was . . . one of the oldest schools in the parish."¹² This school adjoined the church building of Our Lady Queen of the Angels.

When the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul opened the asylum with seven orphans in 1856, the pupils of the day-school were few in number. At that time among the English-speaking inhabitants in Los Angeles were: Dr. and Mrs. John S. Griffin, Judge and Mrs. Benjamin Hayes, and a Spanish girl. Sister Scholastica Longsdon, the first Superior of the Sisters of Charity in Los Angeles, referred to the enrollment of the school. "It is wonderful to see how the children flock to our school. We have now sixty day pupils, one is American."¹³

The Parish Schools

The school, however, was in the city, in the center of commerce and business, and later it was found to be too near the railroad center. This reason as well as other circumstances made a more desirable locality necessary. Because the quarters of the original site were no longer inhabitable, the proposed building on Boyle Heights was purchased in 1884. The initial cost was \$12,000. The old property still remained in the hands of the Sisters of Charity until 1898 when the deed was signed to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company.

On February 9, 1890, the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid and a structure grand and beautiful in its proportions went up. The building is situated on the bluffs, east side of the Los Angeles River, having a frontage of 245 feet with a depth of 195 feet. It is three stories high besides a basement and additional room in the roof. The ostensible frontage is on Boyle Avenue, but the west and south facades command a view of three-fourths of the city.”¹⁴

On Thanksgiving Day of 1891, the dedication took place. A number of priests attended and Bishop Mora, D.D. presided at the religious ceremonies. A beautiful procession, headed by fifty-two orphan girls in white veils, altar boys in surplices, accompanying priests and the bishop passed solemnly through the building for the blessing. The occasion was climaxed by the addresses given by Reverend Stockman and Andrew Mullen. Three hundred were gathered in the auditorium for the event.

In comparison with the population of Los Angeles in 1860 which was only 4,385, the population in 1900 had increased to 102,479. In the *Tidings* of 1903, many articles appear to emphasize numerous efforts that were made to increase the parochial schools in the diocese. At the reiterated invitations of the Most Reverend Thomas J. Conaty, Bishop of Los Angeles and Monterey, “Saint Frances X. Cabrini missioned to Los Angeles, California, three of her sisters Mothers Philomena, Theresa, and Umilia. They were Irish, Italian, and Spanish respectively.”¹⁵ In order to undertake the foundation of the desired institutions, Saint Frances X. Cabrini arrived, herself, in Los Angeles on July 22, 1905. “They stayed in a rented house on Alpine Street when they first came and remained there for a year.”¹⁶ The *Travels of Mother Cabrini* relate her impressions of the immigrants in the West. When Los Angeles was reached, she “began to look around the town and its suburbs, in order to find suitable grounds for a school and orphanage.”¹⁷ During the time she was here, the population was increased by thirty thousand. The Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart soon began their task of giving the children religious, educational and social assistance.

The school building was constructed by the contractor, Mr. Amilio Pozzo, for eight grades and a kindergarden. Until the school was completed, classes were held "in a temporary hall near the corner of Castelar and Alpine Streets, the actual site of the school."¹⁸

On the morning of September 22, 1906, St. Peter's School, the parish school of Our Lady Queen of the Angels, opened its doors to three hundred eager children. The zealous Sisters of the Sacred Heart were in great part responsible for the numbers who enrolled. "By their visitations to the homes in the parish, the sisters reminded the parents of the benefits of a Catholic education."¹⁹ In matters pertaining to health, social agencies, and spiritual assistance, the sisters accomplished a great work of mercy after school hours by visiting the homes of the children. "The census of the parish was taken by the sisters and they had a current list of everyone in the parish."²⁰

The Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart established their convent near the school in the Italian center known as "Little Italy." Numerous Italian and Mexican families benefited from the apostolic work of the Missionary Sisters.

Priests are so few here that the heretics have already sown their cockle in this beautiful country. I've never seen a country in which there was a greater number of sects, and of the most ridiculous kind... Some of our poor Italians fall into the net set to catch them. If a good knowledge of our Faith is necessary everywhere, it is more necessary still in these Protestant countries. And this shows us how necessary it is to study the Cathesism well.²¹

The steadfast zeal and persistent labor of the pastor, Reverend J. Caballeria, and his assistant, Reverend L. J. Davis, are remembered by the alumni of the school. As a consequence of the educational opportunities afforded the students, they were prepared for their future responsibilities.

The dedication of St. Peter's School took place on February 10, 1906, with the Most Reverend Thomas J. Conaty, Bishop of Los Angeles and Monterey, officiating. After the blessing, the pupils entertained His Excellency with a delightful program. His Excellency responded by urging the children to attend school regularly, to practice their holy religion, and to preserve the outstanding tradition of their fatherland.

After school hours the sisters taught Christian Doctrine at the parishes of St. Anthony, Immaculate Conception, and St. Anthony of Padua. At that time Reverend Galli was pastor of the old Im-

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maculate Conception Church on Spring Street, which was formerly known as San Fernando Road. Some students of these catechetical classes were Mr. Josephine (Maillard) Manette, presently of Our Lady Queen of the Angels parish, and Miss Angela Mastrobuono, present member of St. Peter's Parish. Her pastor was Reverend A. Glumac. "The sisters prepared the children by a series of instructions and as a proximate preparation they conducted a retreat on the eve of First Holy Communion Day. During the afternoon Confirmation was held."²²

In addition to their parochial school and catechism classes, "the sisters conducted a summer school consisting of the regular curriculum classes."²³ At that time the Italian members of the school district were known for their Italian celebrations on the feasts of Low Sunday, St. George, and St. Trunfuno. The children of the school also took part in the festivities.

Another example of a student who attended St. Peter's School is Miss Grace (Pirri) Cordono who became a resident of Our Lady Queen of the Angels Parish in 1895. In 1906, she attended the school in the sixth grade. The faculty consisted of Mother Matilda, principal, and Mothers Agatha, Natalina, Ufamia, Gerard, and Stella. In particular the sisters made the Sodality of Our Lady a source of Catholic action. "The School progressed and the pupils did very well according to the superintendent of schools who was present for all scholastic events."²⁴

Some of the pupils were:

Angelo Pirri, (vice-president of the Bank of America, 1960), Grace Pirri, Rocco Pirri, Alfred Lovelini, Emma Pirri, Ester Bordorio, Clara Tiani, Louis Patrick, Ester Zoneli, Josephine Lobardi, Augustine Nardoni, and Eduardo Palario. The graduations were very special affairs necessitating a great deal of preparation. On the same afternoon a play was presented for Bishop Conaty."²⁵

After the eighth grade graduation from St. Peter's the pupils attended Loyola, Christian Brothers or other high schools. Mother Benedetta, M.S.C., principal of Villa Cabrini Academy, Burbank, enumerated former students of St. Peter's who later became lawyers, judges, and business men in Los Angeles. They highly esteemed Mother Natalina, M.S.C., a well-known teacher and companion of Mother Cabrini, M.S.C., to California. The "enrollment increased to four hundred twenty-four pupils in charge of ten sisters in 1924 and this fact rendered imperative the erection of a new school."²⁶

According to the statistics of the Chamber of Commerce, the population of the city of Los Angeles had steadily increased and by

1930 the population was 1,238,048. The most Reverend John J. Cantwell, D.D., later, aimed to provide for the educational needs in the diocese. The urgent demand for a larger school building on a more spacious lot together with other factors resulted in the ground-breaking of the lot next to the church. "There was a solemn pontifical Mass attended by hundreds of the parishioners. It was the bishop's intention that a parish school be built on that site."²⁷ However, due to circumstances the building of the school was delayed and a different site was selected north of the church building. Following the bubonic epidemic of 1924, the district around the old school was restricted as well as some of the buildings. Consequently, the health authorities were extremely careful to make sure that the animals carrying the disease were eliminated and the stricken areas were inspected. Thus, the original school structure was found inadequate.

As a result of multiple factors, the location between Ord and Alpine Streets was selected for the new school building. This site was the best and closest available property at that time. The first building erected by the architect, Mr. Gene Verge, consisted of two stories and a basement with the provision for a third story. It had a frontage of one hundred fifty-four feet and a depth of one hundred eighty-six feet. Originally it gave space for thirteen large, well-ventilated classrooms. It had "an auditorium on the upper floor in which 1,000 could gather . . ."²⁸ The old adobe and the old frame buildings which occupied the area had been quickly removed for the building "which met all the diocesan specifications and was earthquake-proof, made of brick, plaster, and sand with mortar in the proportions of three to one."²⁹

With an initial cost of \$100,000, the historic start of Our Lady Queen of the Angels School gave promise of an important educational future. "The classrooms were provided with the latest equipment and were beautifully planned. The land was purchased by the Claretian Fathers."³⁰ Seven hundred pupils could easily be accommodated. It was of particular interest to the parishioners and the sturdy pioneers who had witnessed the phenomenal growth of Los Angeles."³¹ At that time the parish boundaries included Chavez Ravine and the present parishes of Soledad, St. Anthony, St. Peter, and St. Anthony of Padua.

The day, September 7, 1926, was a memorable one for the Parish of Our Lady Queen of the Angels because that date marked the opening of the new parochial school. The *Diocesan Record* of September, 1926, by Reverend Noel P. Dillon, M.A., Diocesan

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superintendent of schools, reported the enrollment of one hundred twenty-four boys and one hundred seventy-six girls for the opening of the school. The enrollment, however, soon increased with the numbers who came at the end of the season of crops.

On December 12, 1926, the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the dedication took place with a great celebration and long procession led by a brass band from the church to the school. "Our Bishop of Darien, Rt. Rev. Juan Maiztegui, C.M.F., D.D., blessed the parochial school today. All the Societies of the Church were present and many people."³² The auditorium was filled after the blessing for an entertainment which was given for all the parishioners. "Bishop Juan Maiztegui was particularly interested in the school and visited it frequently."³³

From 1926 to 1939 the school was conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph of Orange. In 1926 the group of Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart was depleted in California. Consequently, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Orange were asked by the bishop and the Claretian Fathers to staff the new school. Mother M. Bernard, S.S.J., the Superior General, accepted the new foundation for her community. The first superior and principal, Sister Laurentia, S.S.J., related the fact that in 1926 the majority of the pupils were Mexican, Italian, Chinese, Croatian, and Slovakian. Some of the prominent Los Angeles families also were in attendance.

An interesting account of this change of locations, buildings, and teaching communities was given by Mrs. Aurora (Lujan) Acosta, who attended St. Peter's School and graduated from the new parish school, Our Lady Queen of the Angels. This long-awaited accomplishment fulfilled the increasing educational demands for larger facilities. The family of Mr. Joseph De Santo moved into the parish in 1920 and, also, attended both schools. Mrs. Carmen (De Santo) Waer recalled the various scholastic activities during the beginning years of the new school. The students who were in attendance at that time have fond memories of their drama club and their school plays which were given on the second floor in what was then the auditorium. The auditorium was used for other school activities and for graduations.

Though there are many factors that belong to the history of this school, the teachers and pupils had warranted due consideration. Surely, in 1939, the exemplary Sisters of St. Joseph of Orange, though no longer able to staff the school, had a right to the deep satisfaction that a great task had been well done.

Thus, in the summer of 1939, the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary came to staff the school. When the foundation was accepted, Reverend Mother Redempta, I.H.M. was the Superior General of the Institute.

On July 16th, Sister Mary Gertrude was elected Superior of the Plaza Convent and Principal of the Plaza School. She was assigned the following faculty: Sisters Gabriel, Felicitas, Benedicta, Emmanuel, Jane Frances, Helene, Frances Clare, and a few postulants. Sister Madeline was missioned there.³⁴

The Sisters of the Immaculate Heart arrived at Our Lady Queen of the Angels on June 26, 1939, to assume responsibility of catechetical instruction in the vacation schools that were connected with the parish.

On September 5, 1939, the school opened with eight grades and a kindergarten. The pastor, Reverend Eugene Herran, C.M.F., and his assistant in charge of the school, Reverend Peter Caballero, C.M.F., did everything possible to accommodate the students and further their educational progress. Two school buses brought children from the parishes of St. Peter, St. Anthony, Queen of Angels, and St. Anthony. The Catholic Welfare Bureau arranged a daily lunch service. The enrollment included Mexican, Italian, Chinese, Slav and Croatian pupils.

With the aim of intensifying the physical education program, Reverend Peter Caballero, C.M.F., provided playground courts and named Mr. Frank Morales at the director of physical education. The boys had physical education classes at Elysian Park and the girls practiced at the Alpine Street School. Many school activities were enjoyed during the years, for instance, Christmas plays and May processions.

During the years much attention had been given to Our Lady Queen of the Angels School. "Since the arrival of the Immaculate Heart Sisters in 1939, the enrollment has reached a capacity of eight hundred children in the Grammar School."³⁵ It is fitting to highlight the fact that a junior high program was planned for the school in 1940. "A departmental program for the boys and girls of the seventh, eighth and ninth grades provided a satisfactory junior high school curriculum."³⁶

The classes were conducted on the second floor by Sisters Gertrude, Kevin, Edmund, and Ann Patrice. In spite of the fact that this program meant a year's delay in graduation, "the students enjoyed Queen of the Angels so much that they were delighted to be able to remain another year."³⁷ Besides, most of the students after

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graduating from the grammar school were deprived of the opportunity of continuing their Catholic education. For many years they had been hoping that a four-year high school would be established.

In the class which graduated from the ninth grade in 1942, only three of the twenty-three girls went to Bishop Conaty Memorial High School. A graduate of the Class of 1942, Carmen De Santos, related that Mary De Martinis, Sister Mary Gemma, I.H.M., Armida Bandurraga, and herself were the only girls of her class who had a Catholic high school education.

In 1943, Reverend Eugene Herran, C.M.F., first contemplated the possibility of a girls' high school. "He, therefore, began remodeling the upper floor of the school by converting the auditorium into class rooms for the girls' temporary high school."³⁸ Funds were gathered for the new high school building and for additional property. Reverend Eugene Herran, C.M.F., and Sister M. Celestine, I.H.M., principal from 1942 to 1948, diligently planned the high school departments to meet the same standards as required in the public schools in California.

The building of the high school rooms began in October of 1946 and represented a cost of \$115,000. In July, 1947, the priests, the faculty, and the students rejoiced at the completion of the new additional rooms. The newly-erected concrete building joined the original building on the Alpine Street side.

The main floor consists of a modernly equipped foods laboratory, furnished with eight gas ranges, a General Electric Refrigerator, and other necessary electrical kitchen appliances. Listed among the advantages, this unit includes a dining room in which guest serving will be taught, a large pantry, ample storate space, and hot and cold running water. They are beautifully finished with convenient bulletin boards, venetian blinds, and slate black boards.³⁹

Of great importance were the science laboratories which constituted one side of the upper floor of the new wing. The chemistry laboratory, fully equipped with chem-rack tables and outlets, joined the physics room by a supply room and a dispensary. A picture-developing room was adjacent. The entire west side of the upstairs of the wing was occupied by a large study hall. There, a drop screen and blackout curtains made it possible for an audio-visual education program. For this purpose the best audio-visual education and equipment were provided. Across from the large commercial room, which was well supplied with typewriters, adding machines, and a mimeograph, was situated the sewing room with power machines, electric irons, and the latest equipment necessary for both domestic

and commercial sewing. "The artistically inclined students find their inspiration in the art room which contains eighteen individual easels and several large drawing tables."⁴⁰ Every department was carefully considered.

It has been seen that Sister M. Celestine's arrival coincided with a period of school expansion which necessitated making far-reaching plans. Economic wisdom in building was apparent in the successful endeavors for the high school. In 1945, a newly equipped cafeteria served approximately two hundred students every day. Mrs. John Castabile managed an efficient service of delicious lunches.

The long-awaited day finally arrived on Sunday, September 28, 1947. The new \$115,000 wing of Our Lady Queen of the Angels High School was dedicated. "The dedication program featured an address by the Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools, Monsignor Patrick J. Dignan, the Claretian provincial, Very Reverend M. Nino, C.M.F., and Mr. Joseph Scott."⁴¹

By 1948, this high school was fully accredited. The examination for the four-year high school accreditation was made by Dr. Carr of the University of California, Los Angeles. By that time different school activities had helped develop the abilities of the students. "Student government, Our Lady's Sodality, Red Cross, library practice, and school publications all contribute their share in developing those traits of leadership so desirable in Catholic women."⁴² Weekly individual and group vocational guidance was supplemented by retreat conferences and many career week activities, at which time the girls selected the various speakers in the careers of their choice. There was ample proof that the students received the opportunity of an all-inclusive education. Their courses incorporated cultural, academic, commercial, and home economic subjects.

Moreover, "individual talents have ample opportunity for expression in such activities as the G.A.A., the Spanish Club, and the annual operetta."⁴³ After graduating in 1947, Ninetta Urso enrolled in the drama department of Immaculate Heart College where she soon became outstanding for her dramatic talent. Some of the plays put on by the students included: *Chonita*, *Forest Prince*, *Carmelita*, and the *Mikado*.

Among their social activities, the Junior and Senior Prom has been a special occasion. Though the first prom in 1947 was held at the Elk's Club, it has been the custom to choose a different place each year. In 1947, Mr. Fred Dockweiler crowned the prom queen,

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Hortensia Gallardo, whose family orchestra supplied the music for the evening.

The many activities of school life at Our Lady Queen of the Angels are reported by the students themselves in their school paper, *Our Lady's Echo*. "The first issue of *Our Lady's Echo* came out in 1943 when it received its title which was submitted by an eighth grade student, Gil Cueva, and voted upon by the student body of the high school."⁴⁴ The student body looked forward to each issue of *Our Lady's Echo* and in particular to their annual, the *Regina*. In 1949, the first issue of the *Regina* was published. Both the journalism class and the annual staff have ample opportunities to utilize their literary abilities.

In 1957, the greatly appreciated gymnasium-auditorium was completed. This brick gymnasium, which was built on the Alpine Street side of the school, serves many purposes. It is well-worth \$12,223, for it includes a sacristy, a stage, costume rooms, shower rooms, a cafeteria, and a gymnasium office. The valuable music system and the multi-colored lighting apparatus verify the fact that it has the most modern equipment. In reality, it is an all-purpose gymnasium which is used for Holy Mass, retreats, Sodality meetings, conferences, student body meetings, plays, dances, dinners, luncheons and teas. Certainly this gymnasium serves well the spiritual, educational, and social needs of the student body of the entire school.

During the recent years, the gymnasium has been the setting of many parish and school activities. In 1960, for example, the gymnasium was used for Holy Mass on first Friday and on feast days, student body meetings, Sodality meetings, the glee club performances, the drama festival, the Spanish club programs, the Christmas choral program, lectures, recitals, the *Tidings* rally, the career week lectures, the dances, the G.A.A. banquet, the meeting of the annual staff, the letter girls activities, and intramural sports.

A recent mark in the current history of Our Lady Queen of the Angels was made by its change of address. On June 6, 1960, the City Council of Los Angeles voted on the new name of the street in front of the school. Officially, Castelar Street was changed to North Hill Street. The present address is 725 North Hill Street, Los Angeles 12, California.

One indication of the fruitful work of the Claretian Fathers as well as of the four religious communities which have conducted the parish schools of Our Lady Queen of the Angels is the number of

religious vocations. The following joined the Claretian Fathers: Reverends Anthony Tomisich, C.M.F., Michael Herrera, C.M.F., Henry Herrera, C.M.F., Cecile Baron, C.M.F., Michael Montoya, C.M.F., Tuophilo Carmona, C.M.F., Manuel De Santos, C.M.F., and Edward Quevedo, C.M.F. "Reverend Joseph Peter De Martinis, O.S.J., became an Oblate of St. Joseph."⁴⁵ He enrolled in the third grade in 1933. Three sisters of Reverend Joseph De Martinis entered religion. They started in the first grade as follows: Sister Mary Gemma (Mary) De Martinis, 1933; Sister Frances Therese (Eleanor) De Martinis, 1935; and Sister Ann Christine (Elizabeth) De Martinis, 1938. "Besides being outstanding in scholastic endeavors and in social activities, all three sisters were chosen the prefect of their Sodality."⁴⁶ Indeed, the included list of vocations is an impressive witness to the zeal and good example given to the student body.

During the years from 1852 to 1960, thousands of boys and girls have completed satisfactorily their courses of study and have received their diplomas of graduation. They have entered almost every walk of life and have moved to many different localities. Many past graduates have recalled with great pride the memories of their years at Our Lady Queen of the Angels School.

In retrospect, there are many memorable events in the history of the parish schools. It was only necessary, however, to emphasize some of the most significant phases in order to prove the numerous spiritual, social, scholastic, cultural, and athletic benefits that the students have derived from their education. The thousands of graduates, who have already taken their places in religious life, married life, collegiate life, nursing, teaching, and business, are an immeasurable credit to the standards of their school. In conclusion, the parochial school of Our Lady Queen of the Angels is most effectively organized to inculcate the Christian principles of citizenship.

NOTES

1. *Tidings*, September 14, 1906.
2. John Steven McGroarty, *Los Angeles from the Mountains to the Sea*, p. 52.
3. Andrew J. Erwing, "Education the Pre-Statehood Period," *Historical Society of California*, p. 56.
4. Reverend Zephyrin Engelhart, *Missions and Missionaries*, p. 676.
5. Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, *The Centennial 1840-1940*, p. 21.
6. Reverend Zephyrin Engelhart, *San Gabriel and the Beginning of Los Angeles*, p. 171.
7. Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, *One Hundred Years Service*, p. 12.
8. "Extract from the Life of Sister Scholastica Longsdon," p. 3.
9. Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
10. *Los Angeles Star*, February 9, 1856.
11. Interview: Mrs. Ana Begue de Packman, secretary emeritus, *Historical Society of Southern California*.

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12. *Ibid.*
 13. "Extracts from the Life of Sister Scholastica Longsdon, D.C.," p. 4.
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. Interview: Mother M. Umilia, M.S.C., resident of Los Angeles, 1904.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Frances X. Cabrini. *Travels of Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini*, p. 271.
 18. Interview: Mother M. Umilia, M.S.C.
 19. Interview: Mother Benedetta, M.S.C.
 20. Interview: Mrs. Grace (Pirri) Cordono, St. Peter's School, 1960.
 21. Cabrini, *loc. cit.*
 22. Interview: Mrs. Josephine (Maillard) Manette.
 23. Interview: Miss Angela Mastrobuono.
 24. Interview: Mother M. Benedetta, M.S.C.
 25. Interview: Mrs. Grace (Pirri) Cordono.
 26. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
 27. Interview: Reverend Justin Marin, C.M.F.
 28. *Tidings*, September 10, 1926.
 29. Interview: Reverend J. Marin, C.M.F.
 30. Interview: Sister Laurentia, S.S.J., first principal.
 31. *Tidings*, *loc. cit.*
 32. *Chronicles of Claretian Fathers*, Our Lady Queen of the Angels Parish, December 12, 1926.
 33. Interview: Sister Laurentia, S.S.J.
 34. Archives of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Motherhouse, Los Angeles, p. 20.
 35. *Ibid.*
 36. Interview: Sister Mary Gertrude, I.H.M.
 37. Interview: Mrs. Carmen (De Santos) Waer, Class of 1942.
 38. Archives: Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.
 39. *Dedication Program, Queen of Angels High School*, p. 5.
 40. Archives: Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, p. 23.
 41. *Tidings*, October 10, 1947.
 42. *Tidings*, July, 1949.
 43. *Tidings*, June, 1950.
 44. Interview: Sister Cor Mariae (Margaret Mary) Lara, Class of 1947.
 45. Interview: Sister Mary Gemma, I.H.M., junior class of 1942.
 46. Interview: Sister M. Benigna, I.H.M., faculty member 1945-1960.
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Correction

Our attention has been called to an error of fact in the article "Recreation in Los Angeles." by Henry Winfred Splitter in the June, 1961, issue of the *Quarterly*. A sentence on p. 191 reads: "Hollenbeck (Park) between Fourth and Sixth Streets, on Cummings, had been the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Hollenbeck in 1892, and contained thirty-two acres."

The fact seems to be that William H. Workman gave twenty acres between Fourth and Sixth Streets and persuaded Mrs. Hollenbeck to give the southern tip of twelve acres, naming the area for his good friend, Hollenbeck. The fact is attested by the deeds on file at the Hall of Records and other documents. —*Editor*.

LETTERS OF ANTHONY GODBE:

Economic Signposts of Baja California

By Roland Rieder



THE ROLE OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP of the economy of Baja California with that of Southern California during the last decade of the last century is interestingly shown by the official letters of Anthony Godbe who served as United States Vice-Consul at the Ensenada, Baja California, post from 1889 to 1898.

Godbe in a letter to assistant Secretary of State Francis Wharton, accepted the position of acting Vice-Consul at Ensenada on April 17, 1889.¹ What promised at first to be a rather short tenure² lengthened substantially and consequently we now have a number of copies of letters sent by the vice-consul, the originals of which are now in the National Archives at Washington, D. C.

Sheep raising was the first economic topic which was touched upon. In a letter to W. R. Lee of Victoria, British Columbia,³ replying to a letter⁴ of August 23, 1889, inquiring about sheep raising in Baja California, Godbe says that he had talked with Captain Scott, general manager of the International Company of Mexico, who stated that there were excellent facilities for sheep and goat raising in certain sections. This is the first of a number of letters dealing with animals and animal products which were meant, in part, for the Southern California market.

Shortly thereafter Godbe's attention turned from the question of animal production to a consideration of the development of commercial mining on the peninsula. In a letter⁵ to Alvey A. Adey, Assistant Secretary of State, it was stated that the On Yick Company⁶ was to use Chinese labor for developing a mine at Real del Castillo and also for developing pearl and abalone fisheries. The company chartered the schooner *John Hancock* of Eureka, California, for that phase of the enterprise. Mines and the sea were to play an important part in the vice-consul's commercial activities.

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Not only California business firms but also individual Californians were seeking information concerning possibilities in and around Ensenada. Godbe replied to F. N. Sanborn of Orange, California, telling of the Collnet colony sixty miles south of Ensenada.⁷

During the first several months, Godbe was serving simply as acting vice-consul, but by June, 1890, he was vice-consul in fact.⁸ Thus he was entrenched in the post for the time being and continued to write on matters which touched on the regional economy of Baja California in relation to Southern California.⁹

With an increasing awareness of the economic potential of the region the United States Department of Agriculture began to notice the area. It was particularly concerned with grape cultivation, a concern to both Alta and Baja California. Newton B. Pierce, a special agent of the Department of Agriculture, was sent a letter briefly highlighting the introduction and cultivation of the Mission grape.¹⁰ Not only was the Department of Agriculture actively seeking facts about farming in the area, some ranchers were as willing to reciprocate with other ideas. Colonel W. S. Oliver of Linda Banda, Baja California, wanted to know whether or not the Department of Agriculture would care to receive seed beans of very fine quality from his ranch.¹¹ He thought they would be admirably adapted to planting in the warmer climates of the United States.¹²

In the early 1890's it was becoming ever more evident that the import-export business in Ensenada was to draw the attention not only of Southern Californians but also commercial firms on the East Coast. Godbe states in a letter to R. H. Davis and Company of Philadelphia that the leading import-export merchants of Ensenada at that time were Andonaequi y Ormat; Geo. Ybs...s Company [*sic*]; Romero and Company; Smith, Moorkers, and Company; the Carillo Brothers; and the Edwards Brothers.¹³

Godbe kept a watchful eye on exports to the United States. He also noted the movement of Chinese toward the international frontier. On one occasion he wrote to John R. Berry, collector of customs at San Diego, that eighteen Chinese had been landed from the ship *Newbern* and that a fortnight later ten were still working in an Ensenada shoe factory, but that seven had left ostensibly for the mine at Alamo, Baja California, but presumably were actually headed for Southern California.¹⁴

The sea was the chief medium of transport to and from Ensenada for both persons and commodities. Although much shipping

was done between Ensenada and San Diego, it was not without its perils. To illustrate this fact, Godbe allotted a fair proportion of his letters to the topic of shipwrecks.¹⁵ Godbe wrote to Jaime Garriga, *jefe de la capitania*, acknowledging receipt of proceedings regarding the American schooner *Queen of the Bay*,¹⁶ and, in a letter to the United States Secretary of State, noted that the schooner, which was owned by Captain Davis of San Diego, struck on the rocks off the Santos Islands and sank in 60 fathoms of water.¹⁷ This example is multiplied several times with losses of vessels and cargoes during the 1890's.

Although the vice-consul frequently had to concern himself with the transport of commodities by sea, overland movement was the obvious alternate. By the land route cattle were sent to Southern California. The favorite route was through Tijuana. For example, Godbe certified that Felipe Crosssthaite intended to drive a "bunch of cattle" to the United States.¹⁸ The prices of cattle were precisely stated as six dollars per head for yearlings, nine dollars for two year olds and twelve dollars for three year olds.¹⁹ The size of Crosssthaite's herd was estimated at about fifty, but later drives were represented by larger herds.²⁰ The cattle sent from Baja California to Southern California were in reasonably good health, for in a letter to an unknown recipient (perhaps the collector of customs at San Diego) that no foot and mouth disease had existed in the territory for a year.²¹ Additional shippers of cattle were Alexander, Augustine, and Jean Joussand of the Rosario Ranch who each shipped in lots of seventy-five head,²² and Serrano's Vallecito Ranch which sent a heard of two hundred head.²³

Economic commodities of Baja California represented a kaleidoscope of the non-industrial. Another item that was considered of such value that it figured in smuggling activities was guano, as indicated in one of the vice-consul's informative epistles.²⁴

At times, however, the Godbe folios can be rather mystifying. He copied and presumably sent a trial balance of the Ensenada Woolen Mills for the period from May through the first half of August, 1891.²⁵ The document indicated sizable activity for the balance was \$207,403.35.²⁶

Godbe's tenure as vice-consul was abruptly terminated in late 1898 with the appointment of Harry K. Taylor as vice-consul.²⁷ It can be said that the official letters of Anthony Godbe serve as sign posts in the economic history of the Californians; and, fortunately, this pattern was continued by his successors.²⁸

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NOTES

1. Records of Foreign Service Posts, Record Group 84, Ensenada, Mexico, press copy book number one, folio 106 in the Foreign Affairs Branch of the National Archives, Washington, D. C.
2. *Cf.*, folios 94, 96.
3. Folio 118, Godbe to Lee, August 30, 1889.
4. Unfortunately, the letters received by Godbe, if extant, are not in the National Archives.
5. Folios 122, 123 Godbe to Adey, September 13, 1889.
6. With age, the ink has faded and the paper partially deteriorated. It should be noted, however, that the documents at the National Archives are kept at precisely controlled temperatures and humidities so that the permanently valuable non-current records of the government may be preserved effectively.
7. Folio 144, Godbe to Sanborn, November 15, 1889.
8. Folio 184, Acknowledgment from Godbe to Wharton, June 3, 1890.
9. Of course he wrote on other matters such as shipwrecks, the "Oberlander Matter" (a complicated legal case), and the settlement of the Randall Estate, all of which are specialized studies in themselves.
10. Folio 219, Godbe to Pierce, January 26, 1891.
11. Folio 224, Godbe to Secretary of State, March 14, 1891.
12. *Ibid.* It is not clear whether Colonel Oliver had Southern California in mind, but it certainly had a climate very much akin to the area of his ranch.
13. Folio 220, Godbe to Davis and Co., February 19, 1891.
14. Folio 204, Godbe to Berry, March 25, 1892. Godbe was always careful to differentiate in his letters between Chinese residents in Baja California who had legitimate business connections and those who did not. It is a puzzle to account for the eighteenth person in Godbe's letter.
15. As indicated in note 9, this is a specialized topic, but mention of one shipwreck is included as illustrative.
16. Folio 329, Godbe to Port Captain Garriga, January 23, 1893. This is the same Jaime Garriga who later became Captain of the Port at La Paz (*cf.*, Folio 422).
17. Folio 328, Godbe to the Secretary of State. The reason why Godbe did not transmit Garriga's report is obscure.
18. Folio 445, Godbe's certificate, May 7, 1895.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Folio 449, Godbe's undated certificate.
21. Folio 452, Godbe to an addressee whose name is faded beyond recognition.
22. Folio 459, Godbe's Certificate, June 15, 1895.
23. Folio 468, Godbe to John Fisher, July 13, 1895. For other discussions of cattle movement see Folios 487-490.
24. Folio 484, Godbe to Rood, August 23, 1895.
25. Folios 501, 502. To whom this accounting document was sent is not known. Why a four-year-old trial balance was copied (probably in the Fall, 1895) also in an occluded item.
26. *Ibid.*, the document does not state whether the document is drawn in *pesos* or in dollars. Many of the individual account items are faded.
27. Folio II-47, Godbe to Consul General Barlow (Mexico City) October 5, 1898, acknowledging Taylor's appointment.
28. For example, Taylor stated in a letter to David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, February 2, 1899, Folio II-52, that Ensenada had nearly 3,000 inhabitants, one flour mill, five blacksmith and wagon shops, one tannery, four shoe shops, four large and twelve small general stores, three bakeries, three butcher shops, and an electric light and water plant. Taylor gives major exports as hides, cattle, and gold; and imports as general merchandise and machinery.

LAS FAMILIAS de CALIFORNIA

(The Families of California)

Conducted by MRS. JOSEPH M. NORTHROP

Genealogical Queries and Answers

18. Great-grandfather Antonoine (or Antonio) Jáuregui came to California in about 1854 and lived in Los Angeles. He married Dominga Labat in Santa Barbara on January 9, 1861. I would like to know more about the parents of Antonio Jáuregui and Dominga Labat who were either from Spain or France. I am also seeking information on their children: Pete, Jane, Louis, Raymond, Frank, Martha, Martin and Grace. — Mrs. Dollie Thompson, 1564 Mission Road, Escondido, California.

Answer: The translation of the Spanish information you sent with your query strongly indicates your Antonio Jáuregui was born in 1833 in Elizando, Navarra, Spain. Since your great-grandfather's death certificate registered in Los Angeles on January 15, 1904, does not record his parents' names, other records must be consulted. Unfortunately, you will not be able to find this information in the Santa Barbara marriage record either as that data was not included at that time. Further research on the family will need to be conducted in Spain itself.

In regard to Dominga Labat, his wife, I am sorry to say that here again we encounter the same difficulty. Her death certificate dated January 3, 1910, does not record her parents' names but only states that she and her parents were born in France, so no information can be located here in California. Dominga Labat's data will be in France.

Labat families can be found in Los Angeles and Orange counties but I have made no connection with *your* Labat family. A Peter or Pierre Jáuregui is listed in Los Angeles City Directories from 1904 through 1910.

Answer: QUERY No. 9, Vol. XLII, No. 2, June, 1960. I am indebted to Mrs. I. A. (Joy) Bonilla for the following information:

I. *Máximo Alanis y Casillas.*

Married 1st — Juana María Miranda y Hurtado.

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- II. *María Dorotea Alanis* y Miranda.
Married Josef Antonio Romero, August 4, 1801, at San Gabriel.
- III. *María Antonia Romero* y Salgado, baptized March 14, 1814, at La Purisima Mission.
Married Antonio Damacio Rodríguez (Bancroft's Damso Antonio Rodríguez).
- IV. *Anita Rodríguez* y Romero born in 1843.
Married *George W. Newton* (son of Isaac Newton).
- V. *John Lewis Newton* born March 16, 1869, at Santa Barbara, died June 6, 1935.
Married 1st — Lenora Malo in 1899 at Santa Barbara (no issue).
Married 2nd — *María Dorotea Leyba* (came to Santa Barbara from Mexico in 1919; born in Chihuahua, Mexico).
- VI. Children of above:
1. *John Newton* born in Santa Barbara (lives in Los Angeles).
 2. *Carmen Newton* born in Santa Barbara (lives in Los Angeles).
Married Muscio Gómez.
Children: 1. Luis Gómez born March 6, 1950.
2. Ruth Gómez born February 12, 1951.
 3. *Phoebe A. Newton* born September 13, 1927, in Santa Barbara.
Married 1st — Vincent M. Alcalá.
Children: 1. David George Alcalá born February 22, 1945.
2. Sandra Lynn Alcalá born July 12, 1949.
3. Lawrence Vincent Alcalá born June 20, 1951.
Married 2nd — Joseph León Torres at Santa Barbara.
Children: 1. Arline Claudette Torres born May 7, 1956 at Santa Barbara.
2. Laura Dennise Torres born April 11, 1960, at Santa Barbara.
 4. *María Dorotea (Mary) Newton*.
Married 1st — Garth Courtney Abel.
Children: 1. Cynthia Abel born in June, 1951.
2. Lee Abel born in May, 1953.
Married 2nd — Frank Denton.
Child: Joseph Denton born in June, 1956.

Genealogical Notes

The copy of the 1850 Federal Census of Los Angeles at the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California, contains not only a census record compiled personally by John R. Everston, but it also records many of the deaths in Los Angeles between June, 1849, and May, 1850. Newmark's publication of *The Census of the City and*

County of Los Angeles for the Year 1850 gives only the *number* and *causes* of deaths. The following information was transcribed from the 1850 Census, and, because of the vague and incomplete information recorded, I have annotated the mortality record with data from other sources — principally from burial records.

For assistance in compiling this record I am indebted to Mrs. Ella Robinson, librarian of the Southwest Museum, Bill Mason, of the Los Angeles County Museum, and Ellen Barrett, librarian of the Genealogy Department at the Los Angeles Public Library.

"PERSONS WHO DIED DURING THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 1, 1850, IN THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES, STATE OF CALIFORNIA, ENUMERATED BY ME." — J. R. EVERSTON, ASS'T. MARSHALL.

1. *María de los Dolores*, age 1, female, born in California, died in January, cause unknown (*María de los Dolores Valenzuela*, buried January 9, 1850, year and a half old, daughter of Dolores Valenzuela and Pilar Lugo).

2. *Augustina*, age 16, female, born in California, died in January, cause unknown (*Agustina Polloreña*, buried January 13, 1850, age 16 years, daughter of Pedro Polloreña and Petra, neophyte of San Luis).

3. *María Victoria*, age 10, female, born in California, died in January, cause unknown (*María Victoria Palos*, buried January 20, 1850, age 10 years, daughter of Antonio Palos and Encarnación Pacop).

4. *José Gabriel Armenta*, age 25, male, born in California, died in January, profession unknown, cause unknown (*José Gabriel Armenta*, buried at San Gabriel, January 5, 1850, 19 years of age, son of *Alferez Armenta*).

5. *Mariano Crespín*, 50 years, male, married, born in California, died in January, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (buried January 22, 1850, son of Juan Francisco Crespín and María Josefa Moya, of New Mexico).

6. *María Gerónima*, 11 months old, born in California, died in January, cause unknown (*María Gerónima* buried January 28, 1850. Probably daughter of *José Altamirano* and *María Luisa Valenzuela*, baptized March 16, 1849, at the age of 35 days).

7. *María del Refugia*, age 1, female, born in California, died in February, cause unknown (*Refugia*, buried February 1, one year of age, daughter of Josefa).

8. *María Isabel Orduña*, age 1, female, born in California, died in February, cause unknown (may have been daughter of Ramón de la Trinidad Orduña and María de la Concepción Feliz).

9. *Guadalupe*, age 1, female, born in California, died in February, cause unknown (*Guadalupe Mendibles*, buried February 3, age 20 months, daughter of Francisco Mendibles and Felicita Martínez).

10. *María Antonia*, age 4 months, born in California, died in February, cause unknown (*María Antonia Belisaria*, 9 months old, daughter of Juana, buried February 8, 1850).

11. *Francisco Xavier*, 3/365, male, born in California, died in February, cause unknown (*Francisco Xavier Quintana*, buried February 12, 3 days old, son of Diego Quintana and María de los Santos Higuera).

12. *María*, age 15, female, born in California, died in February, cause unknown (*María*, buried February 13, 1850, age 15 years, daughter of neophytes of San Luis Rey).

13. *Crecencio*, age 24 years, male, born in California, died in February, occupation unknown (*Crecencio Gallegos*, age 24, buried February 25, 1850, native of Guadalajara).

14. *Macario*, age 35, male, born in California, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Macario Rivera*, born in Guadalajara, 35 years, son of Francisco Rivera and Trinidad).

15. *Victoriano*, age 26 years, male, born in California, died in February, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Victoriano* age 36 years, buried March 1, 1850, of Chihuahua).

16. *Estefana Foster*, age 2 months, female, born in California, died in March, cause croup.

17. *Mary Ann Holman*, age 31 years, female, married, born in Virginia, died in March, cause pneumonia, ill 14 days.

18. *María del Espíritu*, age 2 years, female, born in California, died in March, cause fever.

19. *Harriet Scott*, age 30, female, married, born in New York, died in April, cause *Cong. chills* (sic), ill 7 days (This would be Harriet Benedict, wife of Jonathan R. Scott).

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20. *Antonio Casanova*, age 50 years, married, born in Spain, died in April, occupation trader, disease *cronic* (sic), ill 5 days (buried April 23, 1850, of Cata-luña).

21. *Macario Rivera*, age 40, male, married, born in Mexico, died in April, cause unknown. (See No. 14).

22. *Maria Juana*, age 2/365, female, born in California, died in April, cause unknown (Maria Juana *Selis*, 2 days old, buried March 24, 1850, daughter of San-tiago Selis and Juana Arriola).

23. *José Ignacio*, age 50, male, born in California, died in April, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (José Ignacio *Aguilar*, age 40, buried April 20, 1850, son of Ignacio Aguilar and Cande-laria Machado).

24. *Francisco*, age 1 year, male, born in California, died in April, cause unknown (Francisco de Paula *Buelna*, 1 year and 1 month, buried April 12, 1850, son of Encarnación Buelna).

25. *Maria Francisca*, 10/365, female, born in California, died in April, cause unknown (Maria Francisca de Paula, buried April 18, 1850, daughter of a neo-phyte).

26. *José de la Cruz*, age 28, male, married, born in California, died in April, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (José *Salazar*, age 28, buried April 20, 1850, married to Maria Jesús Lugo).

27. *Carlos Valencia*, age 3 months, male, born in California, died in April, cause fever, ill 2 days.

28. *Salvador*, age 38, male, born in Mexico, died in April, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (Salvador *Armijo*, buried April 20, 1850, son of Francisco *Hermijo* and Maria Francisca Gonzales).

29. *José Soto*, age 6 years, born in California, died in April, cause unknown (A boy, José Florentino Soto, was buried May 3, 1850, at San Gabriel).

30. *Antonio*, age 50, male, born in California, died in April, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (Could this entry be the same as No. 20?).

31. *Enrique*, age 6 months, male, born in California, died in April, cause of death unknown (Enrique *Moreno*, seven months, buried April 25, 1850, son of Catarina Moreno).

32. *Josefa*, age 30, female, born in California, died in April, cause unknown (Josefa *Castro*, age 36, single, buried April 26, 1850).

33. *Miguel Prior*, age 45, male, married, born in Louisiana, died in May, occupation silversmith, cause of death Epileptic Fits, ill 1 year (According to the marriage record he was called (Nathaniel

Prior, married last to Maria Paula Romero, born in Louisville, Kentucky, the son of Daniel Pryor and Mary Davis. Buried May 11, 1850, at the age of 50 years).

34. *Lugarda Alvarado*, age 60, female, born in California, died in May, cause unknown.

35. *Luis Lebori*, age 10, male, born in California, died in May, cause unknown (Perhaps son of Antonio *Labori* and Maria Eulalia who had a child baptized at San Gabriel in 1847).

36. *Juan Bautista*, age 8 years, male, born in California, died in May, cause unknown.

37. *Alexandrina*, age 5 years, female, born in California, died in May, cause unknown (Alexandrina *Machado*, buried May 5, 1850, at San Gabriel, daughter of Joachin Machado and Lorenza Ortega).

38. *Francisco Sonstantino*, age 28, male, born in California, died in May, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (Francisco Constantino *Sepúlveda*, buried May 22, 1850, at San Gabriel, son of Fernando Sepúlveda and Rafaela Verdugo).

39. *Juan Francisco*, age 15, male, born in California, died in May, cause unknown (Juan Francisco *Truillo*, son of Juan María Truillo and Andrea Tapia, buried at San Gabriel, May 28, 1850).

40. *Maria del Carmen*, age 12, female, born in California, died in May, cause unknown (Maria del Carmen Marta *Lugo*, buried at San Gabriel June 14, 1850, daughter of José del Carmen Lugo and Rafaela Castro).

41. *Adelaida Domínguez*, age 3 months, female, born in California, died in May, cause inflammation (María Adelaida *Domínguez*, buried June 8, 1849, daughter of Pedro Domínguez and Maria de Jesús Cota).

42. *José del Carmel Carpenter*, 2/365, male, born in California, died in May, cause of death childbirth, ill 2 days (buried September 20, 1850, 3 days old, son of Samuel Carpenter and Maria de los Angeles Domínguez).

43. *Enrique*, age 40 years, male, born in California, died in May, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (Enrique *Gatelon*, 40 years, buried May 1, 1850, native of Baja California).

44. *Luis*, age 50, male, born in California, died in May, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (Luis *Olivo*, buried May 1, 1850, native of Mexico City).

45. *Ramón*, age 24, male, born in California, died in May, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (Ramón *Manriquez*, age 24, buried May 6, 1850, son of Luis Manriquez and Juliana Alanis).

46. *María*, age 2 years, female, born in California, died in May, cause unknown, (*María Navarro*, age 2 years, buried May 6, 1850, daughter of Teodoro Navarro and Catalina Verdugo).

47. *Miguel*, age 50, male, married, born in California, died in May, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (Same as entry No. 33?).

48. *Isabel*, age 19, female, born in California, died in May, cause unknown (may be Isabel Avila, buried May 20, 1850).

49. *José de las Mercedes*, age 6 months, born in California, died in May, cause unknown (*José de las Mercedes Alvarado*, 6 months, buried May 31, 1849, son of *José Alvarado* and *Dolores Duarte*).

50. *Francisco de los Dolores*, age 7 months, male, born in California, died in May, cause unknown (*Francisco de los Dolores Olivas*, 7 months old, buried June 1, 1849, son of *Nicolás Olivas* and *Juana Ibarra*).

51. *Domingo*, age 10 days, male, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (*Domingo*, 10 days, buried June 2, 1849, son of neophytes of San Diego).

52. *María Adelaida*, age 2 months, female, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (Probably the same as No. 41).

53. *María Merced*, age 1 year, female, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (*Mercedes Coyote*, age 1 year, buried June 10, 1849, daughter of *José Coyote* and *María Guadalupe Cosachor*).

54. *Juan*, male, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (*Juan Ben*, 1 year old, buried June 11, 1849, son of *Juan Ben* (Behn?) and *Maria Pabla Castelo*).

55. *María del Rufigia*, age 18, female, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (*María del Refugio*, 18 years, *India*, buried June 18, 1849).

56. *Joaquín*, age 70 years, male, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (*Joaquín*, *Indio*, 60 years old, buried June 19, 1849).

57. *Marcelina*, age 16, female, married, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (*Marcelina*, 16 years old, daughter of *Indians*, married, buried June 24, 1849).

58. *María Francisca*, age 2 months, female, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (*María Francisca Dominga Higuera*, 2 months, buried June 2, 1849, daughter of *Doroteo Higuera* and *María Dominga Suárez*).

59. *María Altagracia*, age 16 days, female, born in California, died in June, cause unknown (*María Altagracia Roble*, age 16 days, buried June 27, 1849, daughter of *Dioisio Roble* and *Marcelina, India*).

60. *Guadalupe Lucía Francisco*, born in California, died in July, cause unknown (*Guadalupe Luis Francisco de Padua Rivera*, age 3 months, buried July 4, 1849, son of *Macario Rivera* and *María de Jesús Ruiz*).

61. *José Pablo*, age 52, male, born in California, died in July, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*José Pablo Retes*, age 52, buried July 4, 1849, son of *Ignacio Retes* and *Antonia Ruiz*, native of Panamá, resident of Tepic).

62. *Mases* (sic) *Hale*, age 48, male, married, born in Massachusetts, died in July, occupation cabinet maker, cause of death cholera.

63. *José Miguel*, age 10, male, born in California, died in July, cause unknown (*José Miguel Alvitre*, buried at San Gabriel on July 8, 1849, son of *José Apolinario Alvitre* and *María Antonia Soto*).

64. *Manuel*, age 54, male, married, born in California, died in July, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Manuel López*, 54 years old, buried July 9, 1849, native of *Isla de San Antonio en Cabo Verde*).

65. *María del Refugia*, age 7 days, female, born in California, died in July, cause unknown (*María Rómula del Refugio Márquez*, 7 days old, buried July 15, 1849, daughter of *Francisco Márquez* and *Roque María Valenzuela*).

66. *Francisco Rosario*, age 13, male, born in California, died in July, cause unknown (*Francisco Rosario Sepúlveda*, 13 years old, buried July 17, 1849, son of *José Sepúlveda* and *Francisca Avila*).

67. *Teresa*, age 7 months, female, born in California, died in August, cause unknown (*Teresa de Jesús García*, seven months, buried August 1, 1849, daughter of *Antonio García* and *Simona Romero*).

68. *Sebastián Juan*, age 10 months, male, born in California, died in August, cause unknown.

69. *Juan*, age 40, male, born in California, died in August, occupation unknown (*Juan Adule*, 40 years, buried August 11, 1849, son of *Indians*, *muerte violenta* — violent death).

70. *María Concepción*, age 10, female, born in California, died in August, cause unknown (*María Concepción Romero*, 10 years old, buried August 17, 1849, daughter of *Manuel Romero* and *María Elizalde*).

71. *María Guadalupe*, age 2 years, female, born in California, died in August, cause unknown (*María Guadalupe Domínguez*, 2 years, buried August 17, 1849, daughter of *Nazario Domínguez* of San Diego and *María Antonia Castello* of Lower California).

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72. *Luis*, age 20, male, born in California, died in August, cause unknown (Indio, age 20, buried August 20, 1849).

73. *José Francisco*, age 10 months, male, born in California, died in August, cause unknown (José Francisco Gerardo *Varelas*, 10 months, buried August 24, 1849, son of José Servo *Varelas* and *Asunción Avila*).

74. *Gaspar*, age 75, male, born in California, died in August, cause unknown (*Gaspar Valenzuela*, 65 years, buried August 27, 1849, son of Manuel *Valenzuela* and *Concepción Higuera*).

75. *María Francisca*, 4/365, female, born in California, died in August (*María Francisca Manuela López*, 5 days old, buried August 20, 1849, daughter of *Bernardo López* and *María Crisanta Rafaela*).

76. *María Concepción*, age 10, female, born in California, died in August, cause unknown (A repeated entry of No. 702).

77. *Soledad*, age 7, female, born in California, died in September, cause unknown (*Soledad Ulboa*, 70 years, buried September 1, 1849, of *Zacatecas*).

78. *Pedro*, age 30, male, born in California, died in September, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Pedro*, 30, buried September 7, 1849, neophyte of *San Diego*).

79. *Pedro María*, age 21, male, born in California, died in September, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Pedro*, age 21, buried September 7, 1849, son of neophytes).

80. *Francisca*, age 30, female, born in California, died in September, cause unknown (*Francisca*, 30 years, buried September 8, 1849, daughter of neophytes of *San Diego*).

81. *José Ignacio*, age 21, male, born in California, died in September, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown.

82. *Diego*, age 25, male, born in California, died in September, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown.

83. *Juan José*, age 70, male, born in Mexico, died in September, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Juan José Higuera*, age 62, buried September 12, 1849, son of *Joaquín Higuera* and *Teresa Cota*).

84. *Tomás Reyes*, age 50, male, married, born in Mexico, died in September, occupation unknown, cause unknown (*Tomás Reyes*, 50 years, buried September 16, 1849, of *Chile*, widow of *Francisca* of *San Diego*).

85. *Francisco Ibarra*, age 1 year, male, born in California, died in September, cause unknown, ill 2 days (*José Francisco Ibarra*, 14 months, buried October 30, 1849, son of *Ramón Ibarra* and *Pilar Romero*).

86. *Guadalupe Domínguez*, age 1 year, female, born in California, died in September, cause fever.

87. *María*, age 4, female, born in California, died in September, cause fever.

88. *Anstacio*, age 9, male, born in California, died in September, cause unknown (*Anastacio Valenzuela*, 9 years old, buried September 18, 1849, son of *Juana María Ricarda Valenzuela*).

89. *María Antonia*, age 13, female, born in California, died in September, cause unknown (*María Antonia*, 13 years, buried September 19, 1849, neophyte of *San Diego*).

90. *José María*, age 70, male, born in Mexico, died in September, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*José María Camacho*, 70 years, buried September 22, 1849, of *Baja California*).

91. *María del Pilar*, age 90, female, born in Mexico, died in September, cause unknown (*Pilar Verdugo*, buried September 27, 1849).

92. *José*, age 1 month, male, born in California, died in September, cause unknown (*José Francisco Tapia*, 1 month old, buried October 3, 1849).

93. *Andrés Tera*, age 70, male, born in Mexico, died in October, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Andrés*, 60 years, buried October 7, 1849, neophyte of *San Diego*).

94. *Magdalena*, age 40, female, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*Magdalena Alvarado*, 40 years old, buried October 8, 1849, daughter of *José Alvarado* and *María Antonia Valenzuela*).

95. *Ascención*, age 3 months, female, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*Asención Feliz*, 3 months, buried October 11, 1849, daughter of *Manuel Feliz* and *Josefa Peralta*).

96. *Manuel*, age 1 year, male, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*Manuel Sotel*, 1 year, buried October 12, 1849, son of *Juan Sotel* and *Salomé*).

97. *Bibiana*, age 5, female, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*Viviana*, age 25, buried October 12, 1849, neophyte of *Santa Isabel*).

98. *María Jesús*, age 4, female, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*María de Jesús del Refugio*, age 4 years, buried October 15, 1849, daughter of *Indios*).

99. *Juan Wenceslao*, 10/365, male, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*Juan Wenceslao Valdez*, 10 days old, buried October 16, 1849, son of *Simplicio Valdez* and *Andrea López*).

100. *Maria del Refugio*, age 4, female, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*Maria del Refugio Domínguez*, age 4, buried on October 16, 1849, daughter of Nazario Domínguez and María Antonia Castelo).

101. *Ramón*, age 60, male, born in California, died in October, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Ramón Guzmán*, 60 years, buried October 25, 1849, son of Toribes Guzmán and Isabel Parra).

102. *Juan de Mata*, age 21, male, born in California, died in October, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Juan de Mata*, age 25, buried October 26, 1849, son of neophytes of San Juan Capistrano).

103. *José Francisco*, age 1 year, male, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*José Francisco Ibarra*, 14 months, buried October 30, 1849, son of Ramón Ibarra and Pilar Romero).

104. *Soledad*, age 2 years, female, born in California, died in October, cause unknown (*Soledad Ruiz*, age 2 years, buried October 30, 1849, daughter of Francisco Ruiz and Manuela López).

105. *Antonio*, age 12, male, born in California, cause of death unknown.

106. *María Francisca*, age 10 years, female, born in California, died in November, cause unknown (*María Francisca Jacinta Reyes*, daughter of Ygnacio Reyes and Francisca Pérez, was buried in San Gabriel on November 6, 1849).

107. *José Cornelio de Jesús*, age 3 months, male, born in California, died in November, cause unknown (*José Cornelio de Jesús Corona*, 3 months old, buried November 8, 1849, son of Cornelio Corona and Juana Arias).

108. *Felipe Talaman*, age 7 years, male, born in California, died in November, cause fever, ill 9 days (son of *Felipe Talamantes* and *Petronila Olivas*?).

109. *Gregoria*, age 50, female, married, born in California, died in November, cause unknown (*Gregoria*, 50, buried November 14, 1849, *India*).

110. *Francisca María*, age 7 months, female, born in California, died in November, cause unknown (*Francisca María Martínez*, 17 months, buried November 14, 1849, daughter of Juan Alejo Martínez and *Natividad Ruiz*).

111. *Buenaventura*, age 40 years, female, widow, born in California, died in

November, cause unknown (*Buenaventura*, age 46, buried November 14, 1849, neophyte widow).

112. *María Antonia*, age 30 years, female, widow, born in California, died in November, cause unknown (*María Antonia*, 30, buried November 15, 1849, neophyte).

113. *José Francisco Javier*, age 1 year, male, born in California, died in November, cause unknown (*José Francisco Xavier Triunfo*, 1 year, buried November 18, 1849, son of José Miguel Triunfo and María Rafaela Canedo).

114. *María Encarnación*, age 110, female, married, born in California, died in November, cause unknown (*María Encarnación*, 40, buried November 26, 1849, neophyte).

115. *María Longina*, age 1 year, female, born in California, died in November, cause unknown (*María Longina*, 15 months, buried December 6, 1849, neophyte).

116. *Francisco Pantojo*, age 25, male, married, born in California, died in December, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*A Francisco Pantojo* was buried at San Gabriel December 3, 1849, whose wife was Juana Uribes).

117. *Dionicio*, age 50 years, male, born in Mexico, died in December, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Dionisia*, 50 years, buried December 10, 1849, *Dieguña*).

118. *Pablo*, age 60, male, widower, born in Mexico, died in December, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Pablo*, 60 years, buried December 16, 1849, neophyte).

119. *Pedro*, age 30 years, male, born in Mexico, died in December, occupation unknown, cause of death unknown (*Pedro*, buried December 24, 1849, single, neophyte, cause of death — shot).

120. *Juan Evangelista*, age 10 years, male, born in California, died in December, cause unknown (*Juan Evangelista Tristán*, age 10 years, buried December 26, 1849, son of José Alvino Tristán and María Jacoba Cañedo).

121. *María Guadalupe*, 21/365, female, born in California, died in December, cause unknown (*María Guadalupe Castillo*, buried December 28, 1849, daughter of Ambrosio Castillo and María Antonia Serrano).

BOOK REVIEWS

MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST, 1540-1861. Volume IV, *From the Pacific Railroad Surveys to the Onset of the Civil War, 1855-1860*, by Carl I. Wheat. (San Francisco, The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1949.) Pp. xiii, 260; maps, \$60.00.

One difficulty of reviewing the fourth volume in a series is that unless major departures have been made from the qualities of content and organization or the format of the previous volumes, there is virtually nothing left unsaid. The fourth volume of Carl I. Wheat's projected five-volume work has no major departures from the earlier volumes. (Volumes One and Two were reviewed in the September, 1959, issue of the *QUARTERLY*, and Volume Three was reviewed in the June, 1961, issue.) The values, strengths, and weaknesses already noted have been continued with only minor changes.

The magnificence of concept and compilation of historical detail — not trivia as might have occurred with a less competent or careful scholar — have been continued most admirably. Wheat's thoroughness, even doggedness, in research is plentifully evident in both the completeness of map references and in the text.

The main purpose of the work is not to compile an atlas in the usual sense, but to produce a discussion of the mapping and maps of an area and an era, to describe their origins and sources, the information contained in them, and their production qualities and characteristics, and to evaluate all of these factors. Wheat's primary objective, then, was to provide an illustrated textual description and analysis with appropriate evaluations of a series of maps rather than a briefly annotated collection of maps in which the cartographic representations as such are the dominant feature. That objective is stated clearly in the *Foreword* of Volume I, page iv, "This is the first of five projected volumes concerned with the intricate story of how the American West was mapped." And that objective has been adhered to most faithfully. It is, however, rather easily lost sight of — perhaps more easily by a reviewer than by a user — because of conditioned reflexes to titles using any word related with "maps," and by the very large numbers of maps actually reproduced in each volume. Therefore, the work is likely to be unfairly evaluated in atlas terms rather than

in the author's terms of a textual presentation with illustrations.

As a result of the author's concept and plan, the maps *per se* are secondary in importance. Treatment of them, however, is not even secondary but somewhere between incidental and casual. The comment has nothing to do with quality of reproduction as some at least, perhaps most, are almost certainly more legible in this work than in the original despite excessive reduction, and reproduction of maps with colors in the original in black and white.

The less than satisfactory treatment of the maps lies primarily in their organization rather than in their reproduction. They appear to have been inserted quite haphazardly within the chapters to which they relate. Chapter integrity is maintained admirably despite the difficulties inherent in a partially chronological, partially topical volume organization, and discussion of each map noted is careful, thorough, and complete whether or not the map itself is reproduced. There is, however, no differentiation of reference in the text to indicate whether the map was reproduced or where it may be found. Further, there is no sequence of map numbers according to discussion sequence, nor do map references carry any indication of areas covered. In order to find a map referred to in the text, one must look in the *Table of Map Reproductions* in the front of the volume, and then in the *Bibliocartography* in the back for additional necessary information, and somewhere, in the process of hunting, find the page referred to which is possible only after searching through long columns of non-sequential numbers. The *Alphabetical Index of Maps* is likely to be of marginal or no value.

All-in-all, the net effect of the lack of proper numbering, indexing, and topical and or aerial referencing is chaos for the user. The arrangement is much that which would result if a deck of cards had been sorted to suits and then each suit thoroughly shuffled. For example Map Number 940, "1858 Bonnycastle" is opposite page 111 on which the discus-

sion of Map Number 942 "1858 *Ettling*" ends, which Map 940 is discussed on page 105, with the discussion of maps numbered 943, 955, 956, 941, 964, 961, 951, and 949 intervening, in that order, as well as reproductions of maps numbered 961, 956, and 941. With the maps numbered and inserted so casually, much of the potential value of the work is lost in confusion or fatigue or both.

The only notable change from Volumes One to Three, other than the time spanned by each volume, is the absence of dramatic chapter headings in Volume Four. In this volume, the chapter heads are notably prosaic which at least has the advantage of avoiding uncertain frames of reference such as noted in the review of Volume Three.

There is one point which, rather surprisingly was not raised by either previous reviewer. That is the use of the term "Bibliocartography." Careful examination of all four volumes has failed to disclose a single map of books, though each has one indicated in the *Table of Contents*

in reference to the "...Chronological listing and description of all maps considered in...this study." Such a list is a cartobibliography. Making the point may be considered splitting hairs but it is somewhat irksome to this reviewer.

In summation, Volume Four of *MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST*, is a beautifully produced, carefully written, and valuable reference for historians and geographers but it falls considerably short of its potential value because of gross disorganization and inadequate indexing, especially of the cartographic reproductions. It is a true bibliophile's item, a historian's prize of information, and a printer's pride — but it is a geographer's or a cartographer's nightmare of frustration and only somewhat less frustrating to the historian attempting to use it for more than casual reference until he is very thoroughly familiar with the contents of each and every page and the locations of all illustrations. The information is present but it is very difficult to find. — *William H. Wake.*

STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY — *SOLDIER OF THE WEST*, by Dwight L. Clarke. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1961.) Illustrations, map, appendix, notes on sources, index. Pp. 448. \$5.95.

This is more than a vindication of a neglected and maligned Western figure, Stephen Watts Kearny, who made substantial contributions to his country as a military man and as a statesman. It is a re-writing of the Mexican-War phase of California's history, based on the author's painstaking research in old and new sources.

No longer need the writers of text books on the story of the Golden State dodge, or fumble over, the complicated relationships between Kearny, Commodore Robert F. Stockton, and Colonel John C. Frémont. Dwight Clarke has resolved the complications and has clarified the claims of authority of these three leaders. Kearny receives his due, Stockton loses some of his luster, Frémont is deflated, and a book is written that will prove indispensable to Western historians and readers of Western history.

Inevitably Clarke has had to take issue with the partisans of Frémont, a vocal throng that has included well-known writers as well as unthinking Californians who year-in and year-out go on naming schools, parks, streets, and landmarks after a man about whom a strange hero-myth has arisen. Clarke's is a politely devastating volume. It is sharply critical of novelist Irving Stone who is charged with falsifying the facts of history in his *Im-*

mortal Wife, the story of Jessie Benton Frémont. Especially does Clarke take exception to Stone's account of Frémont's court-martial and to his including Kit Carson as a pro-Frémont witness. "Carson was not even present," states Clarke. The unfavorable characterization given Kearny by Justin Smith and Stanley Vestal is disputed. Furthermore, the author discreetly differs with Allan Nevins, biographer of Frémont, who has projected General Kearny's personality as harsh and unattractive.

Out of these pages emerges the figure of a man whose life exhibited "some of the characteristics of Greek tragedy," for during his last two years Kearny was implacably harassed. It is a straightforward account, presenting Kearny as the father of our cavalry system, as a Western explorer of note, as the builder of more frontier posts than any contemporary, as the protector from Indian attack of a long frontier, as the man whose statemanship brought law and order to New Mexico, and who wisely served as the military governor of New Mexico, California, Veracruz, and Mexico City. The climax of events in Kearny's life took place in California (where his supreme authority was finally recognized), though the climatic drama — the court martial of Frémont, arrested by Kearny for

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repeated failure to obey orders — took place in Washington. At the same time Kearny's errors of judgment or defects of temperament are not glossed over.

Dwight Clarke's feeling — born of extensive research — that he "actually knew Stephen Watts Kearny" is contagious. Convincing is the account of Kearny's long march in 1845 to the South Pass, as well as his bloodless take-over of New Mexico for the United States at the outset of the Mexican War and his six-

weeks' stay in Santa Fe where statesman-like policies won over the people. The fateful meeting with Kit Carson at Socorro, the tragic Battle of San Pasqual, the decision to launch — which was an error on Kearny's part — the clash of authority with Stockton and Frémont, Frémont's unauthorized entering into a treaty at Cahuenga, the confusion among Californians as to who really was governor, the ordeal of the court martial — all are told with persuasive clarity. — *W. W. Robinson.*

CHRISTMAS ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, 1800-1900, by John E. Baur. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1961). Cloth. Pp. 320. \$5.00.

Although the title of this book would indicate a holiday offering, it is more than that. It includes an excellent capsule synopsis of the history of the American Frontier in the nineteenth century. Each chapter begins with a brief description of the history of our various frontiers: the Colonies, the Spanish Southwest, California, the mountain man, the prairie, Texas, the 49ers, the Mormons, the military, the cowboy, the Pacific Northwest which Dr. Baur designates as Christmas Tree country, and finally Alaska which he says is on Santa's doorstep.

Regardless of the area or conditions, one thing was certain, the Christmas holiday was celebrated by all in one form or another. Our hardy Western pioneers brought the custom with them as they moved westward, and it was carried out by both the pious and the rough element alike.

The reader finds himself enjoying the holiday as it was brought to the New World by our forefathers. Old French customs of Noel were preserved by the Creoles in Louisiana. *Noche Buena* (the Good Night, or Christmas Eve) was celebrated in the Spanish colonies of California and the Southwest. The trail blazers found time to recognize the holiday. The

fur trapper celebrated by gorging himself on food prepared by the Indian women. Although life on the prairie was a bleak one in many instances, it never dampened the Christmas spirit and when the traditional materials were not available, the ingenuity of the frontiersman was not daunted. The Christmas spirit permeated the California gold country and was evidenced in the open-handed hospitality of the Texans. In most unusual ways the Indians adopted and adapted the Yuletide. Even though many of the ways of keeping Christmas were worldly, in almost every instance, the spiritual factor was introduced in some manner.

A scholarly work of research is indicated in the fifteen-page bibliography. Simple, but sincere illustrations by Charles McLaughlin help to promote the spirit of the period.

This is a book which will be enjoyed by the adult reader and certainly will inspire a love of American history in the younger group. It should set every reader reminiscing on the past Christmases he has spent. To quote the author, "It preserves the flavor of a great Western holiday and shows today's Americans something of the spirit of yesterday's pioneers." — *Ruth I. Mahood.*

PHOTOGRAPHER OF THE SOUTHWEST: Adam Clark Vroman, 1856-1916. *Edited by* Ruth I. Mahood, *curator*, History Division, Los Angeles County Museum, with the assistance of Robert A. Weinstein. *Introduction by* Beaumont Newhall, *director*, George Eastman House, Rochester. (The Ward Ritchie Press: 1961.) Price, \$12.50.

Again we have the binding of a book in hot orange color, a visual reminder of the desert and dry mountainous regions to be described within its pages. A clever plastic slip cover seems to promise better wear and less fraying than the conven-

tional jackets of paper. It is a joy to smooth over the fine material used in the body of the book, for special paper was chosen with care in order to faithfully reproduce the photographs taken at the turn of the century by Adam Clark Vro-

man, when this science was still in the era of glass plates and wet-wash process.

The pictures show a rare sense of composition and artistic evaluation of tone. These were not just casual hit or miss subjects, for each expedition was planned with a view to preserving historical scenes or to perpetuating the beauty of the wild country of the Southwest.

Reproductions of the locale where Helen Hunt Jackson laid the story of her famous "Ramona" are invaluable in the reconstruction of early California ranch life and the pictorial survey of the grand old missions of our state contain both historical data and romantic reflections.

The almost impossible climb to the top of the "Mesa Encantada" accompanied by the late Dr. F. W. Hodge, former director of the Southern Museum, and two others, was an accomplishment of a true mountaineer and must have been an Herculean

task, laden as it was with heavy camera equipment and tripods over an almost perpendicular ascent, assisted by ladder or rope.

In a series of four short dissertations, a combination of well known names has assured this volume of accuracy and interest: Ruth I. Mahood, curator of history at the Los Angeles County Museum assisted by Robert A. Weinstein; Beaumont Newhall, director of the George Eastman House, Rochester; and lastly an article by Mr. Vroman himself.

The list of acknowledgments reads like a Blue Book of Californiana experts, with special credit to Mr. William Webb for his development and handling of the photographs. The quality of the book is unusual, with craftsmanship in Ward Ritchie's printing and make-up, interest in the written material, and aesthetic reward in the remarkable delineations of Nature. — *Dorothy Gleason.*

FREMONT'S FOURTH EXPEDITION. A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-49, with Diaries, Letters and Reports by Participants in the Tragedy. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. (Glendale, California, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960. Vol. XI of Far West and Rockies Series.) Illustr. with Maps. \$12.00.

On November 22, 1848, thirty-three men and a long string of heavily laden pack mules headed west from Pueblo, Colorado. Two-thirds of them were veterans of previous exploring expeditions. Their immediate objective was a pass above the headwaters of the Rio Grande over which they hoped to survey the route for a railroad to the Pacific.

A little more than ten weeks later, twenty-three survivors of this party began to straggle into Taos, New Mexico. They were frost-bitten, emaciated and starving — completely defeated by the most bitter winter weather this region had ever experienced. Ten members of the expedition were dead, their bodies scattered along the snow mantled trail of their retreat; some, at least, the objects of cannibalism.

In a scholarly introduction and summary, the Hafens tell what happened to these men between late November, 1848, and February 11, 1849, when a relief party brought the last survivor into Taos. The book also contains diaries, letters and reports of participants as well as pertinent matter written by Senator Thomas H. Benton and his daughter, Jessie Benton Frémont.

The sub-title is well chosen, for this Fourth Expedition led by John C. Frémont, the result of initial poor judgment, had its logical ending in as stark a tragedy

as any episode in America's westward movement, if we except the fate of the Donner Party two years earlier.

After the unfavorable sentence at his court-marital, Frémont felt driven to redress his tarnished record by some outstanding achievement. Exploration of the Far West was the field wherein he saw the greatest opportunity. His father-in-law, Senator Benton, was convinced that a Pacific Railroad was the next logical step in the realization of America's Manifest Destiny to which he was devoted. The idea appealed to many supporters. Government aid was lacking but St. Louis merchants with the vision of their city as the eastern terminus of the proposed line were willing to finance its survey. Both Benton and Frémont strongly favored a route that would closely follow the 38th parallel. The latter ran through the San Juan Mountains, a particularly rugged portion of the Rockies.

At Pueblo, old-time mountain men told Frémont that a crossing could only be accomplished with the utmost difficulty in summertime, and that it was foolhardy to attempt the route in the face of the severe snowstorms then raging. The explorer reasoned that since he had scaled the Sierra Nevadas in midwinter the San Juans must also yield to his indomitable will. He found one mountain veteran at Pueblo, Bill Williams, who claimed to

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know the region like a book and was willing to guide the expedition.

The authors describe the party as "well equipped." Doubtless it was, so far as to mules, provisions and necessary gear. But most readers will agree that a vital, if intangible, item was omitted from the "equipment." That was a hard assessment of the terrific obstacles ahead and the courage to admit a mistake before its consequences proved fatal.

The manpower of the Fourth Expedition was unusual. It included Alexis Godey who had followed Frémont in his second and third expeditions, and the three Kern brothers. Edward, Richard and Benjamin Kern were all men of talent. Each kept a diary of this expedition. So did Charles Preuss, the topographer of all four expeditions (his diary is not in this book because it has been recently published separately.) Several other members of the party were veterans of Frémont's earlier expeditions, and some of them had belonged to his California Battalion. Our knowledge of the disaster is greatly enhanced because a full third of the survivors left accounts, five of them written at the time or immediately afterward.

Richard Kern, the artist, managed also to paint a striking word picture when the mercury in the thermometers ceased registering any temperature:

"Each hair of mule and man... covered with frost, and icicles hung down from moustache below the chin ...soon the air filled with spiculae of ice which hid the sun and made the atmosphere very chilly and soon enveloped us in a frozen cloud..."

Admirers of John C. Frémont will find this book meagre and unpalatable fare. It is not so much that the Hafens are anti-Frémont, as that they have marshalled facts in their portion of the book and then amply supported them with the diaries and other accounts.

From these emerge a convincing array of evidence. After the initial error of assailing the San Juan snow fastness in

midwinter, Frémont and Bill Williams differed. The guide wanted to seek an easier route to the southwest. When Frémont vetoed this, Williams apparently chose the wrong canyon for the ascent of the range. Up to this point we may divide responsibility. But when the expedition had to admit defeat on December 22, the leader waited four days longer to send four men for help. Not until January 11, did he lead a second group in search of relief. Godey was one of this party that reached Taos safely on the twenty-first. The next day Godey, not Frémont, started back along the trail of snowy horrors to rescue the remnant of the party. He took four Mexican muleteers and thirty pack animals with food. Godey plainly emerges as the hero of the expedition. But for his indefatigable and courageous efforts, few if any of the men would have emerged alive. (The book includes a defense of Frémont by Godey who put all blame on Bill Williams, as did Jessie Frémont. By that time, Old Bill was dead so we do not have his side of the argument.)

While Godey was busy at rescue, Frémont at Taos was resting, writing letters to Jessie and Benton, and planning his departure for California. On February 13, he started down the Rio Grande to cross into California via the Gila route.

This book inevitably reminds us of William Brandon's *THE MEN AND THE MOUNTAIN. FRÉMONT'S FOURTH EXPEDITION*. (New York. William Morrow & Company. 1955.) Brandon admired Frémont enough to glamorize this grim episode to a degree that Frémont as a true romanticist would undoubtedly have approved.

The Hafens have dealt with facts that possess scant glamor. Cold, deep drifts of snow, icy winds sharper than razors, frostbite, snow blindness, frozen mules, starving men, cannibalism! Defeat, disaster, death — these are the trappings of the Fourth Expedition which Leroy and Ann Hafen disclose to us. — *Dwight L. Clarke*.

THE WHIPPLE REPORT. *Journal of an Expedition from San Diego, California, to the Rio Colorado, from September 11 to December 11, 1849*, by A. W. Whipple. Introduction and notes by E. I. Edwards (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1961) pp. v, 90, Foreword, Index; cloth, \$5.50.

Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple, of the United States Topographical Engineers, was one of a number of officers assigned, in 1849, to the international commission that explored and mapped much of the vast area gained by the United States after

the Mexican War. As a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Americans added to their territory about a third of the land which comprises the present continental United States.

With such other officers as Andrew B.

Gray, William H. Emory, and Cave Johnson Coutts, Whipple — a young West Pointer — penetrated the Great Southwest and in a period of several months mapped much of the area between San Diego, Yuma, and the Colorado River drainage basin.

This journal covers those months, its introduction placing the narrative in proper historical perspective. Quite correctly the introduction stresses the delicate and sometime strained relationship which the Massachusetts-born Whipple had on the trail with the Tennessean Coutts, who commanded the cavalry escort party. One would wish for a bit more information regarding other key figures in the mapping of the Mexican boundary, including the un-mentioned John Russell Bartlett, whose own *Personal Narrative* . . . (1858) is a major document. Bartlett was, of course, the United States boundary commissioner who was to incorporate Whipple's work into a final report. In these exploits Whipple was a relatively junior officer, although an important chronicler.

His role, however, was part of a larger conceptual plan scarcely mentioned in this book.

Certainly the Whipple *Report* is a fascinating travel account. He and Lieutenant Coutts penetrated into areas of the Southwest visited only by Indians and a handful of earlier fur traders. Despite the adverse comments written by Coutts in his own narrative (*The Journal and Maps of Cave J. Coutts*, 1933), Whipple was an industrious and capable surveyor. He accurately located the mouth of the Gila River and made a substantial contribution to the mapping of the American Southwest.

After the expedition came to an end Coutts married a California heiress and resigned from the United States Army to become a *ranchero*; Whipple went on to die in 1863 as a major general in the Battle of Chancellorsville. It is good to have this account of his earlier activities, which was printed in an edition of only nine hundred copies. — *Andrew F. Rolle.*

J. ROSS BROWNE'S ILLUSTRATED MINING ADVENTURES IN CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA, 1863-1865. Edited and with an Introduction by Horace Parker. (The Paisano Press, Balboa Island, 1961.) Pp. 207. \$5.50.

Since 1959 Dr. Parker of the Paisano Press has undertaken the commendable project of making available to the general reader some of the best of the illustrated writings of J. Ross Browne, the gifted and versatile individual whose books and articles originally were published nearly a century ago. First there was the reprint in book form of Browne's series of humorous articles entitled *THE COAST RANGERS*, then, under the title *A PEEP AT WASHOE AND WASHOE REVISITED*, a volume containing both of Browne's accounts of his visits in the early 1860's to Virginia City, Nevada. Now, in what the editor says, "will probably be the final Paisano Press reprint in the Browne triad," we have this book made up of selections from several of the author's later series of articles on mining in California and Nevada.

Any one who knows even a little about J. Ross Browne's life is certain to be struck not only by the wide range of his interests but by the diversity of his talents; for here is a man of whom it could never be said that he was "Jack-of-all-trades but master of none." This reviewer learned of him for the first time years ago in a University course on the government of California, in connection with his published record of the debates of the First

California Constitutional Convention of 1849, a record which he transcribed from his own shorthand notes. Some years later, while engaged in research on the subject of mining in the West, she made use of his ably-prepared report on *Mineral Resources of the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains for 1867*. And it was not until a few years ago when, on the advice of a friend, she read his suspense-filled *A Dangerous Journey* that realization came that these three Browne's were actually one and the same person. Even so, the three works just mentioned illustrate only a few of the man's accomplishments, since, Dr. Parker points out in his introduction, in addition to being a legislative reporter, a mining expert, and a writer who illustrated his books with his own quaintly humorous drawings, Browne had many other talents and held various governmental posts — such as United States Minister to China, Indian Agent, and Postal Inspector. Nor could he be thought of as an amateur in any of these fields, because "he did all these things exceptionally well."

While *MINING ADVENTURES* is composed of selections from three different sources, approximately three-fourths of the book is from *ADVENTURES IN THE APACHE COUNTRY: A Tour Through Arizona and*

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Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada, published in 1869. From mining and historical standpoints, this section is full of important material, such as valuable information about the silver ledges of the mines in the Reese River Country and in Austin in particular, or the interesting account of Bodie, now a famed ghost town, or a side trip the author took to Mono Lake. But the general reader need have no fear that he must concentrate on mining alone when reading this book, since there is something in it for every one. He can relax and allow himself to be entertained by a realistic account of descending a mine shaft in the primitive but usual manner of the times — by means of what Browne describes as a “rickety wooden bucket and the flimsy little rope that was to hold us suspended between the surface of the earth and eternity.” For the reader whose taste runs to politics, there is the chapter on “The Immortal Gridley” and the auctioning of Austin’s sack of flour. For those who do not object to sports of a somewhat cruel type, there is the chapter on the badger fight. In that encounter one lone but brave and defiant badger was pitted against six dogs in a fight to the death that lasted two hours and struck Browne as being “very much like murder.”

Browne is often at his best when he writes of some sudden disaster, like the “Terrible Cloud-Burst.” Two families, journeying from Aurora to Big Meadows in a small wagon, were in a narrow canyon when they saw “sweeping down toward them a solid flood of water about six or eight feet high, presenting a front like a prodigious wave of the sea as it breaks upon the beach in a storm.” Before there was time to do anything “the torrent burst upon them.” The wagon was “dashed to pieces among the rocks,”

while “the screams of the women and children rose high above the wild roar of the flood.”

Because of the subject matter the second part of the book — *Down in the Cinnabar Mines*, originally published in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* for October, 1865, is of particular interest to this reviewer. These forty pages give significant information not readily available elsewhere about the famous New Almaden Mine “situated . . . twelve miles from the Pueblo of San José.” There is a chapter of a general nature on “Minerals of the Pacific Slope,” followed by others on the history of the New Almaden, and on the company operating the mine, a “Panorama” on the scenery, climate, and general situation of the mine, and finally one on methods of reducing the ore.

The third and final section of the book is a brief ten-page account of *A Visit to Santa Cruz* — No. 7 in a series of Browne’s letters which first appeared in the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* of December 7, 1863. In that letter Browne recommended a trip to Santa Cruz “to such as are weary and heavily laden with the care of business.” The trip he describes took the better part of two days from San Francisco — “a three hour voyage up the bay” on board the San José steamer the first day, with sight-seeing in San José in the afternoon, taking the stage for Santa Cruz the following morning.

In an increasing flow of books about the olden days in California, Browne’s lively and informing accounts well deserve the new impetus the Paisano Press is providing to keep the work of this unusual author from being lost from sight. This volume is well-made, richly illustrated, and a credit to its editor and publisher. — *Helen Rocca Goss.*

CALIFORNIA TRAIL HERD, *The 1850 Missouri to California Journal of Cyrus C. Loveland*, edited by Richard H. Dillon (The Talisman Press, Los Gatos, 1961.) Illus.; Index; Pp. 126. \$6.00.

The historian’s preference for diaries, over recollections written long after an event, is traditional. Not only does the diary present a fresher, more vivid view of the past; it is almost always more accurate and unclouded by later interceding events or nuances. In a reminiscence or memoir the facts are also more apt to be garbled and less forthright than in a diary. Fortunately, the number of diaries being published that deal with California and the American West continues to mount.

This particular journal concerns a cattle drive from Missouri to California in 1850, a rather early year for such an event, yet by no means a unique occurrence. It is easy to overemphasize the significance of such cattle drives, though they ultimately helped change the composition of both California’s cattle stock and of its cattle industry, a fact not mentioned in the editor’s lengthy introduction. The editor, a writer of popularized history, is given to easy, almost glib, generalizations which will presumably please all but the speci-

alists. Where, on pages 41-42, he argues that the California cowboy has been unfairly neglected "by historians lay and academic," the editor scarcely seems to realize *why* this has occurred. A basic reason was the substantial overshadowing of cattle ranching by other agricultural activities, by mining, and by early commercial and manufacturing developments. By contrast with other states in which the cowboy has been unduly lionized, indeed canonized, California's economic wealth has provided the very diversity which freed the state from abject dependence upon one industry. In other respects, the long introduction to this diary is detailed, informative and effective, despite its rambling and diffuse style. If

the editor would, however, identify the major sources of his information — which he does only occasionally — verifiability would be enhanced.

As for the diary itself, Loveland's account is, of course, worthy of being printed. He was reasonably astute, seemed to keep careful entries, and paid attention to the geographical locale through which he traveled. Such observations help somewhat to lift the diary out of the category of a marginally important trail-herd account. Attractively printed and illustrated, it further enhances particularized knowledge about yet another facet of California and western history. This edition is limited to only 750 copies. — *Andrew F. Rolle.*

In Memoriam

VERNETTE S. RIPLEY

GRACE S. STOERMER

The *Historical Society of Southern California* mourns the loss of two valued and cherished members who, each in her own way, have for years been active in the affairs of the Society. Mrs. Vernette S. Ripley was a member of the Board of Directors from 1948 to 1956; Miss Grace S. Stoermer was a Board member from 1954 to October, 1961. The Society will always remember their loyal and devoted service and expresses its sincere condolences to their bereaved families.

Activities of the Society

OCTOBER MEETING

Featured at the October meeting was Mr. Joseph J. LaBarbera, of the Title Insurance and Trust Company and former Director of the Society, who presented a slide picture story, "*Remember When.*"

This was an illustrated story of the exploration, colonization and development of Los Angeles County from the late 1800's. The slides included in the program were photographs from the famous historical library of the Title Insurance and Trust Company.

At the coffee urns during the social hour were Mrs. Thomas E. Workman and Mrs. Jean Hall Giles.

SEVENTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING, NOVEMBER 1, 1961

The seventy-eighth anniversary meeting commemorating the founding of the Society on November 1, 1883, was a joint meeting with *Los Fiesteros de Los Angeles*.

Through the courtesy of member Mr. Frank Frank we were privileged to have as guest speaker Mr. Zeno Klinker. Mr. Klinker presented his motion picture "*Man's Conquest of Air and Space.*" This rare and humorous film depicting the history of flight, including everything from the Wrights to rockets, is probably the most complete and comprehensive collection of authentic historical aviation motion pictures in the World.

The Society received from Miss Ruth Pico the saddle used by Martin Aguirre, Los Angeles County's famous law enforcement officer during the later decades of the last century. The presentation was made by Joseph W. Wolfskill.

At the coffee urns during the social hour were Mrs. Zeno Klinker and Miss Ruth Pico.

Activities of the Society

ANNUAL CHRISTMAS PROGRAM,
DECEMBER 6, 1961

For the past several years, the Society's Christmas program has featured a choral group, in addition to the speaker. This year, a mixed chorus of boys and girls from Notre Dame and Providence High Schools, under the direction of Mr. Daniel Wolfe, presented selections of familiar carols and also several of the not often heard variety.

The Most Reverend Timothy Manning, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, spoke on the "*History of the Archdiocese*." Bishop Manning told of the passing from the missionary stage in 1840, when the Most Reverend Francisco García Diego y Moreno was appointed the first Bishop of Upper and Lower California, and of his several successors and the outstanding work accomplished by these men.

At the coffee urns during the social hour were Mrs. John G. Wolfe and Mrs. Beatrice Sabichi Mitchell.

New Members

The Officers and Board of Directors of the *Historical Society of Southern California* take pleasure in welcoming the following new members who have recently joined the Society.

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Mrs. Consuelo C. de Bonzo
Mrs. Bessie S. Hedderly
Mrs. John P. Russell

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

Los Angeles County Library — Newhall Branch
Los Angeles County Library — West Covina Branch

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Compiled by
Carroll Spear Morrison

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Received from: Frank Frank, Herbert Green, Jr., Charles Puck, Mrs. Ana Begué de Packman, Frank B. Putnam, Mrs. Florence Dodson Schoneman, Mrs. Alice Tyler, Mrs. Stafford L. Warren, Mrs. Helen Vermewlen, Otto J. Zahn, 115-116; Mrs. Vera H. Dunning, Justin G. Turner, Mrs. Emma Harris Perry, Guy E. Marion, Miss Ruth Pico, 236; Mrs. Beatrice Sabichi Mitchel, Adrian K. Roberts, Mrs. Frank S. Bailey, 360

New Members of the Society, 117, 237, 361, 482

Historical Society of Southern California

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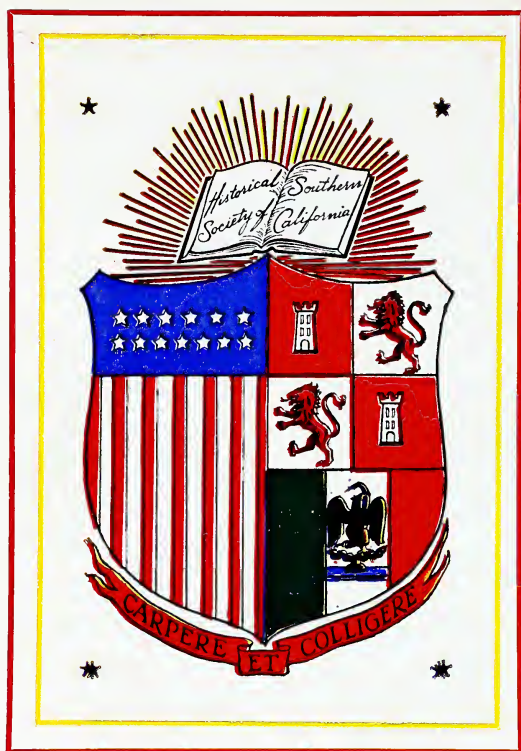
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